

THE FOUNDATION CHARTER OF THE KAMANAS' TOWN FORTIFICATIONS

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Abstract

The well-preserved Luwian hieroglyphic inscription on a stele from Cekke in northern Syria deals with the foundation of Kamanas' town and its fortifications, named after Kamanas, country-lord of Karkamis and Malatya, who ruled in the years about the middle of the 8th century BC. As a preparatory act to the foundation land has been bought from the Kanapuweans, and officials and their deputies stationed in places along the frontiers of the newly founded fortification works are sworn in to preserve the borders set for it. Thanks to the Cekke text, we get a unique insight in the many-layered structure of the Karkamisian governmental machinery. As usual, the inscription ends with a damnation formula in which possible violators of Kamanas' town fortification works, its borders or the monument commemorating its foundation are warned for inevitable divine retribution.

A basalt stele in shape of a half-column with rounded upper side decorated on the front side with a figure of the storm-god standing on top of a bull in relief and bearing a Luwian hieroglyphic inscription incised in the space left along the sides of the relief and further on the back side, was found by peasants in the field at the village of Cekke, 46 km north-north-east of Aleppo, near the confluence of the Kuweik, a tributary of the Euphrates. This stele, which is completely preserved probably because, like the one from Karahöyük-Elbistan, it was buried on purpose in antiquity, was first published by Maurice Dunand in 1940 and later treated by Richard Barnett.¹ The best edition available, however, is the one by John David Hawkins in his recent corpus of Luwian hieroglyphic Iron Age inscriptions,² which will serve as our starting point in the following discussion.

On the basis of the contents of the inscription, it is clear that the monument dates from the reign of Kamanas, country-lord of Karkamis and Malatya (phrase 6). This is the eldest son of Astiruwas (Karkamis A15b, phrase 16) who rose to the throne when he came of age after an interregnum by his guardian Araras (Karkamis A6-7 and A15b) during the late 9th or early 8th century BC. Accordingly, the floruit of his reign may safely be assigned to about the middle of the 8th century BC.³

¹ Barnett 1948.

² Hawkins 2000, 143-51, pls. 42-43.

³ Hawkins 2000, 78-79; cf. Woudhuizen 2004b, 76-83.

The text has been commissioned, however, by a lower functionary, *dominus-tiwaras*, who specifies himself as the favourite servant of Kamanas' right-hand man, Sasturas (phrases 1 and 6). This latter is the one who *pupalitá* 'approved' the inscribed stele (phrase 3) – an expression strikingly recalling Oscan *prífatted* 'probavit' by the responsible authority (i.e. the *kvaísstur* or *meddiss tívtíks*) in inscriptions with a bearing to public works.⁴ The three-fold layering of the administrative power, in which the lowest representative is responsible for the erection of the monument provides yet another parallel with the aforesaid stele from Karahöyük-Elbistan, which dates from the reign of Kamanas' predecessor from about the middle of the 12th century BC, great king Aritesup, but has been set up by the year-lord (of) men, Armananas, a subordinate of the local lord of the Malatya region, Um-**514*-mitis.⁵

The occasion commemorated in the Cekke text concerns the foundation of Kamanas' town and its fortification works. To this aim land has been bought from the citizens of Kanapu (phrases 6-7), some of whom are named in person and stated to have received subsidiary payment (phrases 8-9). Also part of the deal is the yearly recurrent state maintenance of the fortifications under the sway of the river-lord Ahalis (phrase 10), with which reference is likely made to the nearby upper courses of the Kuweik river, and a yearly recurrent contribution from state funds to the Kanapuwéan cult (phrase 11). With respect to the financial support to Ahalis' dominion, however, it is stipulated that this does not set him free from his feudal and other dues to his superior, the commissioner of the text, *dominus-tiwaras* (phrase 12). The defensive works of Kamanas' town must have entailed a considerable geographic extension: for the guarantee of the safety of its boundaries, 15 senior (*tati*- 'father') and 15 junior (*infansna(waī)*- 'son') officials from as many as eight of what may be considered bordering municipalities are stipulated as having been sworn in (phrases 15-26). As a consequence, the text may safely be identified as a charter – which inference leads us to our translation of **382pama-* (phrase 2) as such. In this connection, note that the enumeration of the municipalities in question bears testimony to the use of the ablative singular in *-ti* or *-r(i)* as a locative, thus providing the closest comparative evidence for the Etruscan locative in *-th(i)* as in *Velclthi* 'in the (territory) of Vulci', *Tarchmalthi* 'in the (territory) of Tarquinia', *Unialth(i)* 'in the (temple) of Uni', and *ecclthi súthith* 'in this tomb'.⁶

In the following transliteration and translation it should be noted that I have, in contrast to Hawkins, considered the enumeration of the localities with their senior and junior officials as separate phrases, and hence our phrase numbering deviates

⁴ Buck 1905, 136, no. 4, 137, no. 8, 150, no. 48.

⁵ Woudhuizen 2004a, 145-46.

⁶ Woudhuizen 1992, 89; 1998, 144-45.

from the one in the corpus from phrase 18 onwards. For brevity's sake, the defence of my translation in the additional commentary will be limited to the essentials.

Cekke

1. *AMU -mi*
dominus-TIWATA-wa+r(a)-śa
sa-sa-tu₄+r(a)-śa wà-sa-mi-sa mī-tì
'I (am) *dominus*-tiwaras,
the favourite servant of
Sasturas.'
2. *à-wa ī ^{*382}pa-ma-ī*
dominus-TIWATA-wa+r(a)-śa
sa-sa-tu₄+r(a)-ā dominus-nà
á-pa-sa-na TUWA-tá
'And *dominus*-tiwaras
set up this charter for
his lord Sasturas.'
3. *ī -ha-wa ^{HWT}WANA-i á-pa-śa*
pu-pa-li-tá
'And he (= Sasturas) has
approved this inscribed stele.'
4. *ī-ti -pa ^{TIPASA-MASANA}TARHUNT*
animalMALIA ar+ha ^{ignis}ki-nú-ti
'For this heavenly Tarhunt
one will burn (as a fire offering) a calf,'
5. *APA+r-tá -pa-wa ^{animal}WAWA*
animalHAWA SARLASa₅+r-lá-ti
'but in future one will libate
(as a blood offering) an ox (and) a sheep.'
6. *ka-ma-ná-sa TARWANA-sa*
ká+r-ka-mi-sá ^{UMINA}MALLA-ī ^{UMINA}
UTNA-dominus
sa-śa-tu₄+r(a)-sa 'ka-ma-ná-sa
HANTA-lá-sa mī-tí
ka-ma-na-na ^{UMINA}
UMINA(+MI)-ná-na
ka-na-pu-wa-na-ī ^{UMINA}
KATA+s(i)-nà ^{contractus}a-sa-ta₄
á-pa-sa-ti ká-sa-tá-na-ti
'Kamanas, lawgiver,
country-lord (of) Karkamis
and Malatya (and) Sasturas
the foremost servant of
Kamanas, bought Kamanas'
town (and its) fortification
from the Kanapuweans
from their (own) resources.'
7. *wa -ma-ī 600*
animalTARKASNA-a-ī PIA-tá
'And they gave them (a
herd of) 600 horses.'
8. *ī-ta₆+r -pa-wa KATA-ná*
1 argentum-a+r(i) 3 ^{HWT}ma-na-i
argentum-ī 'wa+r-pa-tá-sa-ī
infansná-wa-ī PIA+mi-na
'But subsidiary 3 inscribed
silver minas from 1 silver
(ingot) being given to
the sons of Warpatas.'
9. *há-ā-la 'la-pa+r-na-ā 'ī-ī-ā -ha*
'Furthermore, to Labarnas

- 4 ^{HWI}*ma-na-i argentum-ī*
i-nu-hu-ti-ī^{UMINA} *PIA-mi-na* and Is 4 inscribed Inuhutian silver minas.’
10. *há-ā-la* *UMINA(+MI)-nà ta₄-ná-mi*
’á-ha-li-ā HAPA-dominus PÁRA-na
USA á-t-li-ī a-i-ā-mi-na ‘Furthermore, every fortification for Ahalis, river-lord, being restored yearly as a (state) support.’
11. *wa* ^{animal}*WAWA 15 HAWA*
ka-na-pu-ā^{UMINA} 2 ^{HWI}*<ma>-na-i*
argentum-ī *USA á-t-li-śa PIA-mi-na* ‘And an ox, 15 sheep (and) 2 inscribed silver minas being given to Kanapu as a year(ly) (state) support.’
12. *dominus-ti-wa+r-ā -pa-wa*
á-ha-li-sa-na PÁRA-ti *179
 *347-*ma₇ sà-pa-śa*
 1 ^{HWI}*<ma-na>-sa*
 *³³*mi+r-sa<+r>-i pi-mi-na* ‘But to *dominus*-tiwaras being given on behalf of Ahalis’ (dominion) barley, (...), 1 inscribed mina (and) feudal dues.’
13. *UMINA(+MI)-ná -pa-wa 20 tá-ti’*
 10 ^{infans}*ná ki-ta+r-sa*
HISHIAhi-sà-hi-mi-na ‘And the settlement concerning the fortification being oath bound (for) 20 senior (and) 10 junior officials.
14. *³⁸²*ha-za’-nà-sa -pa-wa*
ī-sa-ha-pu-i-sa ^{infans}*nà-wa-ī-sa*
á-sa-ta₄ MUWATALI-lá-ná-sa
URA(+R)-ā-i -ha ‘And the governor Isahapuis was strong and (he and his) deputy were the authorities.’
15. *à-wa ar-ha+r-ā ta₄-sa ha-i-mi-na* ‘And the frontier stelai being inscribed.’
16. *wa -ta> tá-à+r(a)-ī* ^{infans}*nà-wa-ī*
-ha ki-ta+r-sa HISHIAhi-sà-hi-mi-na ‘And the settlement being oath bound for (the following) senior and junior officials:
17. *i-ha+r-la-pa+r(i)*^{UMINA}
TARHUNT-hu-ti-wa+r(a)-śa
’ha+r-na-mu-sa -ha
^{infans}*nà-wa-ī-sa á-pa-śa*
’ha+r-li-sa
TARHUNT-hu-tá-wa+r(a)-sa -ha
^{infans}*ná-ī-sa á-pa-śa* ‘At Iharlapa: Tarhuntiwaras and his deputy Harnamus, Harlis and his deputy Tarhuntiwaras, Harnas the Hawarean and his deputy Santa-*infans*-las, Nanas and his deputy *infans*-lawaras.’

'*ha+r-ná-sa ha-wa+r-í-sa*^{UMINA}

'*sà-tá-infans-la-sa -ha*

infans *nà-ī-sa á-pa-śa na-nà-sa*

infans-la-wa+r(a)-sa -ha

infans *nà-ī-sa á-pa-śa*

18. *lá-tà-pa-ti*^{UMINA} '*ka-pá+r(a)-sa*

'*HWA-ī-ā+r(a)-sa -ha*

infans *nà-ī-śa á-pa-śa*

tá-a+r-mi-śa ī-ha-mu-sa -ha

infans *nà-ī-sa á-pa-sa*

'At Latapa: Kaparas and his
deputy Hwaiaras, Tarmis
and his deputy Ihamus.'

19. *á-pa-ku-ru-tà-a+r(i)*^{UMINA}

tà-mi-lá-li-sa sù-ī-sa -ha

infans *nà-ī-sa á-pa-śa*

'At Apakuruta: Tamilalis
and his deputy Suis.'

20. *ī+r-ha-nu-a+r(i)*^{UMINA} *la-śa*

pi-ā-TARHUNT-hu-ī-śa -ha

infans *nà-ī-sa á-pa-śa*

TIWATA-wa+r-mi-śa 'sà-tá-mu-śa

-ha infans *nà-ī-sa á-pa-śa*

'At Irhanua: Las and his
deputy Piatarhuis, Tiwarmis
and his deputy Santamus.'

21. *sa₅+r-mu-ta+r(i)*^{UMINA} *pa-pi-śa*

hù-ha-wa+r(a)-sa -ha

infans *nà-ī-sa á-pa-sa*

hà-l(a)-pa-mu-sa

á-sa-ti-TARHUNT-ī-śa -ha

<*infans* *nà-ī-sa*> *á-pa-sa*

'At Sarmuta: Papis and his
deputy Huhawaras,
Halpamus and his deputy
Astitarhuis.'

22. *a-sa-ta+r(i)*^{UMINA}

URA(+R)-TARHUNT-sa

TARHUNT-hu-wa-su-wa-sa <-ha>

infans *nà-ī-sa á-pa-śa*

TANAMI-infans-la-sa tà-a+r-mi-sa

-ha infans *nà-ī-sa <á-pa-sa>*

'At Asata: Uratarhuntas and
his deputy Tarhuwasuwas,
Tanami-*infans*-las and his
deputy Tarmis.'

23. *hu-hu+r-tà-ti*^{UMINA} '*á-mu-sa*

wa-li-na-ā-sa -ha infans *nà-ī-sa*

á-pa-śa

'At Huhurta: Amus and his
deputy Walinas.'

24. *sa-ta+r-pa-ti*^{UMINA} *wí-na-mu-sa*

hà-l(a)-pa-TIWATA-wa+r(a)-śa

-ha infans *nà-ī-sa á-pa-śa*

'At Satarpa: Winamus and
his deputy Halpatiwaras.'

25. *wa -tá su+r-a-i*
HARMAHIha+r-ma-hi
ASATAR HWA-lá-mi-na ‘And (thus) abundant
officials being installed
there.’
26. *à-wa ar-hi-i TUWA-mi-na* ‘And the frontiers being established.’
27. *ī-ti -pa-wa UMINA(+MI)-nà*
HWA-sa ATUWALI-hi-tà-a+r(i)
TAWIAN TIWA₂-a+r(i) ‘(He) who will approach
this fortification with
malice,’
28. *nà-pa-wa ar-hi-i ar+ha*
*ASATAR *218-lá-ha-a* ‘or will desecrate the
frontiers,’
29. *ná-pa-wa -sa ī-ti WANA-a+r(i)*
HWI ta+r-pi ta₆-ā ‘or will trample on this
stele,’
30. *wa -ta₄ ī-ā pá+r-ta₄ ar+ha WALA-a* ‘and will erase these words,’
31. *pa-ti -pa-wa TIPASA-MASANA TARHUNT*
*MASANA ka+r-hu-ha-sa MASANA ku-*128*
-ha MASANA WASU MASANA a-sa -ha
MASANA ARMA-sa MASANA TIWATA
cruc wa-la TIWA-wa-tu ‘may the heavenly
Tarhunt, Karhuhas and
Kupapa, the grain goddess
and Ea, the moon-god (and)
the sun-god come angrily against him!’
32. *à-wa TIPASA-sa sú+r-na nà*
KATA+s(i)-ti ‘He shall not be within the
abundance of the sky,’
33. *TASHUWAR -pa-wa sú+r-na ná*
TIWA₂-TIWA[-tā-ti] ‘and [he shall] not walk
amidst the abundance (of) the earth,’
34. *MASANA ku-pa-*128-pa-sá -pa-wa*
**476 wà-sa-ha-na sú+r-na ná*
KATA+s(i)-ti ‘and he shall not be within
the agricultural abundance
of Kupapa!’
35. *wa -tú -tá ī-i MASANA-ná-i*
*TASHUWAR-sa *185 hu-sa-ī*
HWI-na-nà á[-pa-na] ar+ha a-i-ā-tu ‘And may these gods utterly
destroy earthly life (and)
sculptured
monument(s) for him!’

Comments

Phrase 1

The scribe is sometimes sloppy in writing the endings properly: thus, one would have expected N(m/f) sg. *mítìsa* ‘servant’ instead of simply the root *mítì*.

Phrase 2

Note that *sasturā* renders D sg., whereas the second element of the appositions to this name, *dominus-nà ápasana* 'his lord', is in A(m/f) sg.

Phrase 3

As rightly remarked by Hawkins, one would have expected \bar{i} ^{HWT}WANA \bar{i} 'this inscribed stele' instead of \bar{i} ^{HWT}WANA \bar{i} .⁷

Phrases 4-5

Note that the recipient deity, ^{TIPASA-MASANA}TARHUNT, which is qualified by the D sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *īti*, lacks the expected ending of the D sg.

The offerings to the god consist of on the one hand a fire offering and on the other a blood offering – the latter determined as such by the use of the verb *sarla-* 'to libate'. This distinction is paralleled for Karkamis A11b/c, phrase 18, where the two categories are referred to by *kutúpili-* (< **keu-* 'to burn, set to fire') and *asharmi-* (< *ashar-* 'blood'), respectively.⁸ For the mention of blood offering alone, see Kululu 1, phrase 6 and Bulgarmaden, phrase 11.⁹

Phrase 6

The inclusion of Malatya in Kamanas' realm shows that this region, which had been lost for Karkamis in the reign of Katuwas during the late 10th or early 9th century BC, has been restored to the Karkamisian throne in the mean time (I cannot follow Hawkins' doubts about this claim: as a contemporary, the scribe has a better knowledge about such things than we do). Note that the form *mīti* 'servant' associated with the name of Kamanas' right-hand man, Sasturas, lacks the expected N(m/f) sg. ending, again. The variant of *225 *UMINA* 'town' with four additional strokes, which I transliterate as *UMINA(+MI)*, does not refer to a town, but, as the present text most clearly shows, an interconnected series of defence works¹⁰ – this time associated with the newly founded Kamanas' town (for the naming of a fortification after the ruler, cf. Asitiwatas' town in the Karatepe text). The identification of the expression *KATA+s(i)-nà* ^{contractus}*a-sa-* 'to buy from' we owe to the merit of Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies.¹¹ From the context, it seems deducible that the combination *ápasati kásatánati* in Abl. sg. or pl. refers to the source(s) from which

⁷ Hawkins 2000, 147.

⁸ Woudhuizen 2004a, 99, esp. n. 4; 2004b, 66.

⁹ Woudhuizen 2004b, 83; 103; cf. Hawkins 2000, 147.

¹⁰ Compare also *225 with six additional strokes in Karahöyük-Elbistan, phrases 9, 13 and 22, which likewise has a bearing on military defence works, see Woudhuizen 2004a, 154.

¹¹ Hawkins 2000, 147.

Kamanas and Sasturas buy Kamanas' town and its fortifications, hence the translation 'from their (own) resources'.

Phrase 7

Note that *100 *TARKASNA* 'donkey' is often used to render the meaning 'horse', which results from the fact that it actually consists of a calque from Hittite cuneiform *ANŠU.KUR.RA*, literally 'mountain donkey'.¹² As duly observed by Hawkins, the A(n) sg. *TARKASNA-a-ī* can be explained as a reference to a collective, i.e. a herd of horses.¹³

Phrase 8

The first word *ītar* strikingly recalls the Latin conjunction *iterum* 'once again', from which I infer that we are dealing here with a subsidiary payment, like in the following two phrases headed by the conjunction *haāla*. The verbal form *piamina* is characterised by the medio-passive participle in *-mina-*, comparable to Greek *-meno-*, which is further attested for Köylütolu, phrase 7: *custos-mi-custos-mina* 'being very safe', Sultanhan, phrase 3: *ta₆nuwamiana* 'being placed', and phrase 41: *aiāmināa* 'being made', Çineköy, phrase 13: ^{WASU}*usanūmina* 'being blessed', and various phrases of the Kululu lead strips: *pimina* 'being given'.¹⁴ The subject of this verbal form is formed by 3 ^{HWI}*manai* '3 inscribed manas', which renders the N(m/f) pl. in *-i*. The latter is specified by *argentum-ī*, which I take for an endingless adjective in *-ī*, hence 'of silver'. In line with Hawkins's suggestion, the expression *KATA-nā 1 argentum-a+r(i)*, in which the word for silver is characterised by the Abl. sg. in *-r(i)*, is translated as 'from 1 silver (ingot)'.¹⁵

Phrase 9

Note that the interpretation of *argentum-ī* as an endingless adjective in *-ī* receives further emphasis from its association with *īnuhutī₂* ^{UMINA}, clearly indicating that the manas in question are in the silver standard of the town Inuhuti.

Phrase 10

For the expression *PĀRA-na USA* 'per year, yearly', compare Karatepe, phrase 48: *USAu-sā USA pā+r(a)* 'year by year, yearly'.¹⁶ The word *āili-*, which is also present in the next phrase, appears to be an adjectival derivation in *-li-* of the root *ai(a)-* 'to

¹² Woudhuizen 2004a, 44-45.

¹³ Hawkins 2000, 148.

¹⁴ Woudhuizen 2004a, 24-25; 2004b, 86; 89; 93; Hawkins 2000, 508 (§6, 35; 36; §7, 40; §9, 60; 61); 510 (§1, 3; 6).

¹⁵ Hawkins 2000, 148.

¹⁶ Woudhuizen 2004b, 98.

make'. From the context it seems clear that it refers to means (lit. 'something being made') afforded by the state, hence the translation 'as (state) support'.

Phrase 11

Note that *áilisa* is characterised by the N-A(n) sg. ending *-sa*, whereas pl. would have been expected as the subject of the phrase is clearly plural. As a way out to this problem, it may be assumed that the scribe in his option for the neuter took the subject, which consists of an enumeration, as a collective.

Phrase 12

From the context it seems clear that the postposition *PÁRA-ti*, which is a variant of *PÁRA* 'before, pro-; per' also attested for Kululu 2, phrase 3,¹⁷ expresses the related meaning 'on behalf of', hence *á-ha-li-sa-na PÁRA-ti*: 'on behalf of Ahalis' (dominion)'.

Phrase 13

From the context it seems clear that *kitarsa* means 'settlement'. As duly noted by Hawkins, the writing of *mi* in *20 tá-mi 10 infans-na* '20 fathers (and) 10 sons' to all probability results from a scribal error, the correct reading, in view of the repetition of the entire expression – though without the numerals and with rhotacism affecting the word for father – in phrase 16, no doubt being *táti*' (A(m/f) pl. in *-i* instead of the expected D pl. in *-aī* as recorded for the almost identical phrase 16).¹⁸ With 'fathers' and 'sons' in an official context reference is, just like, for example, in Akkadian Late Bronze Age correspondence, made to senior and junior officials. These senior and junior officials are actually mentioned by name and with their station of residence in the phrases 17 to 24 – be it that here there are enumerated only 15 senior officials and as much as 15 junior officials, which means that only the total of 30 officials applies. Perhaps, the difference results from the fact that 20 senior officials is a standard unit in the Karkamisian government, being paralleled in Karkamis A11a, phrase 5 for the reign of Kamanas' predecessor Katuwas.¹⁹ As an alternative solution, it may be suggested that five of the senior officials in the count of the present phrase in another perspective actually are junior officials. At any rate, it is interesting to note in this connection that the reading of the word for 'son' as it appears here, *viz. na-*, can be verified with the help of Etruscan, where the gentilicium – which, in the light of the Italic parallels, is nothing but a derivation of a personal name with the meaning 'son of' – is formed with the element *-na-*.²⁰

¹⁷ Woudhuizen 2004b, 144.

¹⁸ Hawkins 2000, 149.

¹⁹ Woudhuizen 2004b, 61.

²⁰ Cf. Woudhuizen 1992, 81; 1998, 140; Torelli 1988, 83.

Phrase 14

Note that, just as in Bulgarmaden, phrase 10, *377 reads *za* instead of regular *ī* in the titular expression *hazanà-* ‘governor’, paralleled for Akkadian *hazan(n)u-* ‘mayor’.²¹ For the proper understanding of this phrase it should be observed that *MUWATALIlánása* ‘strong’ renders N(m/f) sg. and thus corresponds with *hazanàsa īsahapuīsa*, whereas *ura(+r)āi* ‘great ones, authorities’ renders N(m/f) pl. and therefore refers back to this governor together with his deputy.

Phrase 25

The adjective *surai* ‘abundant, sufficient (in number)’ renders N(mf/) pl. in *-i* and is lined with the noun *harmahi* ‘man, person; official’, whereas the meaning of the verbal root ^{ASATAR}*HWAla-*, given the context, must be something like ‘installed’. All in all, this phrase forms the logical conclusion of the afore-going enumeration of officials and their station of residence.

Phrase 28

The most fitting translation of the verb ^{ASATAR}*128-*laha-* appears to be ‘to desecrate’.

Phrase 29

The meaning of the verbal root *tarpi-*, a related form of which occurs here as a kind of adverb in association with *ta₆-* ‘to go; to come’, is ‘to trample’.²²

Phrase 30

The noun *párta-* ‘word’ is paralleled for Emirgazi, phrase 10.²³

Phrase 31

The adverb ^{crux}*wala* ‘angrily’ is paralleled in variant form ^{crux}*walá* for Karkamis A4d, phrase 2.²⁴

Phrase 32

The root of the verb *KATA+s(i)-* is related to the adverb *KATA+s(i)-a* or *KATA+s(i)-na* ‘with’, and hence literally means ‘to be with’.²⁵

²¹ Hawkins 2000, 149-50; Woudhuizen 2004b, 11.

²² Woudhuizen 2004b, 150.

²³ Woudhuizen 2004a, 57.

²⁴ Woudhuizen 2004b, 64.

²⁵ Woudhuizen 2004b, 140.

Phrase 33

The verbal form is damaged, but in the light of the parallel from Bohça, phrase 10, should be emended *TIWA₂-TIWA-tà-ti* 'he shall walk regularly'.²⁶

Phrase 34

In view of the fact that it is based on a variant of the root *wasu-* '(agricultural) good', attested for Karahöyük-Elbistan, phrase 10, the meaning of the adjective ^{*476}*wàsahana-* is 'agricultural'.²⁷

Phrase 35

The meaning of *arha aiā-* is 'to destroy', which is emphasised here by the additional adverb *á[pana]*. The object of the phrase is formed by ^{*185}*husāi* (A(n) sg. in *-i*), the root of which is probably related to Hittite *huiš-* and Luwian *huit-* and hence plausibly suggested by Piero Meriggi to mean 'life',²⁸ and *HWInanà* (A(m/f) sg. in *-na*) 'sculptured monument'.

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a- 'Ea [GN]' 31.

á-ha-li- 'Ahalis [MN]' 10.

á-ha-li-sa- 'Ahalis', of Ahalis', adjective 12.

a-i-ā- 'to make' 10; c. *á[-pa-na]* *ar+ha* 'to utterly destroy' 35.

á-i-li- 'support' 10, 11.

AMU 'I' 1.

á-mu- 'Amus [MN]' 23.

animal (determinative of animal) 4, 5 (2x), 7, 11.

á-pa- 'he; that (person)' (see also *pa-*) 3.

á-pa-ku-ru-tà-a- 'Apakuruta [TN]' 19.

á[-pa-na] 're-, anew', adverb 35.

APA+r-tá 'in future' 5.

á-pa-sa-, *á-pa-ša-* 'his; their' 2, 6, 17 (4x), 18 (2x), 19, 20 (2x), 21 (2x), 22 (1+<1>), 23, 24.

argentum-a- 'silver' 8.

argentum-ī- 'of silver, silverly', adjective 8, 9, 11.

ar+ha 'away, de-, (emphatic)', adverb 4, 28, 30, 35.

ar-ha+r- 'frontier', adjective 15.

ar-hi- 'frontier' 26, 28.

ARMA- 'the moon-god [GN]' 31.

á-sa-, *a-sa-* 'to be' 14; c. *KATA+s(i)-nà contractus* 'to buy from' 6.

²⁶ Woudhuizen 2004b, 105; 152.

²⁷ Woudhuizen 2004a, 154; 2004b, 156.

²⁸ Hawkins 2000, 150-51.

a-sa-ta- ‘Asata [TN]’ 22.

ASATAR (determinative of notion pertaining to the throne) 25.

á-sa-ti-TARHUNT-ī- ‘Astitarhuis [MN]’ 21.

ATUWALI-hi-tà-a- ‘malice’ 27.

à-wa (sentence introductory particles, *cf. wa-*) 2, 15, 26, 32.

contractus (determinative of verb *a-sa-* ‘to buy’) 6.

crux (determinative of notion of cursing) 31.

dominus- ‘lord’ 2.

dominus-TIWATA-wa+r(a)-, *dominus-ti-wa+r-* ‘*dominus*-tiwaras [MN]’ 1, 2, 12.

-ha ‘and’ (see also *-ha-wa*) 9, 14, 16, 17 (4x), 18 (2x), 19, 20 (2x), 21 (2x), 22 (1+<1>), 23, 24, 31 (2x).

há-ā-la ‘furthermore’ 9, 10.

ha-i- ‘to inscribe’ 15.

hà-l(a)-pa-mu- ‘Halpamus [MN]’ 21.

hà-l(a)-pa-TIWATA-wa+r(a)- ‘Halpatiwaras [MN]’ 24.

HANTA-lá- ‘foremost’, adjective 6.

HAPA-dominus- ‘river lord’ 10.

ha+r-li- ‘Harlis [MN]’ 17.

HARMAHīha+r-ma-hi- ‘man, person; official’ 25.

ha+r-ná- ‘Harnas [MN]’ 17.

ha+r-na-mu- ‘Harnamus [MN]’ 17.

HAWA- ‘sheep’ 5, 11.

-ha-wa ‘and’ (see also *-ha*) 3.

ha-wa+r-i- ‘Hawarean’, adjective 17.

ha-za'-nà- ‘governor’ 14.

HISHIahi-sà-hi- ‘to bind by oath’ 13, 16.

hù-ha-wa+r(a)- ‘Huhawaras [MN]’ 21.

hu-hu+r-tà- ‘Huhurta [TN]’ 23.

hu-sa- ‘life’ 35.

HWA- ‘who’ 27.

HWA-ī-ā+r(a)- ‘Hwaiaras [MN]’ 18.

HWA-lá- ‘to install’ 25.

HWI (determinative of sculptured or inscribed object) 3, 8, 9, 11, 12, 29.

HWI-na- ‘sculptured monument’ 35.

ī- ‘this’ 2, 3, 4, 27, 29, 30, 35.

ī-ha-mu- ‘Ihamus [MN]’ 18.

i-ha+r-la-pa- ‘Iharlapa [TN]’ 17.

ī-ī- ‘Iis [MN]’ 9.

ignis (determinative of verb *ki-nú-* 'to burn') 4.

infans (determinative of kinship term or junior official) 8, 13, 14, 16, 17 (4x), 18 (2x), 19, 20 (2x), 21 (1+<1>), 22 (2x), 23, 24.

infans-la-wa+r(a)- '*infans*-lawaras [MN]' 17.

i-nu-hu-ti-i- 'of Inuhuti, Inuhutian', adjective 9.

ī+r-ha-nu-a- 'Irhanua [TN]' 20.

ī-sa-ha-pu-i- 'Isahapuis [MN]' 14.

ī-ta₆+r 'once again, subsidiary' 8.

ka-ma-na- 'Kamanas' town [TN]' 6.

ka-ma-ná- 'Kamanas [MN]' 6 (2x).

ka-na-pu- 'Kanapu [TN]' 11.

ka-na-pu-wa-na- 'Kanapuwéan', adjective 6.

ka-pá+r(a)- 'Kaparás [MN]' 18.

ka+r-hu-ha- 'Karhuhas [GN]' 31.

ká+r-ka-mi-sà- 'Karkamis [TN]' 6.

ká-sa-tá-na- 'resource, fund' 6.

KATA-ná 'from', preposition 8.

KATA+s(i)- 'to be within' 32, 34.

KATA+s(i)-ná 'with; from', adverb 6.

ki-nú- 'to burn' 4.

ki-ta+r- 'settlement' 13, 16.

*ku-pa-*128-pa-*, *ku-*128-* 'Kupapa [GN]' 31, 34.

la- 'Las [MN]' 20.

la-pa+r-na- 'Labarnas [MN]' 9.

lá-tà-pa- 'Latapa [TN]' 18.

-ma-ī 'to them' 7.

MALIA- 'calf' 4.

MALIA-í- 'Malatya [TN]' 6.

ma-na-, *<ma>-na-*, *<ma-na>-* 'mina' 8, 9, 11, 12.

MASANA (determinative of divine name) 31 (6x), 34.

MASANA-ná- 'god(ess)' 35.

-mi 'for me, myself' 1.

mī+r-sa<+r>- 'feudal due' 12.

mí-tí-, *mí-tì-* 'servant' 1, 6.

MUWATALI-lá-ná- 'strong' 14.

ná, *nà* 'not' 32, 33, 34.

ná-, *ná-ī-*, *nà-ī-*, *nà-í-* 'son; junior official, deputy' (see also *ná-wa-*) 13, 17 (3x), 18 (2x), 19, 20 (2x), 21 (1+<1>), 22 (2x), 23, 24.

na-nà- 'Nanas [MN]' 17.

ná-pa-wa, nà-pa-wa ‘or’ 28, 29.

ná-wa-, nà-wa-, nà-wa-ĩ- ‘son; junior official, deputy’ (see also *ná-*) 8, 14, 16, 17.

pa- ‘he; that (person)’ (see also *d-pa-*) 31.

-pa ‘but; and’ (see also *-pa-wa*) 4.

pa-pi- ‘Papis [MN]’ 21.

PÁRA-na ‘per’, preposition 10.

PÁRA-ti ‘on behalf of’, postposition 12.

pá+r-ta₄- ‘word’ 30.

-pa-wa ‘but; and’ (see also *-pa*) 5, 8, 12, 13, 14, 27, 31, 33, 34.

PIA-, pi- ‘to give’ 7, 8, 9, 11, 12.

pi-ā-TARHUNT-hu-ĩ- ‘Piatarhuis [MN]’ 20.

pu-pa-li- ‘to approve’ 3.

-sa ‘he’ 29.

sà-pa- (indication of product) 12.

SARLASa₅+r-la- ‘to libate’ 5.

sa₅+r-mu-ta- ‘Sarmuta [TN]’ 21.

sa-sa-tu₄+r(a)-, sa-sa-tu₄+r(a)- ‘Sasturas [MN]’ 1, 2, 6.

sà-tá-infans-la- ‘Santa-infans-las [MN]’ 17.

sà-tá-mu- ‘Santamus [MN]’ 20.

sa-ta+r-pa- ‘Satarpa [TN]’ 24.

sù-i- ‘Suis [MN]’ 19.

su+r-a- ‘abundant, sufficient (in number)’, adjective 25.

sú+r-na- ‘abundance’ 32, 33, 34.

-tá ‘there’ 25.

-tá, -ta₄ (unclear function) 16, 30, 35.

ta₆- ‘to go; to come; c. *ta+r-pi* ‘to trample’ 29.

tà-mi-lá-li- ‘Tamilalis [MN]’ 19.

ta₄-ná-mi- ‘every’, adjective 10.

TANAMI-infans-la- ‘Tanami-infans-las [MN]’ 22.

tá-à+r- ‘father; senior official’ (see also *tá-ti-*) 16.

TARHUNT- ‘Tarhunt [GN]’ 4, 31.

TARHUNT-hu-tá-wa+r(a)- ‘Tarhuntawaras [MN]’ 17.

TARHUNT-hu-ti-wa+r(a)- ‘Tarhuntiwaras [MN]’ 17.

TARHUNT-hu-wa-su-wa- ‘Tarhuwasuwas [MN]’ 22.

TARKASNA-a- ‘donkey; horse’ 7.

tá-a+r-mi- ‘Tarmis [MN]’ 18, 22.

ta+r-pi- ‘trampling’ 29.

TARWANA- ‘lawgiver’ 6.

ta₄-sa- ‘stele’ 15.

TASHUWAR- 'earth' 33, 35.

tá-ti- 'father; senior official' (see also *tá-à+r-*) 13.

TAWIAN 'towards', adverb 27.

TIPASA- 'sky, heaven' 32.

TIPASA-MASANA (determinative of celestial divine name) 4, 31.

TIWA-wa-, *TIWA₂-a-* 'to go; to come; c. *TAWIAN* 'to approach' 27; c. *crux wa-la* 'to come angrily'.

TIWATA- 'the sun-god [GN]' 31.

TIWATA-wa+r-mi- 'Tiwarmis [MN]' 20.

TIWA₂-TIWA[-tà]- 'to walk regularly' 33.

-tú 'for him' 35.

TUWA- 'to place, set up; to establish' 2, 26.

UMINA (determinative of town name) 6 (4x), 9, 11, 17 (2x), 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

UMINA(+MI)-ná-, *UMINA(+MI)-nà-* 'fortification' 6, 10, 13, 27.

URA(+R)-ā- 'great (one), authority' 14.

URA(+R)-TARHUNT- 'Uratarhuntas [MN]' 22.

USA- 'year' 10, 11.

UTNA-dominus- 'country-lord' 6.

wa- (sentence introductory particle, cf. *à-wa*) 7, 11, 16, 25, 30, 35.

WALA- 'to raise, lift'; c. *ar+ha* 'to erase' 30.

wa-la c. *crux* 'angrily', adverb 31.

wa-li-na-ā- 'Walinas [MN]' 23.

WANA-, *WANA-a-* 'stele' 3, 29.

wa+r-pa-tá-sa- 'of Warpatas', adjective 8.

wà-sa-ha-na- 'agricultural', adjective 34.

wà-sa-mi- 'favourite', adjective 1.

WASU- 'the grain goddess [GN]' 31.

WAWA- 'ox' 5, 11.

wí-na-mu- 'Winamus [MN]' 24.

1 '1' 8, 12.

2 '2' 11.

3 '3' 8.

4 '4' 9.

10 '10' 13.

15 '15' 11.

20 '20' 13.

600 '600' 7.

*33 (determinative of noun *mi+r-sa<+r>-* 'feudal due') 12.

*179- 'barley' 12.

- *185 (determinative of *hu-sa-* 'life') 35.
- *218-*lá-ha-* c. *ar-ha* 'to desecrate' 28.
- *347-*ma-* (indication of product) 12.
- *382 (determinative of official document or functionary) 2, 14.
- *383, 1 (determinative of personal name) 6, 8, 9 (2x), 10, 17 (4x), 18 (2x), 20, 23.
- *476 (determinative of adjective *wà-sa-ha-na-* 'agricultural') 34.

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‘DO YOU SEE A MAN SKILLFUL IN HIS WORK?
HE WILL STAND BEFORE KINGS’:
INTERPRETING THE SPREAD
OF ARCHITECTURAL INFLUENCES
IN THE BRONZE AGE EAST MEDITERRANEAN

Louise A. HITCHCOCK

Abstract

This paper explores motivations for the transmission of architectural styles between Late Bronze Age Cyprus and the Aegean. The possibilities evaluated include colonisation, ethnicity and the role of architecture in creating identity through orchestrating daily routines, elite competition, cultural memory, modified diffusion, evidence for itinerant workers, the effect of catastrophes, and mechanisms for the transfer of ideas based on ethnographic analogy. It is concluded that a combination of possible modes of transmission can best serve to understand the spread of ideas, while local expertise and motivations also play a significant role in this process.

Introduction

This article is based on several years of study of the relationships between Late Bronze Age Aegean, Cypriot and Levantine architecture (Fig. 1).¹ The purpose, however, is not to present a detailed discussion of style or technique, but to examine ways in which architectural features might have been transmitted from the Aegean, particularly from Minoan Crete and Mycenaean Greece, to Cyprus and to a lesser extent, the Levant.²

¹ Research for this paper was primarily supported by the Fulbright Commission of Cyprus and in part by an Educational and Cultural Affairs Fellowship from the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research in Jerusalem and an Early Career Research Grant from the University of Melbourne. It was substantially updated during my year as the Visiting Annual Professor at the Albright where I benefited from discussions with and access to unpublished manuscripts from other Albright fellows including Trude Dothan, Aren Maeir, Marina Mihaljevic and Alexander Zukerman. Thanks are also due to the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, Sophocles Hadjisavvas, Vassos Karageorghis, Paul Åström, Alison South, Gerald Cadogan and Franz Maier. Comments from the three anonymous referees helped me to clarify my position on many issues, although we will have to agree to disagree on them. The interpretations and any errors of fact are my own. The Late Bronze Age ends *ca.* 1200 BC, but begins earlier in Crete (*ca.* 1700 BC) than in Cyprus (*ca.* 1550 BC) – see Rehak and Younger 1998, 99; Negbi 2005, 3, tabl. 1.

² A detailed study of style and technique, including a catalogue of tool marks, ‘mason’s marks’ and building techniques, is beyond the scope of this paper and forms part of a larger study presented in preliminary form at the 2004, 2005 and 2006 annual meetings of the American School of Oriental



Fig. 1: Maps of Crete and Cyprus with major sites of the Late Bronze Age indicated (illustration by Brian O'Neill).

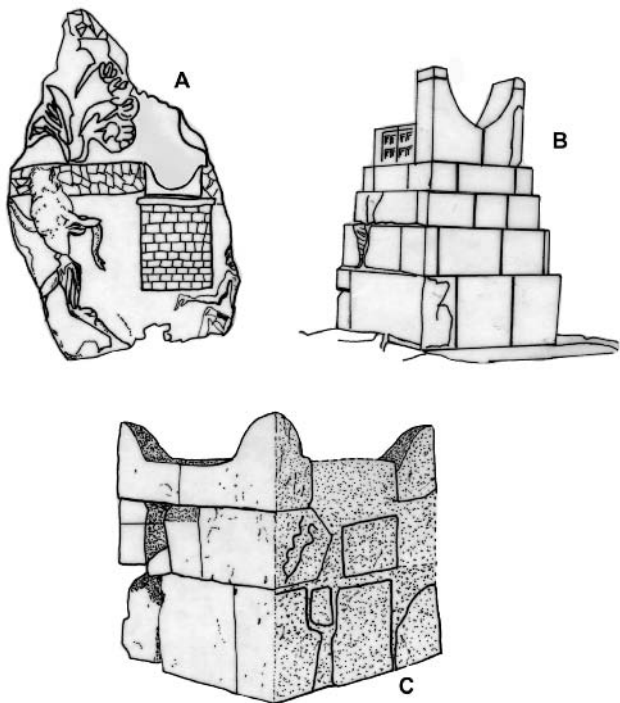


Fig. 2: 'Horns of Consecration', on a. Minoan altar depicted on a Late Bronze Age (ca. 17th-15th centuries BC) vase fragment from Knossos; b. Late Bronze Age (ca. 13th century BC) horned altar from Myrtou-Pighades, Cyprus; c. Early Iron Age (ca. 8th century BC) Israelite horned altar from Beersheba, Israel (author's illustration).

We do not know who the Minoans were.³ They are remembered for their naturalistic art and labyrinthine architecture,⁴ however we do not fully understand their language or religion. Their architectural vocabulary includes elaborate halls with multiple doorways, cult spaces, storage areas and industrial quarters grouped in similar locations around a central court. They were embellished with ashlar masonry and decoration such as 'horns of consecration', 'mason's marks' and wall paintings. The first 'palaces' on Crete were built around 1900 BC and by 1700 BC new monumental structures appeared all over Crete.⁵ As major consumers of Minoan culture, the Mycenaeans adapted much of the Minoan visual and technical vocabulary. No one in the mainstream of contemporary scholarship, however, suggests that the Minoans ever colonised Greece. In fact, the opposite scenario is often presented: that the Mycenaeans conquered Crete in approximately 1490 BC.⁶ At this time, all of the Minoan 'palaces' and palatial 'villas' except for the 'palace' and associated buildings at Knossos were destroyed.⁷ Knossos was re-occupied, and the rectilinear megaron hall with hearth and the Mycenaean Greek writing system known as Linear B appeared on Crete.⁸ Knossos continued to function as a 'palace' until the late 14th or early 13th century BC.⁹ The most obvious architectural difference between the two cultures is that the Minoan 'palaces' were court-centred and Mycenaean palaces were hall-centred.¹⁰ We do not know what became of Minoan elites and skilled workers after the destruction of their civilisation and the re-occupation of Knossos.¹¹

Research, however some brief remarks will be made in favour of an independent Cypriot masonry tradition. See also Hitchcock 2003a.

³ Minoan ethnicity is discussed in a cursory manner in Hitchcock 1999a, however substantial studies of Aegean Bronze Age ethnicity are lacking.

⁴ For a brief summary of Minoan monumental architecture, see Hitchcock 2003b.

⁵ According to the conventional chronology in Rehak and Younger 1998, 99.

⁶ For example Vermeule 1972, 136-55.

⁷ For example the Minoan Unexplored Mansion at Knossos, which was built by the Minoans but inhabited by the Mycenaeans as detailed in Popham 1984, 2-3.

⁸ Regarding Mainland building styles on Crete in LM III, see Hayden 1991, esp. 166-69.

⁹ New constructions of palatial or monumental architecture largely disappear after the final destruction of Knossos as detailed by Rehak 1997a, 60; Rehak and Younger 1998, 150-52 (however there are fragmentary LM IIIB remains from Hagia Triada and Kommos as discussed by Hayden 1991); D'Agata 1988; Shaw and Shaw 1997. Rehak and Younger (1998, 151) suggest that the LM III foundations at Hagia Triada point to a larger megaron than those found on the Mainland. For the Mycenaean 'palace' at Knossos, with references, see Driessen 1990.

¹⁰ See the various papers in Driessen, Schoep and Laffineur 2003.

¹¹ It can be suggested that the most highly skilled craftsmen such as architects, masons and metal-workers were themselves members of the elite. Inomata (2001, with further references) has made such an argument for Maya society based on textual references to particular artists and observes that such workers guard their knowledge by imbuing it with ritual, taboo and alignment with the supernatural.

The cultures of Cyprus, a large island off the Levantine coast, developed independently with ties to the Levant and perhaps Anatolia.¹² Settlements in the form of clusters of round-houses began to appear in the Neolithic period. By the Middle Bronze Age (*ca.* 1900-1550 BC) the typical house in Cyprus was rectangular with several rooms arranged around a larger central room that served as the circulation hub of the building.¹³ It is not dissimilar from the vernacular house plan found in Crete.¹⁴ By the 13th century BC, Cypriot culture was characterised by the sudden appearance of monumental buildings with lavish use of dressed masonry, the importation of a wide array of luxury items including Mycenaean pottery, and the continued use of the Cypro-Minoan writing system that has affinities with the Minoan Linear A script.¹⁵

The appearance of monumental buildings on Cyprus in the 13th century BC has been linked to regulation of the copper industry, trade and olive oil production, based on their location, size and architecture.¹⁶ These buildings are located at Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni-*Vournes*, Alassa-*Palaioitaverna*, Myrtou-*Pighades* and, in the 12th century, at Hala Sultan Tekke. Although they manifest similarities in construction, general layout and masonry technique, there is substantial diversity in their formal architectural vocabulary. Although the first four of these sites mentioned are court-centred, there are variations in the types of features present in each building. For example, while both Kalavassos and Alassa have large halls devoted to storage, Maroni has an olive press, while Alassa has unique features such as the largest ashlar block attested for 13th-century Cyprus, engaged stone colonettes, and an elaborate drainage system with a curved runnel that has parallels at Knossos.¹⁷ All in all, 24 Aegean and in some cases, also Levantine symbols, influences, design elements and social practices characterise these administrative centres and 12th-century BC religious monuments at Kition, Kouklia-*Palaepaphos* and

¹² For overviews of Cypriot archaeology, see Herscher 1995; 1998; Karageorghis 2002; Steel 2004. On possible Anatolian connections to Cypriot culture, see Frankel and Webb 1998.

¹³ Wright 1992, 311-14, 508.

¹⁴ As described in Preziosi 1971. The Minoan and Cypriot vernacular plan are compared in Hitchcock forthcoming.

¹⁵ On Bronze Age ashlar masonry, see Hult 1983. Hult's important book predates the discovery of earlier 13th century BC or LC IIC administrative structures at Maroni-*Vournes*, Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* and Alassa-*Palaioitaverna*. For an overview, see Karageorghis 2002, 62-68, 90-91; Negbi 2005. On the importation of luxury goods, see Portugali and Knapp 1985. For an overview of Cypro-Minoan, most recently Smith 2003, with references. On trade between Cyprus and Crete going back to EM III/MM IA with further references, see Kanta 1998, 36. On the relationship between Mycenaean pottery and elite identity, see Steel 1998.

¹⁶ As discussed in Keswani 1993.

¹⁷ For a preliminary discussion and catalogue, see Hitchcock 2003b. According to Hadjisavvas 1994, 110, the block at Alassa measures 4.92 x 0.75 m, with an estimated weight of nearly 3 t.

Enkomi.¹⁸ Among the most notable are ‘horns of consecration’ (Fig. 2), ‘mason’s marks’ (Figs. 3-4), aniconic cult representations (Fig. 5), particular orientations and organisational practices, bench shrines, ‘tripartite’ shrines, basin buildings and particular details as noted above.¹⁹

Many of these features, particularly ‘horns of consecration’ and ashlar masonry, have been variously attributed to Sea Peoples, to Aegean colonists and refugees,

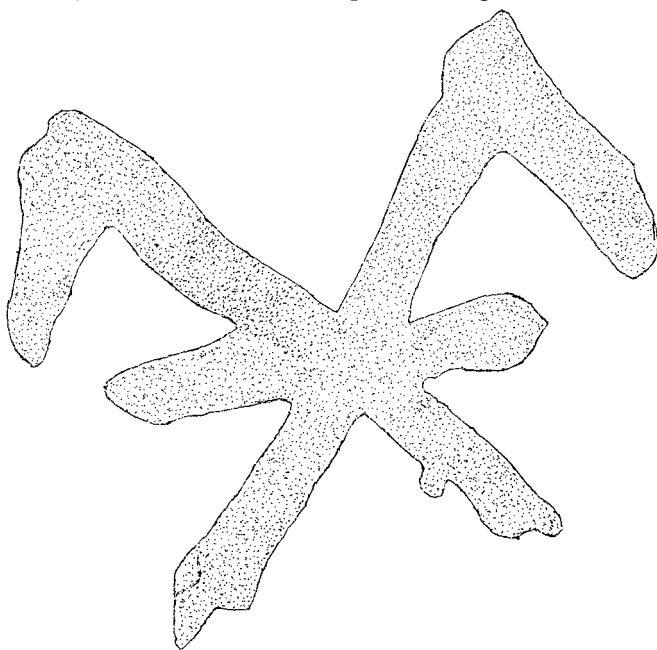


Fig. 3: ‘Mason’s mark’: composite or ligature of Minoan Linear A sign and the Minoan ‘Hockey Sticks’ ‘mason’s mark’ from Hala Sultan Tekke, Cyprus, Late Bronze Age (ca. 12th century BC) (author’s illustration).

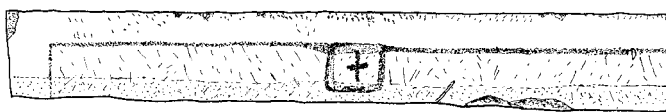


Fig. 4: Ashlar Block in Cypriot style with drafted margins and lifting boss from pithos hall, Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, note the ‘mason’s mark’ of a cross on the boss, Late Bronze Age (ca. 13th century BC) (author’s illustration).

¹⁸ Although the destructions at Kalavassos and Maroni at the end of LC IIC indicate a clear break, there are also continuities leading into LC IIIA, particularly at (but not limited to) Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kition and Kouklia (see also Negbi 2005). Although, the resulting political landscape is not clearly understood, Aegean features such as ‘horns of consecration’ and the basin building at Hala Sultan Tekke continue to occur (see Åström 1980).

¹⁹ For a discussion and further bibliography, see Åström 1996; Hitchcock 2002; 2003b.

trade, or as I would argue, to the enterprising activities of Cypriot elites and other complex factors as discussed below.²⁰ I do not believe it's a coincidence that urbanism on Cyprus accelerates following the decline of Minoan civilisation on Crete. While portable objects may be easily transported over long distances, foreign influences in monumental buildings are less easily explained. As Sir Leonard Woolley once stated, 'one cannot export a palace on board ship'.²¹ The difficulty of interpreting the possible Aegean characteristics in monumental buildings of 13th-century BC Cyprus as well as in the later Philistine architecture of the Levant is re-enforced by the fact that at least three different constituencies would have been involved in the construction of a monumental building: the patron, the architect, and groups of builders with varying degrees of skills and specialised knowledge who executed the design.²² In fact, these three groups are frequently conflated in the literature.²³ Thus it becomes necessary to distinguish among them and attempt to examine the motivations of the patron, to seek out the inspiration of the patron and architect, and to examine the building techniques of the workers.

A Brief History of Ashlar Building on Cyprus and Its Significance

The importance of ashlar masonry as a marker of prestige is widely recognised and the emergence of monumental buildings is significant.²⁴ In contrast to the locally constructed, vernacular house, monumental buildings require planning, full-time specialists and the organisation of materials and labour.²⁵ All of these imply a high level of social complexity as well as social inequality. Monumental structures testify to the ability of their patrons to harness resources in a way that is permanent and continuously visible. The central administrative structures of 13th-century BC Cyprus were dressed to impress and to communicate status. They tended to be located at sites that were urbanised or served as the administrative centres to a surrounding hinterland, have a coastal location or location along a trade route, and served important religious and/or industrial and administrative functions.

²⁰ For example Burdajewicz 1990; Karageorghis 1984, 71-72, n. 11; South 1999. The 13th-century monuments, which form the focus of much of my research, are too early to be attributed to a Sea Peoples colonisation, which is traditionally placed in the 12th century BC.

²¹ The quote from Woolley (1953, 77) first came to my attention in Niemeier 1991, 196.

²² Little attempt has been made to distinguish among patron, architect and builders with regard to architecture in the Bronze Age east Mediterranean as discussed in Hitchcock 1997.

²³ For example, Preziosi (1983, 17) writes '...there were a number of different constructional approaches employed by the Minoan builders in the realization of their designs'.

²⁴ Used in reference to the Bronze Age, the term refers to blocks and architectural features with at least one (and sometimes more) worked face. Wright (2000, 418) refers to Bronze Age ashlar as 'bastard ashlar' and defines it as being finely joined at the face, but splayed open to the interior. See also Wright 1997-98, 574, 576; 1999, 170.

²⁵ Trigger 1990.

The earliest example of Cypriot masonry and building technique that bears comparison with the 13th century BC is the 15th-century (LCIB) ashlar gateway of the fortress at Nitovikla.²⁶ It is characterised by two ashlar orthostats with drafted margins, placed on ashlar plinths, also with drafted margins. The suggested artistic inspiration for this gate was a Syrian master builder and it has been compared with a similar gate at Qatna, based on the presence of ashlar orthostats with drafted margins.²⁷ However, this does not make sense as the gate at Qatna is over a century later and lacks the ashlar plinth with drafted margins.²⁸

I believe that the skill and practice of creating worked surfaces on stone emerged over a long period on Cyprus where a tradition of stone working on the island began much earlier with worked threshold blocks at settlement sites from the Early and Middle Bronze Age.²⁹ The early use of worked blocks in thresholds and gateways was calculated and sparing compared with the more lavish use in the 13th century BC. This increase indicates a conscious, purposeful and escalating emphasis on display. The visual impressiveness of monumental buildings of neighbouring foreign city-states of the eastern Mediterranean may have provided the inspiration for elites on Cyprus to accelerate their use and deployment of an already existing masonry tradition in order to enhance their prestige.

Similarities in masonry working and construction techniques on various parts of Cyprus by the 13th century BC are readily apparent. This technique is characterised by the presence of drafted margins on three or sometimes four sides of the face of the block, a rusticated or raised central panel, and sometimes one or more lifting or manoeuvring bosses are left in place. The joins are relatively neat at the front, the top is roughly finished, and the sides were roughly cut back in a 'V' or irregular trapezoid for easy fitting so that the joints between the blocks could be filled with rubble.³⁰ The outward appearance of these features anticipates a technique that typifies masonry of Classical Greek architecture.³¹ The earliest example of this technique is found in Old Kingdom Egypt where bossed stonework was used on foundation blocks that were covered with plaster.³² Early examples also appear on Crete where orthostat blocks with drafted margins, but without bosses, can be observed in the external west wall of room 58a of the first 'palace' at Phaistos.³³ In addition,

²⁶ Hult 1992a; 1992b; 1994. More recently Karageorghis (2002, 27) places the abandonment of the site in approximately 1420 BC.

²⁷ Hult 1992a; 1994.

²⁸ Hult 1994.

²⁹ Swiny 1986, 34, fig. 54b, c and e.

³⁰ As detailed in Hult 1983; also Wright 1997-98.

³¹ Fiandra 1997, 56.

³² Sandars 1986, 68.

³³ Fiandra 1997, esp. 56-57, figs. 8-9; personal communication.

Hood has called attention to a re-used block with drafted margins in the foundations of the 'Mycenaean'-style megaron at Hagia Triada and in Room IV.1 of the Minoan 'palace' at Mallia.³⁴ Although Phaistos I (*ca.* 1900-1450 BC) substantially predates the gate at Nitovikla, the presence of this technique at later Mallia may hint at an early connection between ashlar masonry technique on Crete and Cyprus. Egyptian influence is another possibility. However, it must be stressed that by the 13th century BC this technique is widespread and well developed on Cyprus, whereas it is absent in Mycenaean Greece. Thus, it is not a Mycenaean import, nor is it a 'Sea People's Innovation'.³⁵

In contrast to this largely uniform masonry tradition, the distinct design features found at different sites in Cyprus as touched upon in the above discussion of unique features at Alassa indicate regional differences and experimentation on the part of architects. I believe that as the use of ashlar became increasingly common, competition among elites to distance themselves from their peers may have inspired them to seek out increasingly elaborate formal expressions. This 'peer polity competition' resulted in an absence of uniformity in the building plans.³⁶ As a result, those responsible for each successive building in the 13th century BC seem to outdo the previous structure in terms of the designs implemented and the amount of ashlar masonry used with the latest monumental building at Alassa being the largest and most elaborate.³⁷ I believe that this absence of an architectural canon is in itself, a strong piece of evidence for multiple administrative centres on Cyprus.³⁸

Questions and Problems in Studying Interconnections

Attempting to determine outside influences raises many questions. What criteria determine whether influences are real or perceived? Why were only portions of a particular architectural vocabulary adopted? How did the transmission of architec-

³⁴ Hood 2000.

³⁵ For example Karageorghis 1998a.

³⁶ This is my play on the term 'peer polity interaction' as discussed in Renfrew 1986. A similar argument regarding the use architectural features and decoration to achieve social distancing, is made by Wallace-Hadrill 1994, who explains the change of fresco styles in Pompeian architecture as driven by the increasing need of the elite to distance themselves as decoration became more accessible to greater numbers. His argument was in turn adapted from Miller's 1985 study of why pottery styles change.

³⁷ Maroni-*Vournes* is regarded as the earliest of the 13th century administrative buildings, followed by Kalavassos, Building X, and finally the building at Alassa (see Cadogan 1984, 10; 1998, 8). Alassa is not yet fully published, but consists of three enormous wings forming a U-shape plan around a central court.

³⁸ Keswani (1993, 76) posits eight polities at Toumba tou Skourou, Enkomi, Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, Maroni, Kalavassos, Alassa and Kouklia. A ninth might be suggested at Myrtou-*Pighades* where metallurgical remains and olive oil production can be associated with the partially excavated East Building. See also Webb 1999, 3-5.

tural knowledge occur? The tendency of cultural historians in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was to attribute every new development of a culture to the stimulation of a 'more advanced' civilisation. The 'New' archaeology of the 1960s and 1970s took the opposite extreme, arguing that every innovation was an indigenous development.³⁹ In following a recently proposed model of modified diffusionism, I treat indigenous development and external influences as complementary and co-occurring components of cultural transformation.⁴⁰ As unusual characteristics on Cyprus such as 'horns of consecration' and drains with runnels with parabolic curves are identified within a defined context along with other multiple imported characteristics, a greater degree of confidence can be placed in an interpretation of foreign influence.

Who/What was the source of the influence?

Colonisation

With regard to the transference of outside influences, the colonisation of Cyprus by Mycenaean Greeks has long served as a convenient mechanism to explain the presence of Mycenaean pottery and the eventual predominance of the Greek language on Cyprus.⁴¹ The use of the term 'colonisation' is inherently problematic and inappropriate for the description of any hypothetical foreign presence on Cyprus because of modern connotations attached to the term. Colonisation has been defined as the presence of one or more groups of foreign people in a region at some distance from their place of origin (the 'colonisers') and the existence of unequal socio-economic relationships of domination or exploitation between the colonising groups and the inhabitants of the colonised region.⁴² Furthermore, colonisation is often equated with progress and civilisation, so that it becomes the necessary ingredient for these things to occur. Thus the concept of foreign influence is preferred here. However, this too, needs to be contextualised in terms of the changes in social relations that emerged from such types of contact, and how this affects contemporary agendas.

Much of the argument for Mycenaeans on Cyprus rests on pottery evidence, now regarded as a flimsy peg on which to hang the cloak of ethnic identity.⁴³

³⁹ For example Renfrew 1972.

⁴⁰ See Niemeier 1991, 189.

⁴¹ For example Cook 1988, 13-14; Karageorghis 1976, 69-72; 1998a; 2000.

⁴² van Dommelen 1997.

⁴³ Karageorghis (2000) has recently attributed an unusually wide range of artefacts and features to Aegean colonists. Some of these features, such as hearths and bathtubs were already on Cyprus, while others, such as settlements and fortifications, bear a problematic relationship to Mycenaean architecture. For example, Karageorghis (2000, 265-66; 1998a; 1998b) assigns construction of the fortifica-

Aegean pottery at Cypriot sites does not prove complex historical processes such as migrations of ethnic groups, particularly in the 13th century, the period primarily under consideration here. It may simply indicate trade.⁴⁴ Furthermore, it is difficult to speak of an influx of Mycenaean versus an influx of Cretans because by the end of the 15th-century BC destructions on Crete it is difficult to say who exactly the Cretans were.⁴⁵ The type of masonry used on Cyprus does not support the idea of colonisation as the Cypriot technique has few parallels elsewhere when it appears in the 15th century BC at Nitovikla, occurs in 14th-century BC tombs at Enkomi without drafted margins, and expands in use in the 13th century BC, when it occurs at Maroni-Vournes, Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios and Alassa-Palaiotaverna as discussed above.⁴⁶ Thus, I have examined other explanations for Aegean influence on Cypriot architecture of the 13th century BC.

Ethnicity

It is problematic to look for ethnicity in the archaeological record. Past agendas have associated artefact type, settlement area, ethnic group and race with 19th- to mid-20th-century AD Western notions of race, progress and civilisation. Such linkages have resulted in racism, and have been used to justify colonialism, economic

tion wall at Maa-Palaeokastro to Mycenaean Sea People because of its 'Cyclopean' masonry and dog-leg gate, which he has compared with the first gate at Mycenae. However, Fortin (1981, 540-41; also Loader 1998, 153) notes further distinctions in construction details with Mycenaean fortifications, which are much wider (on average *ca.* 8.0 m), employ a different masonry technique, and are sited differently. Demas (1984, 220; 1988, 63) describes the wall at Maa as being composed of large facing blocks and rubble packing, and notes Cypriot parallels at Enkomi, Sinda, Kition and Lara. Mylonas (1962, 171, fig. 102, 182) notes that the overlapping dog-leg gate, which appears in reconstructions of the early, pre-Lion Gate fortification at Mycenae was not preserved and its form was arrived at by conjecture. Wright (1978, 197) points out that if the reconstruction of a dog-leg gate Mycenae is correct, it would have been the first of its kind. Thus, one of the main Mycenaean features on which Karageorghis bases his interpretation of the wall at Maa, may not exist. In addition, the location of Maa on an unapproachable promontory suggests a clear defensive function for the wall, whereas the Mycenaean citadels have come to be seen as performative spaces rather than purely defensive structures as argued by Maran 2006. With regard to hearths, such features were widely spread throughout the east Mediterranean with circular, horse-shoe shaped and rectangular shaped hearths also found in palatial, non-palatial and post-palatial Cretan buildings, most notably in the Minoan palace at Galatas as discussed by Rethemiotakis 1999 (see also Shaw 1990). Rethemiotakis (1999, 724) further suggests that the Minoans may have even influenced the construction of ceremonial Mycenaean hearths. Finally, Collard's 2008 recent study on Cypriot bathtubs has emphasised their LC IIA and IIC occurrences, prior to any proposed Mycenaean Sea Peoples colonisation.

⁴⁴ For example Maier 1984, 50-102, 114-17; South 1999.

⁴⁵ Hitchcock 1999a. In addition, there is an unfortunate tendency to conflate all Aegean cultures at the end of the Bronze Age under the abstract terms 'Aegeans' and/or Cypro-Aegean, similarly noted by Gilboa 2005, 55.

⁴⁶ See Hult 1992a; 1992b; 1994; Keswani 1989, 54-55; Negbi 2005, 12.

exploitation, genocide, slavery and social and political domination.⁴⁷ Modern theories of ethnicity are more focused on studying the formation of group self-identity than about the singling out of different cultural groups. More interesting to this author, is to look at how Bronze Age Cypriots knowledgeably appropriated particular aspects of Aegean culture to construct their identities and even begin to look at the motivations behind adopting Aegean symbols, habits and artefacts.

Contemporary research regards the association of a particular artefact with a particular ethnic group as a single distinguishing attribute among many, not a defining criterion of ethnicity, which is regarded as a social construction.⁴⁸ Ethnicity is neither objective nor inherently determined; nor is it entirely determined by a single factor of genetics, linguistics or religion, or even common cultural factors. Instead, all of these should be treated as distinguishing attributes associated with ethnic groups. The overall character of a particular group should be determined by the entire repertoire of social and material culture in which certain artefacts become emblematic of cultural boundaries. The boundaries are not necessarily permanent and the emblematic artefacts need not remain constant. A range of items can be used to signal similarity or difference from others. Ethnic identity, then, is something based on shifting, situational and subjective identifications of self and others.⁴⁹ These are rooted in ongoing daily practice and historical experience. In other words, we are, or we become, what we do and how we see ourselves, rather than simply which type of pottery we produce or what language we speak.⁵⁰

The appearance of Aegean architectural traits in Cyprus in the 13th century may be best explained by a multiplicity of factors including gradual transformation from multiple types of cultural contact, economic opportunism and a desire by elites to enhance their prestige. It can be argued that contacts with Aegean and Near Eastern peoples resulted in the conscious appropriation of particular symbols, objects, their circulation and the daily routines connected with them, rather than only cultural invasion or colonisation. And, although it is unlikely, these changes need not have signalled an influx of a single individual from elsewhere.⁵¹

⁴⁷ For example Härke 1991.

⁴⁸ Hall 1995.

⁴⁹ Jones 1997, 13-14, 28.

⁵⁰ Even the use and spread of a language can sometimes have more to do with practicality than ethnic identity as shown by the use of Akkadian as a diplomatic language or *lingua franca*, for example by the Hittites and by the Egyptians as in the Amarna letters, as well as its eventual decline in favour of Aramaic (see Moran 1992, xviii-xxii; Cook 1997).

⁵¹ The goal of this paper is not to prove that migration did not occur, rather that it is difficult to prove archaeologically. In this regard, the position taken here may be seen as a minimalist one. Furthermore, we may learn more from the archaeology by trying to understand how new symbols, architecture and artefacts affected the daily life of the different groups who used them. See also Todd 1991, 547-48.

What Do External Influences Real and/or Perceived Mean?

With regard to the importance of external influences, we may see some of the changes taking place in 13th-century BC Cyprus as an example of emulation, that is, elites importing or commissioning particular imported symbols for ideological purposes, which were then interpreted in a local style. One example of this might be the 'horns of consecration' found at Kition and on the altar at Myrtou-Pighades where each of the two horns is a separate segment with a flattened top. The importation of architectural forms to enhance ones prestige is not uncommon. It is attested throughout time, from the Augustan appropriation of the architectural and artistic symbolism of Athenian democracy,⁵² to the American use of Neo-Classical forms to create a prestigious genealogy.

The practice of creating portable prestige objects in exotic materials, rendered in a hybridised, 'International Style' or shared repertoire of artistic motifs in the Aegean and the Near East was on-going in the Late Bronze Age east Mediterranean and has recently been interpreted by Feldman as playing a key role in the construction of supra-elite regional identities.⁵³ I believe that Cypriot elites were using their patronage to create a corresponding 'International Style' of elite, hybridised architectural forms and decoration composed of features compatible with existing beliefs, and that they were also communicating their status to an international audience of merchants, diplomats and sea-farers. Having a building employing elaborate architectural features and ashlar masonry was a form of symbolic or 'cultural capital', demonstrated one's affiliation with what might be termed 'club east Med' and/or a prestigious ancestry.⁵⁴

The Ashlar Building at Enkomi (Fig. 6) is a good example of a hybridised building exemplifying exotic and hybridised features.⁵⁵ It was a multi-roomed structure (*ca.* 32.5 x 28.5 m) organised around a central, rectangular hall with a squarish hearth. Features of the Ashlar Building regarded as Mycenaean and compared with the Mycenaean palaces include its scheme of central and subsidiary halls with central hearths.⁵⁶ However, the central hearth added in Mycenaean IIIC:1b bears little similarity to Mycenaean palatial hearths. Mycenaean monumental plaster hearths are round, always painted, and range in diameter from 3.7-4.0 m, more than twice

⁵² For example Zanker 1988.

⁵³ Feldman 2002 (esp. 6-7 for a history of the term and its use); 2005.

⁵⁴ Inomata (2001, 324) defines cultural capital as possessing and appreciating cultural knowledge, which is esoteric and restricted.

⁵⁵ For the Ashlar Building, see Dikaio 1969, 171-90; 1971, 514-16. The Level IIIA period, which appears to conform to the domestic/official use of this building is variously assigned to LC IIC or LC IIIA (13th or 12th century BC), as detailed by Webb 1999, 91-92.

⁵⁶ Karageorghis 1998a, 277; Dikaio 1969, 175-76.

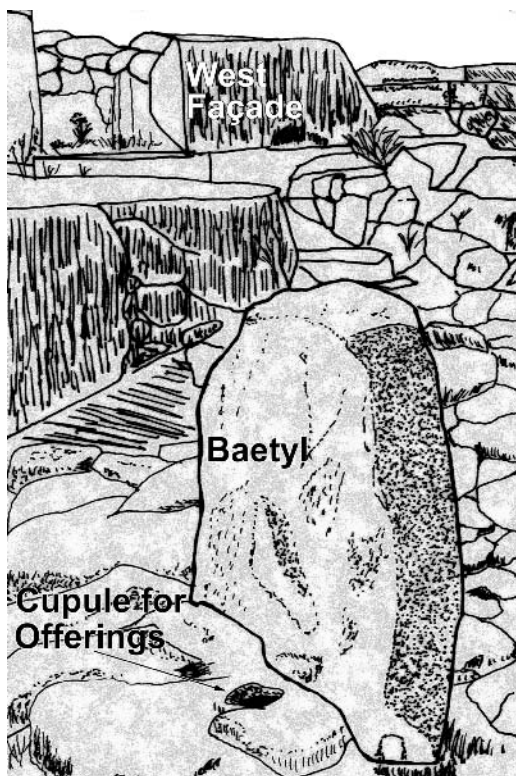


Fig. 5: Baetyl or standing stone from the West Court of the Late Bronze Age (ca. 17th–mid 15th century BC) Minoan ‘Palace’ at Gournia.

Similar stones appear earlier in an architectural context in the Bronze and Iron Ages in the Levant and occur in toward the end of the Bronze Age on Cyprus (author’s illustration).

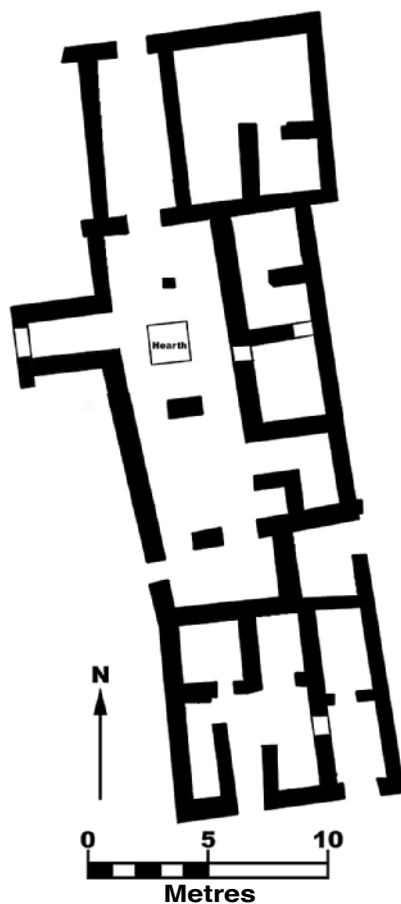


Fig. 6: Ashlar Building, Enkomi, 13th or 12th century BC, simplified plan (illustration by Brian O’Neill).

the size of the Enkomi hearth, which measures only 1.2 m per side.⁵⁷ Furthermore rectangular shaped hearths are also found in palatial through post-palatial Cretan buildings.⁵⁸

The entry corridor at the north end of the Ashlar Building contrasts with the entrances to Mycenaean palaces, which were never direct, but involved passing through a porch and fore-hall, sometimes by way of a propylon and a court as at Pylos, Tiryns and Mycenae. This corridor entrance is more typical of other Cypriot

⁵⁷ Blegen and Rawson 1966, 85–87; Tournavitou 1999, esp. 833, n. 2

⁵⁸ Rethemiotakis 1999; Shaw 1990.

buildings as at Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, Building X as well as at the earlier Minoan 'palace' at Mallia. Nonetheless, as the organisational centre of the building, the unit of rear hall, fore hall and hall at Enkomi imitates Mycenaean design. Mycenaean palaces were always hall-centred in contrast to Minoan 'palaces' and other Cypriot monumental buildings, which were court-centred.⁵⁹ The division of a Mycenaean megaron into three parts was achieved by use of projecting walls with a central doorway. In contrast, at Enkomi, the hall was divided into three parts by means of two rectangular pillars.⁶⁰ This use of pillars in the Ashlar Building has been compared with that in Minoan buildings.⁶¹ The rectangular pillars at Enkomi, however are distinct from Minoan pillars, which are typically square. Yet, like most Minoan pillars, they are constructed of multiple blocks in contrast to many other Cypriot pillars, which are monolithic as at Kouklia-*Palaepaphos* and Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, Building X. A row of four side rooms separated from the megaron by a corridor is also typical of Mycenaean design, yet the corridor is absent here.⁶² Some of the plinth blocks at Enkomi contain drafted margins and bosses.⁶³ As discussed above, plinth blocks with bosses are a feature of Cypriot masonry, not a Mycenaean feature. Any similarity to a Mycenaean structure appears generic, yet I believe that the building is an awkward Cypriot attempt to copy Aegean prestige architecture as indicated by anomalies such as the square hearth, absence of a circulatory corridor, corridor entrance, and preference for segmented, rectangular pillars over columns and projecting walls. Given the architectural oddities of this building combined with clear Aegean forms begs some explanation other than a 'Sea People's Innovation'.

I suggest that some of the material transformations taking place on Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age, may have been partially affected by the violent destruction of all the Neopalatial Minoan sites in *ca.* 1490 BC and again by the later destruction of Knossos.⁶⁴ These destructions could have affected both Cyprus and the Greek Mainland in two ways. First of all, such disruptions may have created multiple populations of refugees, some of who may have sought shelter elsewhere on Crete, while others may have begun new lives for themselves elsewhere in the Aegean and/or in Cyprus. In both cases, some aspects of their culture might have been shed in a process of assimilation just as others were preserved artefactually and in their oral histories.

⁵⁹ Yiannouli 1992, 170-75; Dikaios 1969, 180; 1971, 515.

⁶⁰ Dikaios 1969, 174, 187.

⁶¹ Papadopoulos 1997, 171; Karageorghis 1982, 94.

⁶² As discussed in Preziosi 1983, 177-93; Wright 2006, 61-62.

⁶³ Dikaios 1969, 174.

⁶⁴ For a detailed assessment of the decline or cessation of palatial architecture, art and craft activities after the destruction of Minoan civilisation in LM IB, see Rehak 1997.

Secondly, Cyprus may have benefited materially from the economic vacuum left by the destruction of Knossos, allowing Cypriot centres to come to prominence in an already long established east Mediterranean trading network. Bachhuber has recently argued that Knossos led the Aegean in interregional exchange activities in LM III based on the number of imported objects found there and at Kommos in LM IIIA-B, evidence for contacts abroad in the Linear B tablets from Knossos, the quantity of Cretan made stirrup jars on the Ulu Burun ship, and on the belief that Knossos controlled the emporium at Kommos based on mentions of Phaistos in the Linear B tablets.⁶⁵ The widespread distribution of Mycenaean (IIIA.2 and IIIB) pottery in Cyprus and in the Levant in the 14th and 13th centuries BC,⁶⁶ indications that copper ingots on the Cape Gelidonya and Ulu Burun shipwrecks may have been of Cypriot origin,⁶⁷ and the emergence and proliferation of monumental structures in 13th-century BC Cyprus gives further support to this hypothesis.

Rather than simply seeing the fall of Knossos as contributing to an influx of foreign settlers, we might instead see this event as opening new opportunities and markets for foreign exchange in Cyprus. This stimulus may have led to increasing wealth and further exploitation of natural resources and the utilisation of pre-existing trade routes by emerging polities in Cyprus. Commercial motives may have been behind the proliferation of monumental administrative structures, which served as centres of conspicuous consumption and display. A break down in the marketing of copper obtained by Crete, as well as in other manufactured items produced in Crete, may have opened up new markets for Cypriot goods, particularly copper and olive oil. The olive press at Maroni-*Vournes*, gas-chromatography of the pithoi from Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, and visual evidence of intense burning in the pithos hall at *Alassa-Palaiotaverna* indicates the importance of the olive oil trade at all three sites.⁶⁸

In such a milieu, creating a visual and genealogical link to the old and venerable civilisation of the Minoans, which continued to be remembered long after its destruction in Homeric poetry and Greek legend may have been particularly attractive to the Cypriots. In contemporary society, ruins such as the Western Wall in Jerusalem continue to exert a powerful influence both on religious Jews as well as on those who witness the power that sacred ruins have on the faithful. Recent work by Prent and others has shown that the remnants of Minoan monumental architecture not only remained visible after the destruction of the 'palaces' but was revered

⁶⁵ As recently detailed in Bachhuber 2006, 358-59.

⁶⁶ Catling 1957, 46.

⁶⁷ Knapp 1993.

⁶⁸ For example Hadjisavvas 1992, 21-26; Keswani 1992; Manning and Monks 1998, 350-51; Negbi 2005, 13-15.

in subsequent periods in the form of ruin cults whereby feasting ceremonies and the deposition of prestige goods took place amidst or near the ruins of ashlar buildings and palatial sanctuaries at Knossos, Amnisos, Hagia Triada, Gournia, Kato Symi and Phaistos.⁶⁹ Thus, it is clear that the remains of the 'palaces' and other Minoan buildings have continued to exert a visual influence on passers-by as part of a visible and venerated landscape of ruins well into the Iron Age. Indeed, Wallace argues that reference can be made to abandoned sites of various types to substantiate group authority, status and land claims in what she calls a 'perpetuated past'.⁷⁰ Within this perpetuated past, real chronology is disregarded and reference to the material past blurs the boundaries between settlement, cult and mortuary spheres. Hence, the significance of the 'palace' of Knossos, its associated buildings such as the 'Caravanserai', and other important Minoan sites remained alive in post-palatial shrines and depositions of offerings in and around these structures.⁷¹ It is reasonable to suggest that descriptions of, and stories about, these still impressive ruins with their ashlar masonry, pillared halls and so forth accompanied the circulation of portable goods around the east Mediterranean.

Using the well-known example of the Kula Ring system of the Trobriand Islanders studied in 1920 by Bronislaw Malinowski and still going on, where items acquired additional value through their history of travel and ownership, Cline argues that the value of objects in the east Mediterranean was enhanced by their history.⁷² Trade within the Kula Ring among the Trobriand consisted of sometimes hazardous sea journeys to acquire and exchange shell armbands and necklaces, which could not reside with a particular owner for more than ten years. The value of the object was not intrinsic to the object, but in the influence, status and fame bound up in the creation of histories and stories about the object and the process of its acquisition through undertaking a challenging and heroic journey.⁷³ The relevance of this example is in the notion that stories of places visited and seen continue to circulate for sometime after the trip has taken place.

Additional prestige in the form of 'distance value', that is, status attached to something based on the distance from its origin,⁷⁴ may have become attached to the introduction of a foreign visual language in Cypriot architecture. Knapp and others have suggested that the status attached to distant goods served as an ideology

⁶⁹ Prent 2003; 2004; Coldstream 2000; D'Agata 1998.

⁷⁰ Wallace 2003.

⁷¹ Many of these post-palatial bench shrines, such as those at Gazi, Karphi, Kavousi and Knossos continued to deploy well-known Minoan symbols such as 'horns of consecration'.

⁷² Cline 1995a.

⁷³ Haviland 2002, esp. 195-97.

⁷⁴ Cline 1999.

to legitimise political power.⁷⁵ In establishing a physical link to the tombs of ancestors, by locating monumental administrative structures in close spatial association with earlier tombs, the builders and/or their patrons in 13th-century BC Cyprus were aware of the power of the past.⁷⁶ Cypriot patrons and architects may have looked beyond their shores to forge ever more powerful historical links with a heroic and mythical past as embodied by the Minoan civilisation, the source of the Cypro-Minoan script. A desire for imported Mycenaean pottery, primarily for ceremonial use by elites re-enforces this hypothesis. The small percentage of Aegean pottery at sites with highly visible Minoan symbols such as 'horns of consecration',⁷⁷ and the goddess with upraised arms as well as more generic symbols of power such as ashlar masonry also re-enforces the idea that these symbols can just as easily be attributed to the construction of an official ideology appropriated from Crete as to an influx of new peoples. Yet, these newly introduced symbols and forms were not quite so foreign or exotic as to lack meaning to the local population. Furthermore, they would have communicated a familiar visual language to foreign traders and others who had frequented the Aegean, thus advertising Cypriot administrative centres as the newly self-anointed and self-appointed heirs to the 'Throne of Minos'.⁷⁸ In other words, Cypriot elites appropriated Aegean architectural symbols and design elements in order to insert themselves into a prestigious genealogy linking them to Minoan Crete, while assuming their own place in east Mediterranean trade.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Knapp 1998, 195; also Webb 1999, 302-04; Feldman 2005.

⁷⁶ See Cadogan 1996, 17; Manning 1998; Manning and Monks 1998; South 1997, 171.

⁷⁷ At least five 'horns of consecration' occur on Cyprus as architectural elements (two at Kition, two at Kouklia-*Palaepaphos*, and one at Myrtou-*Pighades*) with a sixth possible one observed (but not systematically documented) at Toumba tou Skourou by Vermeule (1974, 10). In addition, an Iron Age stele from Kouklia-*Palaepaphos* is topped by a 'horns of consecration', as noted by Louloupis 1973; also Hult 1977, 161, fig. 184. In stark contrast, just two are known from the Greek mainland, one from Gla and one from Pylos (see Rehak 1997, 60; Blegen and Rawson 1966, fig. 273, no. 20; and Hägg 1991, who notes they are a Minoan, rather than a Mycenaean symbol). 'Horns of consecration' are part of a wider Near Eastern phenomenon as detailed in Hitchcock 2002.

⁷⁸ Although, this suggestion is meant symbolically, a parallel to the Knossian throne was interestingly found at Hala Sultan Tekke in the form of a stone seat found in the forecourt (room 19) of Building C, Area 8 west, and is associated with well F1600 (see Åström 1998, 52-53, esp. figs. 87-88). The top surface appears to be moulded to fit human contours much like the seat of the throne at Knossos, as described in Younger 1995a, 191, no. 262. Though solid, the front of the Hala Sultan Tekke seat depicts a shallow central triangular depression that creates the effect of articulating triangular chair legs to either side and incised with vertical lines.

⁷⁹ Wright (2006) has convincingly made a similar argument for the selective appropriation of Minoan architectural elements in the Mycenaean palaces, particularly the incorporation of Knossian-style elements such as revetments carved with 'triglyph rosette' motifs, to enhance the status of the Mycenaean ruling elite after the fall of Knossos. See also Maran 2006. In terms of trade, Cline (1994,

Another reason why Cypriot elites may have felt comfortable adopting both Aegean and Near Eastern religious symbols and architectural forms might be explained by common core beliefs and practices that underlie other, more superficial distinctions in cultural identity. These commonalities are found in shared technologies such as metallurgy, writing and administration, wheel-made pottery, and common religious beliefs related to the importance of fertility. These commonalities are tied to a common set of economic practices based on settled agriculture and the raising of livestock.⁸⁰ Examples of shared beliefs and related practices can be found in both Crete and Cyprus, with some dating back to an earlier period. They include cult practices focused on triads as exhibited in the terracotta models from Kotchati and in Aegean Tripartite shrines,⁸¹ bench shrines, emphasis on the bull as a symbol of fertility, and in aniconic representations in the form of standing stones. Standing stones worshipped as deities are one example of a number of symbols common to the Minoan, Mycenaean, Canaanite and early Israelite cultures as well as Cyprus.⁸²

Some of these practices, such as the veneration of standing stones may have found their way to Crete from Cyprus or the Levant, only to find their way back again to Cyprus in a new architectural context. Another possibility is that these beliefs point back to a common Near Eastern origin for both peoples that developed their own distinct characteristics through relative isolation due to their status as island cultures. Or, they may be partly linked to adaptive behaviours. Some combination of all three explanations is also possible. To assign a single explanation to the changes taking place during the 13th-12th centuries BC is to project an unrealistic simplicity on a period characterised by increasing complexity.

Architects, Builders and Labourers

Although Aegean archaeologists have long speculated about the possibility of itinerant craftsmen,⁸³ Zaccagnini and others have dismissed this concept in pre-classical Near Eastern society.⁸⁴ Citing an absence of evidence to support their existence,

61) has shown that the 13th century was the period of greatest influx of Cypriot items into Mainland Greece.

⁸⁰ Hitchcock 1999a; Niemeier 1991, 189; Sherratt 1994, 238.

⁸¹ For example Åström 1996; O'Bryhim 1996; Shaw 1978.

⁸² For Cyprus, see Webb 1999, 182-83; Karageorghis 1992; Courtois 1971, figs. 136-138; for the Levant, see Graesser 1972; Mettinger 1995; and for the Aegean, see Warren 1990.

⁸³ The insertion of itinerant craftsmen in prehistory is a made-up category that is widely cited, but for which no evidence or Bronze Age textual parallels exist. See, for example, Bloedow 1997; Christakis 2004; Cline 1995b; Cummer 1980; Morris 2000; Shear 2004; and Weingarten 1983.

⁸⁴ Zaccagnini 1983, esp. 258; and more recently Muhly 2005; Hitchcock 2005.

Zaccagnini argues that specialised workers were strictly bound to temple and/or palace economic structures.⁸⁵ Sasson observes that Akkadian texts indicate three categories of skilled workers in the kingdom of Mari (Syria).⁸⁶ The first category was of less skilled workers that were employed locally, the second was for *corvée* labourers, and the third included artisans employed in foreign dominions.⁸⁷ Among skilled workers, the texts identify manual labourers, house-builders, architects and carpenters.⁸⁸

There are several documented reasons for the transfer or trade of artisans in the Bronze Age texts of Mesopotamia. These include: the political status of a district where particular posts were not left vacant; study or apprenticeship; a need to keep a particularly important craft person employed; the exchange of services; and reciprocity.⁸⁹ Zaccagnini suggests that the sending of craft specialists to other polities in the Near East was patterned on the conventions of elite gift-exchange.⁹⁰ In this way, specialised workers, such as architects, might become prestige goods that were temporarily gifted in the course of forming and re-enforcing diplomatic relations. Although he does not cover this issue, it would seem that sending a skilled craftsman to another court also relieves the gift-giver of that individual's maintenance. Applied to the Aegean, Zaccagnini's model could explain the spread of a Minoan palatial architectural style, Minoan building techniques, as well as particular Knossian features such as fresco technique to other sites in Crete,⁹¹ neighbouring islands,⁹² and the Mainland.⁹³ It might also enable us to understand the spread of

⁸⁵ Zaccagnini 1983.

⁸⁶ Sasson 1968.

⁸⁷ Sasson 1968, 46-47.

⁸⁸ Sasson 1968, 46-47.

⁸⁹ Sasson 1968, 46-47; Zaccagnini 1983, 245-64.

⁹⁰ Zaccagnini 1983, 249-57.

⁹¹ Compare with the argument in Rehak 1997b, which equates a Knossian style of fresco painting at Hagia Triada with Knossian hegemony. Temporary gifting of fresco painters may provide an alternate explanation.

⁹² Thera, Kea and Melos, what Davis (1979) calls the 'Western String', are the islands most frequently mentioned as being influenced by the Minoans. For example, see Hitchcock 1998; Palyvou 2005.

⁹³ The similarities and differences between Minoan and Mycenaean ashlar technique are detailed in Wright 1978, 134-51, 272-74. The most notable of Wright's observations include Linear A signs on some Mycenaean blocks; the early LH I/II appearance of ashlar on the mainland; the similarity of size, shape and material of the Mycenaean and Minoan ashlar blocks; the use of dove-tailed mortices to receive wooden tenons that secured blocks to the rubble wall core, the use of square dowels to hold horizontal timbers along the outer face of the blocks, the occasional use of mortar, the frequent cutting of beddings for timber that run both parallel and perpendicular to the wall face, and the practice of cutting ashlar blocks to interlock with each other at offset corners. Blocks with drafted margins, rusticated central panels and bosses are not mentioned. See also Shaw 1971, 174-83, figs. 92, 94.

Aegean fresco techniques and motifs to sites such as Alalakh, Tel Kabri, Tell el-Daba and Qatna.⁹⁴

The only accounts of specifically Minoan architects are mythical. The legendary Minoan inventor and architect, Daedalus, whose cult was attested at Knossos in the Linear B texts has been associated with the Canaanite god of craftsmanship Kothar-Wa-Hasis, who had a seat in Crete.⁹⁵ Some Aegean archaeologists literally accept a passage in the Ugaritic epic of Baal, in which Kothar was brought from Crete to build a palace for Baal as an explanation for Aegean-style frescoes in Egypt and the Levant.⁹⁶ This mythical scenario, however, conforms to the historical practices occurring in Mesopotamia. Zaccagnini's model does not explain the appearance of selected Minoan features on Cyprus after the destruction, initially of most of the Minoan 'palaces', and later of Knossos because there are no longer any Minoan elite patrons in power to send this type of in-kind gift. Nor does it account for the effect that catastrophes, both natural and man-made, might have on the relationship between royal or elite patrons and skilled workers. This does not invalidate Zaccagnini's model, rather it raises the need for further elaboration and analysis of the means of the movement of skilled workers as well as the transmission of ideas about architectural features. Along these lines, it is tempting to speculate that Mycenaean kings could have sent architects to Cyprus, who were descended from Minoans or Minoan trained architects.

As a point for further research, Zaccagnini suggested the investigation of the fate of specialised craftsmen after the fall of Levantine and Greek palace organisations, *ca.* 1200 BC.⁹⁷ Expanding on his suggestion, their fate would also be an issue after earlier catastrophes occurring throughout the Bronze Age, such as the eruption of Thera, the destruction of Minoan civilisation, and the final destruction of Knossos. Others have already suggested that Minoan craftsmen that survived the upheavals on Crete in the 15th and again in the 14th centuries sought new outlets for their work.⁹⁸ Certainly such individuals relied on elite patronage, and the collapse of pa-

⁹⁴ For a discussion of the frescoes with additional references, see Niemeier and Niemeier 1997. For the more recent work at Qatna, see Novak and Pfälzner 2002, 226-31, pls. 13-16.

⁹⁵ The Daidaleion (DA-DA-RE-JO-DE), mentioned in Tablets Fp 1 and possibly Fs 32 from Knossos, refers to an unidentified place or shrine where offerings were made to the QE-RA-SI-JA and various deities, see Gulizio *et al.* 2000, 458, n. 31.

⁹⁶ Niemeier and Niemeier 1998, 96; Niemeier 1991, 199, with references; Cline 1995a. Most recently Yon (2003, 43) attributes the use of vertical and horizontal timbers in concert with ashlar masonry to Cretan influence, citing the Cretan connection with Kothar. The Ugaritic word for Crete was Kptr or Kaptaru in Akkadian, Caphtor in the Bible. For the text of the epic, see Coogan 1978, esp. 96. For Akkadian trading relations with Cretans, see Maeir 2000.

⁹⁷ Zaccagnini 1983, 258.

⁹⁸ Weingarten 1983, 124; Porada 1988.

latial societies in the Aegean on various occasions might serve as a motivation for seeking out such patronage through limited migration.⁹⁹ Attempting to formulate hypotheses or models to explain the fate of skilled craftsmen attached to various centres at the end of the Bronze Age and even earlier adds a further dimension to attempting to explain events at the end of the Bronze Age. Such a scenario might also account for modifications in the execution of architectural styles after the aforementioned catastrophes.

Coming back to the issue raised by Zaccagnini about the fate of specialised craftsmen after the collapse of Bronze Age civilisations, these events have been investigated frequently with regard to attempting to identify movements, activities and identities of the Sea Peoples. Evidence advanced in favour of the idea that Aegean peoples migrated to Cyprus and the Levant include the local foreign production of Mycenaean IIC ware types, as well as the appearance of artefacts, features, architectural forms and consumption patterns interpreted as Aegean in origin.¹⁰⁰ Attempts to attribute the appearance of Aegean cultural traits in Cyprus and the Levant at the end of the Bronze Age to trade have not been well received in the scholarly community,¹⁰¹ with the most convincing rebuttal presented by Barako.¹⁰² Among the key elements of Barako's argument are: the complete cessation of Mycenaean exports to Philistine sites, destruction levels resulting from violent encounters, and a new material culture that included locally produced Mycenaean-style pottery.¹⁰³ One serious flaw in this argument that is not adequately accounted for, however, is given the fact that the production centres for Mycenaean pottery, namely the Mycenaean palaces, have been destroyed, it is unlikely that Mycenaean exports would occur in the 12th century BC.

Another possibility that can account for these changes brings us back to the fate of skilled craftsmen at the end of the Bronze Age. The value placed on skilled workers is alluded to in the *Odyssey* (17. 382-386): 'Who will personally invite a foreigner, unless he is a craftsman, a diviner, a healer, a carpenter, a divine singer who delights with his songs? These are the ones among men who are sought on the broad earth' and in the Book of Proverbs (22:29): 'Do you see a man skilful in his work? He will stand before kings; he will not stand before obscure men.' Although

⁹⁹ Gilboa (2005, 55) similarly suggests that Cypriot pithos makers sought new markets on the Phoenician coast at the end of LC IIIA.

¹⁰⁰ For the most recent sample of these arguments with further bibliography, see the various papers in Gitin *et al.* 1998; and Oren 2000. See also Killebrew 2005. Not every change or artefact assigned to the Aegean is Aegean in origin for example incised ox scapulae are Cypriot, found in the Levant, but thus far absent in the Aegean, also Zukerman *et al.* 2007.

¹⁰¹ Most notably by Sherratt 1998.

¹⁰² Barako 2000; 2003.

¹⁰³ Barako 2000, esp. 515-16.

these passages are anachronistic, they reveal the value placed on skilled workers in the ancient world.¹⁰⁴ Further they may allude to the movement of qualified artisans seeking out suitable jobs and elite patronage after the fall of the Minoan world, and again after the destruction of Cypriot and Mycenaean centres at the end of the Bronze Age. These social displacements may have motivated skilled workers to seek their fortunes in the service of new palatial or other elite organisations. In such a scenario, small-scale migrations of disenfranchised skilled workers and their families in search of new patronage could affect large-scale changes in material culture, particularly at the level of decorated pottery production, creation of exotic religious artefacts, and in the construction of monumental buildings.¹⁰⁵ Such limited migrations of persons or ideas might explain Minoan 'mason's marks' and other features turning up at early Mycenaean sites as at Kolonna, Pylos and Peristeria,¹⁰⁶ as well as Aegean features occurring in Cypriot monumental buildings in the 13th century BC, and occurring again later in so-called 'Sea People's' settlements. Their existence may be inferred both from the stability of stylistic traditions and in the imperfect transmission of particular features such as 'horns of consecration' and megaron halls.

Transmission, Routine, Representation and Identity

The problems evident in trying to understand the issues of transmission of architectural features in the Late Bronze Age, can also be found as late as the mediaeval period, as detailed in Richard Krautheimer's standard study on the various forms of numerous 'copies' of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in mediaeval Europe based on travellers' descriptions.¹⁰⁷ In spite of the fact that some of these travellers were emissaries sent to bring the precise instructions and measurements of the Holy Sepulchre, the replicas built thereafter displayed very few similarities, either with the famous model or with each other. This is despite the intention of imitating the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre being expressly stated for numerous copies built in Europe between the 5th and 17th centuries AD, yet no mediaeval source discusses design or construction, beyond the materials used.¹⁰⁸ This example illustrates how the replication of an architectural form can become modified or distorted even in

¹⁰⁴ The value placed on such skills is evident much earlier as indicated a statue of Gudea, the king of Lagash, portrayed with architectural plan and described as a builder in texts buried as foundation deposits (see Frankfort 1954, 48-49), or in the Egyptian reverence of Imhotep, Djoser's architect at Saqqara (Smith 1958, 31).

¹⁰⁵ A similar possibility was recently noted by Gilboa 2005, 64.

¹⁰⁶ Hood 1984; Niemeier 1995, 78, pls. 14-15. As Rehak (1997a, 60) notes, the few Minoan style marks that do appear on the Mainland, generally come from early Mycenaean buildings.

¹⁰⁷ Krautheimer 1942.

¹⁰⁸ Krautheimer 1942, 2.

an era where use of paper or parchment was fairly common and the intention was known to be clear.

The practice followed in laying out a 'copy' of the Holy Sepulchre involved the collection of data about the original, however this did not follow a standard procedure. Rather, it might be achieved by the architect travelling to the site, sending correspondents who wrote descriptions of the building, relying on plans – which do not communicate masonry style or other decorative details, and studying descriptions.¹⁰⁹ Written descriptions might only emphasise what was important from the viewer's point of view and the choices might be distorted by religious bias. It is similarly possible to argue that the selectivity of elements from the Aegean and their subsequent transmission might be based on what was deemed impressive, religious, prestigious as well as of genealogical, ideological or symbolic significance.

One of the problems noted by Krautheimer was that shapes perceived as similar, were not always clearly differentiated, whereby structures with more than four sides, such as the 'Dome of the Rock', were described as circular.¹¹⁰ And, he notes that the symbolic meaning of a form might still be intact even if the architect subsequently modified his interpretation, for example rendering the circular form of the rotunda as a polyhedron.¹¹¹ In addition, Krautheimer presents many examples of imprecise terminology used to describe architectural forms such as piers, spheres, cylinders and pyramids.¹¹² One can only imagine how an imprecise use of language by non-specialist traders or patrons uttered in ancient languages we still have an uncertain or non-existent understanding of, such as Bronze Age 'Minoan' or 'Cypriot' resulted in the inaccurate reproduction of an architectural form from abroad.¹¹³

Krautheimer also observed that other factors in the mediaeval period might have been of greater significance than the accurate transmission of form, such as the symbolic meaning attached to numerological relationships, whereby in some instances the twelve columns symbolising the apostles might be reproduced from the Holy Sepulchre and in other instances the eight piers symbolising the Anastasis might be reproduced rather than the total combination of twenty supports.¹¹⁴ Such

¹⁰⁹ Krautheimer 1942, 19-20.

¹¹⁰ Krautheimer 1942, 6.

¹¹¹ Krautheimer 1942, 9.

¹¹² Krautheimer 1942.

¹¹³ Even today, architectural descriptions written by archaeologists may be clumsy or imprecise as evidenced by the use of the term 'pillar' and 'column' interchangeably, despite the fact pillars are square and columns are round – for example Mazar 2000, 220. The issue is significant because there is a preference for columnar supports in Mainland Greece and a preference for pillar supports in Crete and Cyprus.

¹¹⁴ Krautheimer 1942, 10-11.

inaccuracies resonate with the imprecise representation of Minoan features in Cyprus such as 'horns of consecration' as well as the storage halls for pithoi, built of ashlar masonry.¹¹⁵ Measurements and elements in the mediaeval copies are also shown to be selectively transferred, rather than in their entirety, with some of the copied structures including elements that are foreign to the original.¹¹⁶

A concept known as *mnemohistory* might also help us to conceptualise the imprecise transfer of ideas in the wake of gaps in material culture and/or in the absence of detailed or technically precise written records.¹¹⁷ *Mnemohistory* refers to the past as it was remembered or perceived rather than the past as it actually may have been, and how this remembrance was transmitted in ideas and practices. This concept of remembered history serves as an attractive explanation for understanding how the transmission of Minoan and Mycenaean symbols, forms and practices may have occurred, why they were combined with local and imported forms, and why they were imperfectly executed.

Cline has proposed that the time spent in foreign ports would have provided a complex and varied context for exchanges of ideas, culture and stories.¹¹⁸ This time could have been affected by numerous factors including climactic changes, diplomatic pursuits, or market activities. While the spatial distance of travel could be small the temporal distance could be quite extensive in the Bronze Age. The Amarna letters indicate that messengers could be detained in foreign ports for anywhere from three to six years.¹¹⁹ This span of time would be long enough for the transmission of cultural information to occur, and even become distorted. Patrons and architects relying on their own imperfect memories of first hand experience or on the verbal descriptions of Aegean buildings seen, but inaccurately, incompletely, or selectively described by others could account for modifications or imperfections in the interpretation and execution of form. These others might be foreign mercenaries, traders, entrepreneurs, visitors, diplomats, refugees, skilled workers, architects, apprentices, or the descendents of such individuals.¹²⁰ The Amarna letters refer specifically to traders from Alasiya or Cyprus, who were referred to as both merchants and servants of the king.¹²¹ Such individuals would have had stories to tell of a range of impressive and exotic monuments they experienced. It can be reasonably suggested that visual impressions, stories and handed down memories of

¹¹⁵ As detailed in Hitchcock 1999b.

¹¹⁶ Krautheimer 1942, 13-14.

¹¹⁷ See Assmann 1997, 1-15.

¹¹⁸ Cline 1995a, 149-50.

¹¹⁹ Knapp 1998, 193.

¹²⁰ As discussed in Cline 1995b, 270-73; also Niemeier 1991, 199, n. 89.

¹²¹ See discussion with further references in Bachhuber 2006, 351.

the 'palaces' on Crete accompanied the circulation of portable objects traded throughout the east Mediterranean. Such stories would have persisted long after the destruction of the Minoan 'palaces' through the perpetuated memories enacted in ruin cults as discussed above. Finally, another factor to consider is the effect that these changes could have had on the Late Bronze Age inhabitants of Cyprus and the Levant.

The relationship between daily routine and social structure is articulated in the theory of structuration as developed by Anthony Giddens.¹²² Structuration is concerned with identifying and reconstructing the habits ingrained in the routines of daily life, in other words the structure of our daily life. The architectural layout of a building and the location of objects within a building orchestrate these routines. In other words, buildings become contexts of interaction, which regularise our daily conduct. Archaeological and architectural remains serve as 'memory traces' of a system that both constrains and enables human action. Patterns in the archaeological record indicate formalised repetitive actions on the part of inhabitants who created a deposit over time, for example, placing a figurine on a bench near an altar containing a 'horns of consecration' or aniconic standing stone, or participating in Mycenaean-style consumption activities as indicated by imported and later, locally produced Mycenaean-style pottery. Functions and meanings may be assigned to buildings and their associated contents through an examination of contextual relationships as revealed in the reconstruction of patterns of movement, and the embodied experience of buildings and objects.¹²³ It can be argued from an interpretation of the evidence that many of the routines carried out in Late Bronze Age Cyprus may have been compatible with or resembled Minoan and Mycenaean routines, whether the persons performing them originated on Cyprus or elsewhere. The implication of such routines for the construction and interpretation of group and individual identity is simply you are or you become what you do. The point is, that individuals on Cyprus and later in the Levant may have developed hybridised Aegean identities through their daily routines and rituals regardless of their point of origin.

Conclusions

It has been suggested here that by the 13th century BC emerging elites on Cyprus sought to legitimise their positions and exploit local beliefs through an appropriation and importation of prestigious architectural symbols and design characteristics in the formation of official political and religious ideologies. We might consider

¹²² See Giddens 1993; Barrett 1994.

¹²³ Elaborated in Barrett 1994; also Maran 2006.

that they were instrumental in the creation of an 'International Style' of architecture in the Late Bronze Age. Although each of the monumental buildings on Cyprus shows a great deal of variability in terms of features selected, their execution in a local style of masonry discounts the idea that every change can be linked to an influx of outsiders, although it may be possible that particular features were designed by migrant architects that were refugees from catastrophes in the Aegean or their descendants. Another possibility is that stories about Minoan and Mycenaean buildings circulating around the east Mediterranean inspired elite patrons to commission architects who did their best to create Aegean-style features from descriptions, which varied in accuracy, based on selective emulation of particular features as well as on imprecise descriptions of the monuments to be copied. It has been shown, that this imprecision can be attributed to a broad range of scenarios. This is not to say that migrations did not take place in the east Mediterranean during and at the end of the Bronze Age, but migrations are difficult to prove archaeologically and this paper has tried to highlight some of the difficulties, while offering possible alternative explanations.

Julian Thomas has recently turned to post-colonial discourse to explain cultural hybridity as something to be expected at the interstices of cultural formations.¹²⁴ The result is a deliberate construction of the foreign out of the familiar. The constellation of characteristics I am researching would have served to orchestrate particular routines in 'a conscious act of group-definition'. These routines may have promoted affiliation with, and even acquisition of, an Aegean identity. Such a conscious construction of cultural identity is less dependent on origin, than on the political motives of a few in magnifying and re-enforcing their status and prestige. Although hybridity is frequently associated with subversion in post-colonialist discourse, I have tried to show that hybridity could also be used to create and sustain power and domination by elites.¹²⁵ Yet, while one of these last bastions of Aegean material and cultural practices was not entirely successful in resurrecting the practices of the past at the end of the Bronze Age, it was partially successful in preserving them for the future as seen in Iron Age continuities. In addition, the rationalisation of Bronze Age Cypriot elites in constructing their identities by creating a prestigious genealogy for themselves is neither distant nor disinterested from present constructions of national identity whether put forth by colonial administrators or nationalist politicians.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Thomas 1996, esp. 126.

¹²⁵ Bhaba 1994, for example.

¹²⁶ Merrillees (2003, 371-72) also comments on the 'imperatives of nationalism, ethnicity and rapid transportation' as factors inhibiting our understanding of antiquity as well as politicising the past for contemporary purposes in assigning problematic ethnic identities to the distant past.

Finally, the peoples of the Aegean, Cyprus and the Levant participated in a maritime economy and a Mediterranean culture that was interconnected. It is a great irony that while ancient inhabitants of this region enhanced their own and each other's cultures by leaving the shores of their homelands many archaeologists remain isolated by the shores of their disciplinary boundaries. I would argue for greater emphasis in studying the Mediterranean as a region or network of interconnected maritime cultures that was characterised by local distinctiveness.

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THE MEDIAN ‘EMPIRE’, THE END OF URARTU AND CYRUS THE GREAT’S CAMPAIGN IN 547 BC (NABONIDUS CHRONICLE II 16)*

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Abstract

The focus of this paper is, first, the reading of the toponym in Nabonidus Chronicle II 16 of which only the first character is preserved, and, second, an historical reassessment according to which the territory loosely controlled by a Median ‘confederation’ cannot be called an ‘empire’. Contrary to the generally held view the first character cannot be read as ‘LU’ which would require us to restore the text as lu-[ud-di], i.e. Lydia. Collation shows beyond doubt the character represents ‘Ú’ and the only plausible restoration is ú-[raš-tu], i.e. Urartu. Urartu was therefore not destroyed by the Medes at the end of the 7th century BC but continued to exist as an independent political entity until the mid-6th century BC. Thus Nabonidus Chronicle II 16 shows that it was the conquest by Cyrus the Great which brought about the end of Urartu.

Introduction

In 1988, 1994 and 1995, the late Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg questioned with arguments of considerable weight, the existence of a Median ‘empire’ as a political entity with structures comparable with those of the so called Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian or the Achaemenid ‘empires’.¹ She called for a methodologically fresh approach, cast doubt on the general validity of our most important source, i.e. Herodotus’ *Medikos Logos*, and pointed out gaps in the non-classical sources, primarily for the first half of the 6th century BC. She also considered anthropological models of state formation and conceptual systems used in the social sciences.

Independent from each other Burkhart Kienast and I questioned the alleged vassal status of the early Persians *vis-à-vis* the Medes.² Amélie Kuhrt recently showed that the Assyrian heartland as well as its eastern fringes (the region around Arrapha)

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¹ Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988; 1994; 1995. Cf. Briant 1996, 36-37.

² Kienast 1999, 65; Rollinger 1999, 127-34.

were part of the Neo-Babylonian empire. Both regions stayed under the firm control of the Babylonian empire after the downfall of its Assyrian predecessor.³ A 2001 international conference held in Padua focused on the problem of the Median 'empire' from an interdisciplinary point of view. It especially considered historical, archaeological and philological perspectives. Although it became clear that even the most recent attempts to reconstruct the so called Median language do not rest on firm enough ground⁴ there remained disagreement concerning the existence of a Median 'empire'. Some questioned the existence of such an entity;⁵ others, however, maintained that there existed a Median 'empire', which played an important role in the history of the ancient Near East.⁶ At any rate it became clear that modern views of this 'empire' largely depend on the picture painted by Herodotus in his *Histories* completed around 420 BC.⁷ It is also worth noting that cuneiform sources dealing with the Medes from the 9th century BC onwards do not support the view of a Median 'empire'.⁸ This is also true of the archaeological remains, the interpretation of which often depends on the written sources.⁹ More recent studies add weight to the doubts about the existence of a Median 'empire' and demonstrate that we must distinguish between ancient Near Eastern 'empires' in general and the 'state' the Medes formed in the first half of the 6th century BC.¹⁰

The present study is intended to draw attention to one specific problem connected with the Median 'empire' and its geographical dimensions which was treated at the Padua conference only in passing and which therefore warrants closer exami-

³ Kuhrt 1995.

⁴ Schmitt 2003.

⁵ Henkelman 2003; Jursa 2003; Liverani 2003; Reade 2003; Rollinger 2003a; Wiesehöfer 2003.

⁶ Panaino 2003; Parpola 2003; Roaf 2003. See also Tuplin 2003.

⁷ Lanfanchi *et al.* 2003a; Rollinger 2003a. See now also Rollinger 2004a (and at <http://www.iranica.com/articlenavigation/index.html> [*sub* Herodotus]); Meier 2004; Patzek 2004; Walter 2004; Wiesehöfer 2004. Concerning Ctesias as a source of Median history, see Rollinger 2008.

⁸ Lanfranchi 2003; Liverani 2003; Radner 2003a-b. See also Fales 2003; Greco 2003.

⁹ Curtis 2003; Gopnik 2003; Kroll 2003; Roaf 2003; Rollinger 2003b; Sarraf 2003; Stronach 2003. For the archaeological remains in the supposed Median territory of western Iran, see now also Curtis 2005; Genito 2005. For the idea of Media acting as mediator between Urartian, Assyrian and Persian cultural traditions, see Huff 2005; Kleiss 2005. Concerning the problem of Median art, compare the affirmative (and quite optimistic) view expressed by Razmjou 2005 and the much more critical one by Genito 2005, 326.

¹⁰ Rollinger 2004b; 2005; Genito 2005, 325-29. Even Tuplin (2004, 242), who is very reluctant to revise the traditional view, has to concede: 'Perhaps the term "empire" should be avoided lest people be misled by false equivocation with the neo-Assyrian, Babylonian or (developed) Achaemenid Persian empires.' Instead he proposes to speak of a Median 'domination'. Cf. also Van de Mieroop (2004, 256-57), where we encounter 'a large Median state', and Van de Mieroop (2006, 273-75), where we read: 'No Median empire ever existed.' See also Vogelsang (1998, 212-14), who reckons with a Median 'empire' but who stresses the nomadic background of this political entity.

nation: the end of the kingdom of Urartu,¹¹ a topic which is inextricably linked to the Median 'empire' question.

We know very little about this event because the evidence of the written sources ends in the forties of the 7th century BC.¹² Yet there seems to be a general consensus that the state of Urartu was destroyed by the Medes at the end of this century.¹³ One particular reason for this view is Herodotus' claim that the Median 'empire' reached as far west as the River Halys. Herodotus' Halys border is generally accepted as a historical fact: the Medes were somehow able to extend their dominion westwards. Herodotus' image of the Median 'empire', however, is based to a large degree on the much later model of the Achaemenid empire, and the Halys border seems to be a construct.¹⁴

The Evidence of the Chronicles

Apart from Herodotus we have no other source that would shed light on how this Median expansion to the west unfolded. The scanty information provided by our cuneiform sources suggests Babylonian rather than Median influence in eastern Anatolia.¹⁵ The Babylonian Chronicles time and again mention Babylonian and Median forces as acting in alliance but with only the Babylonian army engaged in campaigns in Anatolia.¹⁶ In 609 BC, for example, Nabopolassar led his troops to the north on an operation towards the region of Izalla and as far as the 'region of Urartu (*pīḫāt* ^{uru} *Uraštu*)':

Chronicle 3, lines 70-74:

⁷⁰LUGAL URI^{ki} *ana re-šu-ut ÉRIN^{me}-šú DU-ma šal-tú [ul DÛ^{us} ana^{kur}]-za-al-la i-li-ma*

⁷¹URU^{me} *šá KUR^{me} ma-a-du-tú [...]-šú-nu ina IZI iš-ru-up* ⁷²*ina UD-mi-šú-ma ÉRIN^{me}*

¹¹ See Kroll 2003. For an updated overview on 'Achaemenid' remains in Transcaucasia, see now Knauss 2005; 2006. See also the preliminary report of the archaeological excavations of the Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altorientalistik, Leopold-Franzens Universität Innsbruck, Austria, at Aramus, Armenia, and, in the meanwhile, <http://www.uibk.ac.at/grabungarmenien>. Final publication of the results of the campaigns for the years 2004-2006 is in preparation.

¹² Cf. Kroll 1984; Kessler 1986; Wartke 1993, 171-75; Salvini 1995, 117-19; Zimansky 2001, 1140-41; Çilingiroğlu and Salvini 1995; 2001, 15-24; Çilingiroğlu 2002; Sevin 2002. Zimansky 2005. See also Ivantchik 2001, 113-279; and the survey of the archaeological finds by Burney 1998.

¹³ Çilingiroğlu 1988, 39; Belli 1989, 24; Brentjes 1997, 10; Medvedskaya 2002. Jakubiak 2003, 35. See also Savidis 1997, 12; Strobel 1999, 263 (dating the Median conquest of Cappadocia to '591/585'). Oelsner 2004, 25: 'Ende des 7. bis Mitte des 6. Jh.: Medische Oberhoheit'. Similar Starke 2004, 80: 'um 630/25/10? Zusammenbruch des Urartäischen Reiches (unklar ob durch Skythen, Babylonier, Meder). Reststaat unter medischer Oberhoheit'.

¹⁴ Rollinger 2003a.

¹⁵ Salvini 1995, 117-18.

¹⁶ The transliterations and translations of the chronicles are with minor changes those of Glassner's edition (Glassner 2004; see already Glassner 1993).

[šá...] EN *pi-ḥat*^{uru} *Ū-ra-dš-tu*⁷³ [D]U *ina* KUR(?) [...]^{me} *šú-nu iḥ-tab-tu*.⁷⁴ *šu-lu-tu šá*
LUGAL [... *ina šà-šú ú-še-lu is-su*]-*hu-nim-ma*⁷⁵ *ana*^{uru} [...] *i-lu-ú*.

The king of Akkad came to the aid of his troops, but [did not join(?)] battle. He went up [to I]zalla and he set fire to the [...] in many mountain localities. At this time the troops of [(?)... m]oved as far as the region of Urartu. In [...] they pillaged their [...] They dro[ve out the garrison that the king of [.. had set up there] and went up to [...].¹⁷

This text documents Babylonian military activity not only in the far west but also in regions belonging to, and bordering on, the eastern part of Anatolia.

Chronicle 4, which starts with the eighteenth year of Nabopolassar (*ca.* 608 BC), records continuing Babylonian military advances. In 608 and 607 BC the Babylonian army operated again ‘in the region of Urartu (*pīḫāt*^{kur} *Uraštū*)’:

Chronicle 4, lines 1-4:

¹MU 18^{kám} ^dAG.IBILA.ŪRI *ina* ^{iti}KIN LUGAL URI^{ki} ÉRIN^{me}-šú *id-ke-e-ma* ²GŪ
^{id}IDIGNA UŠ-*ma ana* KUR-*i šá* É-¹*Ha-nu-ni-ia* ³*pi-ḥat*^{kur} *Ū-ra-dš-tu i-li-ma* URU^{me} *ina*
IZI *iš-ru-up* ⁴*ḥu-bu-ut-su-nu ma-diš iḥ-tab-ta* *ina* ^{iti}AB LUGAL URI^{ki} *ana* KUR-šú
GUR-*ra*.

The eighteenth year (of the reign) of Nabopolassar (*ca.* 608 BC), in the month of Elul, the king of Akkad mustered his troops, moved along the bank of the Tigris, climbed the mountain of Bīt-Ḥanūniya, a region of Urartu, burned and pillaged towns. In the month of Ṭebeth, the king of Akkad returned to his own country.

This is also true for the following year (*ca.* 607 BC):

Chronicle 4, line 11

... *iḥ-[tab]-ta* EN *pi-ḥat*^{kur} [*Ū-ra-dš-tú(?) gi-mi*]^r KUR^{me} *ik-šu-ud*.

... He (i.e. Nabopolassar) conquered [al]l of the mountains as far as the region of [Urartu(?)].¹⁸

¹⁷ Like Glassner (2004) I prefer to translate *pīḫāt*^{uru} *Uraštū* with ‘region of Urartu’ and not with ‘district of Urartu’ like Grayson 1975 and others did. CAD P, 364-65 offers ‘province, district’ as translations but does not consider our source. For the problems connected with see also Salvini 1995, 117-119; Kessler 1986; Kroll 1984. For the location of Izalla, see below.

¹⁸ But cf. Reade 2003, who proposes to read ... EN *pi-^rḥat¹ tam-^rtim²*, ‘...as far as to the district of the sea (Lake Van)’. He also suggests restoring line 7 *kur^{za}-^rtu-^ri¹*, Zaduri in the upper Tigris.

The Babylonian army must in the meantime have gained considerable experience in campaigning in these mountainous regions. Chronicle 6 which reports Neriglissar's military advance into Cilicia against Appuašu of Pirindu emphasises the ability of the Babylonian army to fight in mountainous terrain:

Chronicle 6, lines 9-23:

⁹ÉRIN-ni ma-a-du-tú i-duk ÉRIN-ni-šú u ANŠE.KUR.RA-šú ¹⁰ma-a-du-tú uš-šab-bi-ta ar-ki ¹¹Ap-pu-ú-a-šú ¹²15 DANNA qaq-qar KUR-ú mar-šu šá LÚ ár-ki LÚ il-la-ku ¹³a ik-šu-ud-su ¹⁴ur^uÚ-ra-¹⁵ URU LUGAL-ú-ti-šú ir-dip-ma ¹⁶[ŠU.2 l]a ik-šu-ud-su ¹⁷ur^uÚ-ra-¹⁸ iš-ša-bat šil-lat iš-ta-lal ¹⁹(erasure) ²⁰ul-tu ²¹ur^uÚ-ra-²² a-di ²³ur^uKi-ir-ši ²⁴16 URU LUGAL-ú-tú šá AD^{meš}-šú 6 DANNA qaq-qar KUR-ú dan-nu ²⁵ni-ri-bi mar-šu ki-i il-li-ku ²⁶ur^uKi-ir-ši URU dan-nu URU LUGAL-ú-ti-šú iš-ša-bat ²⁷19 BÀD-šú É.GAL-šú u UN^{me}-šú ina i-šá-tú iq-ta-li ²⁸ur^uPi-tu-su KUR-ú šá ina MURUB₄-tú ²⁹id Mar-rat ³⁰ù 6 LIM ÉRIN-ni e-piš šal-tú šá ana ŠĀ i-lu-ú ³¹ina ³²g^{is}ša-pi-na-a-tú iš-ša-bat URU-šú it-tab-lu ³³u UN^{me}-šú uš-šab-bi-ta...

He (i.e. Neriglissar) decimated the large army, captured its many troops and horses. He chased Appuašu over a distance of fifteen double-hours, **across difficult mountains, where men have to march one behind the other**, as far as Ura', his royal residence; he did [no]t capt[ure] him¹⁹, (but) he took Ura' (and) plundered (it). (erasure) **After a march over a distance of six double-hours, in a very mountainous region, through difficult passes**, from Ura' to Kirši, the royal residence of his ancestors, he captured Kirši, the mighty city, the home of his kingship. He burnt its surrounding wall, its palace, and its inhabitants with fire. With the aid of boats, he took Pitusu, a land in the middle of the Ocean, and six thousand soldiers, fighters stationed in the town. He destroyed the town and took its inhabitants prisoner... ²⁰

The chronicles mention eastern Anatolian toponyms like Izalla, Bīt Ḥanūniya and *pīḫāt Uraštu* as well as the 'many mountain localities' (*ālāni ša šadāni madūtu*) in connection with only the Babylonian army. Because it is only Babylonian (and no Median) action in the Urartian mountains and only Babylonian military activities in eastern Anatolia which is documented it would seem that the Babylonians were the principal military (and political) players in these regions.²¹

¹⁹ Grayson (1975, 103) reads line 13 as [*qāt*]a(?) *ik-šu-ud-su* and translates it as 'He captured him...', but this cannot be correct since lines 25-26 state explicitly that Appuašu was able to escape and was not captured in this campaign.

²⁰ For the location of Ura, Kirši and Pitusu, see Grayson 1975, 265, 259, 261; Kessler 1980, 179 (Ura); Zadok 1985, 200, 251, 320.

²¹ Reade 2003 restores the broken lines 54 and 55 of Chronicle 3 (fifteenth year of Nabopolassar, ca. 611 BC) as 'Tušhan' and 'Šinigiša' – both on the upper Tigris. See also Radner and Schachner 2001; and now Radner 2007.

Nabonidus Chronicle II 16

There is one further source which sheds light on the history of eastern Anatolia in the first half of the 6th century BC: for Nabonidus' ninth year (*ca.* 547 BC) Chronicle 7 (Nabonidus Chronicle) II 16 reports a campaign of Cyrus the Great to a land for which only the first character is still recognisable in the text. Even though it has been and still is being stated, time and again, that this land was Lydia,²² this position can no longer be defended because it is, plain and simple, not supported by the text of the chronicle.²³ In 1997 Joachim Oelsner re-examined and collated the relevant passage of the text with a clear result:

Unabhängig davon war er [i.e. Oelsner] jedoch bei seiner eigenen Kollation der Tafel im Frühjahr 1997 zu der Überzeugung gekommen, daß die Reste des teilweise abgebrochenen Zeichens nach dem Determinativ für Länder weder zu LU noch zu SU/ZU, IS oder IŠ passen, sondern allein zu Ú! Dies zeigt der Vergleich des Zeichens mit LU und Ú in II 17 bzw. Ú in II 3. Die Kopie von S. Smith ist im wesentlichen korrekt!... Unter den möglichen Ländernamen beginnt mit diesem Zeichen aber nur Uraštu = Urartu. Z. 16 ist somit zu lesen: *ina* ^{itu}GU₄ *ana* ^{kur}Ú^r -[raš-*tu* il-lī]k (aus Platzgründen wird raš statt des überwiegend bezeugten ra-áš bevorzugt).²⁴

This collation was re-confirmed by Matthew Waters in autumn 2005: 'Oelsner's collation of u₂ is clear. I don't see how it could have been read anything else.'²⁵

This new reading must be the basis for all future discussion.²⁶ Since line II 17 informs us that the king of the country mentioned in line 16 was defeated by Cyrus it follows that lines 16-17 deal with the end of a political structure and are not simply a reference to a geographical entity. Thus the passage contains important information for the end of Urartu and has no bearing whatever on the history of Lydia. We must therefore translate Chronicle 7 II 15-18:

²² Cf. just recently Arnold and Michalowski 2006, 419 with n. 67. Very cautious is Allen (2005, 25): '... the defeat of the Lydian king Croesus is usually assumed to have happened in the 540s', with n. 36 (p. 186): 'The association with the date 547 was established by a reference in the Babylonian Chronicle to a victory in that year, but no place or opponent is named.'

²³ Thus the traditional date of the conquest of Lydia of 547 BC is also surely untenable. We simply do not know the year in which Cyrus defeated Croesus and conquered Lydia: Even a date after the fall of Babylon is possible. Cf. Rollinger 1993, 188-97; Oelsner 1999-2000, 378-30; Schaudig 2001, 25, n. 108; Haider 2004, 86.

²⁴ Oelsner 1999-2000, 378-79.

²⁵ I thank Matthew Waters for communicating this to me by e-mail (6th October 2005).

²⁶ Strobel (2005, 133, n. 2) opines 'nicht zwingend [ist] die Neulesung und Ergänzung von Chronik 7 II 15-17 durch Oelsner 1999/2000, 378f.'. Scholarly discourse is commonly based on argument rather than on merely voicing one's opinion.

¹⁵ ... *ina* ^{iti}BĀR ¹*Ku-raš* LUGAL ^{kur}*Par-su* ÉRIN-šú *id-ke-e-ma* ¹⁶*šap-la-an* ^{uru}*Ar-ba-'il*
^{id}IDIGNA *i-bir-ma* *ina* ^{iti}GU₄ *ana* ^{kur}Ū-[*raš-tu il-li*]k ¹⁷LUGAL-šú GAZ *bu-šá-a-šú il-*
qí šu-lit šá ram-ni-šú <<aš>> lu ú-še-li-[iš] ¹⁸EGIR *šu-lit-su ù šar-ri ina ŠĀ GÁL-ši*

In the month of Nisan, King Cyrus (II) of Parsu mustered his army and crossed the Tigris downstream from Arbēla and, in the month of Iyyar, [march]ed to 'U' [rartu]. / He defeated its king (or: put its king to death), seized its possessions, [and] set up his own garrison [there]. After that, the king and his garrison resided there.

It has been argued that the crossing of the Tigris downstream from Arbēla is evidence that this region towards the Lesser Zab was controlled by the Persians whereas the territory south of this river was Babylonian.²⁷ This view, however, contradicts all other sources according to which the Assyrian heartland was under not Median but Babylonian control.²⁸ Although there is no evidence for Median control Babylonian control is at least hinted at. The Cyrus-Cylinder furthermore shows that the cult image of Aššur was *returned* (*ana ašrišunu utīrma*) to its traditional place after the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus.²⁹ This seems to be incontrovertible evidence that the territory in question was under Babylonian control until 539 BC. If we add to this John MacGinnis' reading of BM 63283 we might even have evidence for a Babylonian governor at Aššur.³⁰ It is also worth recalling that the Babylonians controlled at least considerable parts of the north-eastern Tigris region around Arrapha. This becomes clear from Nabonidus' inscriptions where we learn that Neriglissar was able to revive the cult of Anunitu in Sippar-Amnanum after the 'Guteans' had plundered her sanctuary in Sippar-Anunitu and taken her statue to Arrapha from where Neriglissar seems to have reconquered it.³¹

We must ask, however, why an otherwise insignificant detail, i.e. Cyrus' crossing the Tigris river downstream of Arbēla was recorded at all? The obvious answer is that every Babylonian knew that it was by this route that Cyrus passed through Babylonian territory.

²⁷ Curtis 2003.

²⁸ Kuhrt 1995.

²⁹ 'K2.1' 30-34; Schaudig 2001, 553.

³⁰ MacGinnis 2000, 335-36. See also Jursa 2003 with further evidence. That after 614 BC important elements of Assyrian culture remained alive in Aššur has recently been shown conclusively by Oelsner (2002, 32-33), who points out that the gods Aššur and his wife Serū (Šerū'a) are still mentioned in 2nd- and 3rd-century AD Aramaic inscriptions from Parthian Aššur. An analogous situation is attested for Hatra: Gzella 2006, 36 with n. 78: 'Der Stadtgott Assur und seine Gemahlin Serū beispielsweise sind in Personennamen stärker vertreten als jeder andere Göttername mit Ausnahme des Sonnengottes.' For the survival of the Assyrian culture in Tell Sheikh Hamad/Dür-Katlimmu after 612 BC, see Kühne 2002.

³¹ 'Inscription 3.3' IV 14'-33'; Schaudig 2001, 517. For Takrit, see Jursa 2003.

To turn to Urartu, the target of this campaign: by suggesting that at the end of the 7th century Urartu was overrun by the Medes but rebelled after Cyrus' victory over Astyages, only to be reconquered by Cyrus in 547 BC, Oelsner ignores the logical consequence of his own reading. The notion of an Urartian rebellion is based on a new reading of line II 18 of the Nabonidus Chronicle where Oelsner suggests transliterating 'sar-ri' instead of 'šar-ri'.³² These 'wrong-doers' ought, however, to have been mentioned in a preceding section of the text and Oelsner's interpretation is as hypothetical as his supposition that Cyrus crossed the river from west to east is implausible. Oelsner hypothesises that

Die Frage ist nur, ob von Ost nach West oder von West nach Ost. Hüsing hat das Problem durchaus richtig gesehen und bemerkt – u. E. zu Recht –, daß bei einem Zug nach Sardis der Text anders aussehen müßte. Nach ihm (und nach anderen) wäre bei einer Flußüberquerung von Ost nach West das Ziel in Mesopotamien zu suchen, was wohl ausscheidet. Dann bleibt aber nur der Flußübergang in Richtung Osten. Kyros muß also von Süden auf der Hauptverbindungsstraße, die am Tigris entlang führt, Richtung Assyrien gezogen sein.³³

This argument fails to convince on two counts. First we would have to assume that Cyrus had already crossed the Tigris once further to the south at an earlier stage of his campaign. Why would the chronicler have failed to mention Cyrus' march that far to the south – and through Babylonian territory?

Second there is no reason why a crossing over the Tigris downstream from Arbēla and heading westward precludes a Mesopotamian target of the campaign located somewhere in the lowlands south to the Ṭūr 'Abdīn (see Fig. 1). By comparing the campaigns of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar in eastern Anatolia in the years after the fall of the Assyrian cities a more plausible solution to the problem emerges. The mention of a military advance against Izalla, Bīt Ḥanūniya, *pīḫāt Uraštu* and the 'many mountain localities' seems to refer to operations which took place after the army had crossed the Tigris from east to west and followed the bank of the river only for some time to the north. Indeed recent research has shown that in order to get from the Assyrian heartland to the upper Tigris the route along the Tigris river is best avoided because of the extremely rough and mountainous terrain. As Karen Radner put it:

The Upper Tigris region is never accessed by water, as the Tigris cuts deeply through the mountains north of Cizre/Jazīrat ibn 'Ūmar (at the border between Iraq and Turkey)

³² Oelsner 1999-2000, 380.

³³ Oelsner 1999-2000, 379.

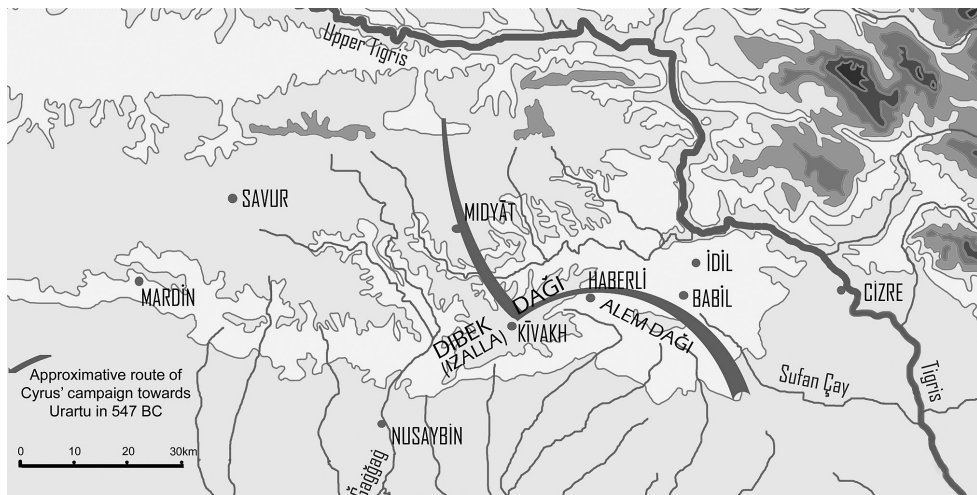


Fig. 1: Map showing the approximate route of Cyrus' campaign towards Urartu in 547 BC.

and cannot be navigated upstream; also going downstream is extremely dangerous and usually avoided. The Upper Tigris region is most directly and most easily reached by crossing over the Tūr 'Abdīn mountain range.³⁴

In order to reach the highlands of eastern Anatolia the Tigris valley itself offers no easy passage. Much better suited are two routes west of the Tigris which both lead to the southern and south-eastern piedmont of the Tūr 'Abdīn (Mazı Daiları). The first one is located in the central part of the Tūr 'Abdīn and approaches directly from the south. It runs from its starting point at Nusaybin along the valley of the Ğağğag to Madiyātu (Midyāt). The second one enters the Tūr 'Abdīn from the south-east where the gentler slopes of the basalt ranges offer easier access to the plateau. One may add a third route which passes Nusaybin and crosses the northern Jezīra to the west. It heads north from where the Tūr 'Abdīn can be crossed via Midyat to reach the upper Tigris valley or one can continue to Mardin and further on to Diyarbakir.³⁵

Radner studied the historical geography of this region in detail by analysing the annals of the Assyrian kings beginning with Adad-nērārī I (1300-1270 BC). She was not only able to demonstrate that the route crossing the Tūr 'Abdīn from the south-east was the preferred one (Sufan Çay plain–Midyāt–Savur–upper

³⁴ Radner 2007.

³⁵ Cf. Radner and Schachner 2001, 761; and now in detail Radner 2007. See also Kessler 1980, 77 'Karte II' and 78 'Karte III'; Parpola and Porter 2001, 3 and 4.

Tigris)³⁶ but she also succeeded in establishing the location of Izalla – between Nusaybin and İdil/Asakh rather than west of Mardin as traditionally proposed.³⁷ This region called Izalla may be equated with the Dibek Dağı, an area where the limestone is coated by a layer of basalt from the long extinct volcano of Alem (Elim) Dağı in the vicinity of the source of the Sufan Çay.³⁸

This evidence can directly be linked with Babylonian Chronicle 3, lines 70-73 (see above): Nabopolassar ‘went up to Izalla and the many mountain localities’. These sources show that the Babylonian king followed in the footsteps of his Assyrian predecessors by choosing the old and fairly easily passable approaches to the upper Tigris region. The Babylonian chronicle also more precisely identifies the target of this campaign: it is the ‘region of Urartu’. The most convenient way to reach this ‘region of Urartu’ was no doubt to start out somewhere to the west of the Tigris in the plain of the Sufan Çay and to cross the Tūr ‘Abdīn by approaching it from the south-east. This route can be documented for about half a millennium; it was the one taken by the Assyrian kings and later by the Babylonian army; and it surely was also taken by Cyrus in his attack on Urartu. We cannot of course define the exact status of the political entity (or entities) lurking behind the designation ‘region of Urartu’. If, however, we consider how shaky Median power on its western flank was and in particular how problematical it seems to assume that there really existed a Median ‘empire’ with its western border abutting the Halys river,³⁹ it would appear highly probable that Urartu survived the Median ‘episode’, only to be conquered by Cyrus about the middle of the 6th century.

The Urartian state may in its last stages have become fragmented and the monarchy unifying all parts of the country may have disappeared at some earlier point.⁴⁰ It is also possible that there was at least for some years a kind of Median

³⁶ One of the best documented itineraries is the campaign (V) of Assurnasirpal II (883-859 BC) in 879 BC related in his Annals. It starts from Tillê (Tiluli) in Katmuḫḫu and heads forward via Ba Sebrina/Haberli (the pass of Ištarâte) and Kivakh (Kibaki) to Midyât (Matiâtû) whence it continues via Savur (Šûru) to the upper Tigris region. Since the campaign of 882 BC starts from the source of the River Supnat, which can safely be equated with the Sufan Çay, it is clear that also the campaign of 879 BC started from the the Sufan Çay plain. Cf. Liverani 1992, 57-62 with fig. 6; and see now Radner 2007.

³⁷ Grayson 1975, 258; Kessler 1980, 128-30; Zadok 1985, 184; Talbert 2000, 89, C3; Parpola and Porter 2001, 11 and map 3, D3.

³⁸ Radner 2007. The source of the Sufan Çay (Supnat) is situated at Babil ca. 26 km south-west of Cizre.

³⁹ Rollinger 2003a.

⁴⁰ See now also Çilingiroğlu 2002, who questions the generally held view that the Urartian fortresses were destroyed by foreign powers. He blames internal turmoil (similar Zimansky 2005, who believes that the extensive building programme of Rusa II stretched the resources to the limits) and

supremacy or overlordship.⁴¹ The Behistun inscription (DB) treats the revolts of the first year of Darius' reign in this region (DB §§26-30) as part of the revolts in Media (DB §§24-34). 'Media' is here divided up into at least three different parts: Media proper, Sagartia and Urartu.⁴² Urartu – now, beginning with the Old-Persian and Elamite versions of DB, referred to as Armenia⁴³ – evidently survived as a political entity and its inhabitants seem to have retained some kind of local identity. Darius does not in DB name a usurper but the uprising clearly involved the whole of Urartu and there seems to have been fierce Urartian/Armenian resistance. Darius dispatched his generals Dadaršiš and Omises who had to fight three and two battles, respectively, until they finally put down the rebellion. The locales where these actions took place are named in DB but we are able to identify only one place name with certainty: Izalla, where Omises fought the last and decisive battle against the Urartians/Armenians (DB § 29) – significantly the same place where about 90 years earlier Nabopolassar fought and from where the Assyrian kings preferred to approach the Tūr 'Abdīn.⁴⁴

We are thus presented with an excellent example how various armies for centuries follow tradition in their movements – in this particular instance those of the respective 'southern armies' when on campaign against Urartu: the Assyrian kings, Nabopolassar, Cyrus the Great, and again Darius' general Omises.

Together with the new reading of Nabonidus Chronicle II 16 and the reservations concerning the existence of a Median 'empire' all evidence points in the same direction. The history of Urartu as a political element in the ancient Near East did not end in the last decades of the seventh century. It continued until 547 BC when Cyrus conquered this region and integrated it into his empire. Nabonidus Chronicle II 16 represents further testimony for this important political event. When Darius seized power Urartu tried to regain its political freedom which it had lost to Cyrus about 25 years earlier. But the 'rebellion' was quelled within a matter of months.⁴⁵

considers it possible that an Urartian 'Reststaat' continued to exist. This seems to be about the time when the Armenian ethnogenesis began.

⁴¹ Oelsner (2004, 25) as well as Starke (2004, 80) talk about 'Medische Oberhoheit' in the 6th century BC. Starke even suggests the existence of an Urartian 'Reststaat'.

⁴² In detail, see Rollinger 2005, 21-24.

⁴³ Old Persian: 'Armina', Elamite: 'Harminuya'. The Babylonian version has 'Urašū'.

⁴⁴ Radner (2007) did not take this evidence into account.

⁴⁵ The first battle is dated 'month II, day 8' (DB §26) = 20 May 521 BC, the last one 'month x, day 15' (DB §29) = 31 December 522 BC.

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THE INDIAN OCEAN AND THE GLOBALISATION OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

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Abstract

Evidence from the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea in the ancient period suggests that long-distance trade led to cultural standardisation and economic interdependence across vast distances. Such processes closely resemble those labelled 'globalisation' with regard to the contemporary world. Social scientists and historians have preferred to reserve this term for the modern period. While the ancient world was never global in a geographical sense, I argue that such processes, ancient or modern, are always studied within perceived rather than physical worlds, and that if the ancient world was not globalised, it certainly was 'oikoumenised'.

Silk, Pepper, Scandinavians and Globalisation

When Alaric, king of the Goths, laid siege to Rome in AD 408, he demanded an enormous ransom to spare the city. Besides huge amounts of silver and gold, the price included four thousand silk robes and three thousand pounds of pepper (Zosimus *Nea Historia* 5. 41). Silk of course came to the Mediterranean from China, by way of the Sasanian empire or India. Pepper grew only in Tamil South India. The Goths were one of the many Germanic peoples who were on the move in Europe in late antiquity. According to the historian Jordanes (*Getica* 1. 4. 1), a Goth himself, they originally emigrated from southern Scandinavia many generations earlier. The attraction of silk hardly needs explanation, but how did these barbarians and ex-Scandinavians develop a taste for Indian pepper, and why did they consider it among the most precious treasures of Rome? In a modern setting, a fair bet is that this would have been explained as a result of 'globalisation', but how does this term fit in the ancient period?

Globalisation is among the 'buzz-words' of modern economic, political and academic discourse, and processes of globalisation have not failed to attract the interest of historians. Still, no agreement exists as to what globalisation is and when the process started. The verb 'globalise' appeared in the 1940s, as did the word 'globalism', while the term 'globalisation' seems to have entered the English language in the 1950s.¹ In everyday terms, it is commonly taken to refer to our own times, when telecommunications, inexpensive and fast transport, and an increas-

¹ Scholte 2005, 50-51.

ingly free world economy seems to foster cultural connectivity and economic interdependence to a larger extent than ever before. In this sense the word can hardly be applicable to any period before the Second World War or even the collapse of the Eastern Bloc. Based on the empirical world of the Indian Ocean in the first centuries AD, this article goes to the other extreme and argues that reserving the term to the modern period closes an important analytical window to the past. Processes which would have been called globalisation today did take place around the Indian Ocean in the ancient period, whether this is sufficient to speak about a globalised world is of course a different question altogether.

What is Globalisation?

As Arturo Flynn and Dennis Giraldez note,² no commonly accepted definition of globalisation exists. One of the definitions they discuss is from James L. Watson's entry in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and his definition can serve as a point of departure here: '(Globalisation is) the process by which the experience of everyday life, marked by the diffusion of commodities and ideas, can foster a standardization of cultural expressions around the world.'³ This definition has two distinct merits with regard to ancient history. The first is that its focus is largely cultural. This is important because no statistical material exists from the ancient period and no such material can be reconstructed. Long-distance trade was the prime carrier of cultural change in the Indian Ocean system, and in order to understand the impact of trade in the absence of statistical records we have to study how it influenced the lives of people. Watson's definition also has a second merit, which should appeal to historians of all periods: it steers clear of references to new technology such as the internet, the jet engine or, for that matter, the telegraph or steam power. In this way no period of history is excluded.

Globalisation, the Old World, Systems Theory and the Oikoumene

The evident argument against using the term 'globalisation' with regard to the ancient period is that no network in this period included areas outside Asia, Africa and Europe. Flynn and Giraldez take this geographical approach to globalisation in interpreting the foundation of Manila as a Spanish colony administered from Peru in 1571 as the very starting point of globalisation. This event for the first time meant a regular connection between America and the Far East. Although Flynn and Giraldez acknowledge the existence and importance of long-distance connections throughout history and prehistory, they state that 'any definition of globalisation that excludes two-thirds of the globe – most of the Atlantic, the

² Flynn and Giraldez 2002, 1-2.

³ On line version of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*: <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9344667>.

Americas and most of the Pacific – is an oxymoron'.⁴ In their view, 'globalisation occurred when all populated continents began sustained interaction in a manner that deeply linked them all through global trade'.⁵ Global trade in turn emerged when '1) all heavily populated continents began to exchange products continuously – both with each other directly and indirectly, via other continents – and 2) the value of goods exchanged became sufficient to generate lasting impacts on all trading partners'.⁶ Their arguments can, however, easily be turned against them. America was hardly heavily populated in 1571. Eighty years of contact with European powers had decimated and destroyed indigenous societies through warfare, illness and slavery, but the European grip on the two continents was still restricted to few and small colonies. Moreover, their demarcation leaves out the geographically significant and populated continent of Australia, which remained unknown to the rest of the world until the 17th century and with which regular contact was only established through British colonisation at the end of the 18th century. The inclusion of America and later Australia in the world trade of the early modern period could just as well be interpreted as an expansion of older Spanish, English and other European networks as the rise of a global network.

My point is not that the discovery of America in 1492, the start of regular trans-Pacific connections in 1571 or the founding of the first British colony in Australia in 1788 were not important hallmarks in the evolution of global networks, they certainly were, but that discussion of globalisation as a historical process should focus on networks and systems rather than on physical geography. America and Australia were never a part of the ancient world, and never a part of the Islamic or mediaeval world. The ancient scientific geographers in the Hellenistic tradition, such as Strabo and Ptolemy, were well aware that their knowledge of the world was imperfect. This is reflected in their descriptions of the world, where they preferred the Greek word *Oikoumene*, usually translated as 'the inhabited world',⁷ to *Ge* or *Gaia*, which would include the whole world. The *Oikoumene* which included Asia, Africa and Europe was the known world and thus the significant world when dealing with the ancient period or indeed any period before 1492, even if other such *oikoumenai* existed independently and unperceived in America and Australia at the same time.

This notion is not original; David Wilkinson has used 'oikumenēs', 'civilisations' and 'world-economies' as analytical terms in his treatment of Old World international dynamics.⁸ Other archaeologists have found World Systems Analysis, devel-

⁴ Flynn and Giraldez 2002, 4.

⁵ Flynn and Giraldez 2002, 4.

⁶ Flynn and Giraldez 2002, 4.

⁷ Romm 1992, 37.

⁸ Wilkinson 1993.

oped by Immanuel Wallerstein in order to understand the dynamics of modern global capitalism, useful in the analysis of a range of historical and prehistorical societies.⁹ In *The Modern World System*,¹⁰ Wallerstein described the development of a modern world economy centred on Western Europe and later also North America from the 16th century onwards. Wallerstein described a global economy characterised by unbalanced core–periphery relations, where industrial and commercial core regions exploit the natural resources of peripheral regions. Over time, some peripheral regions developed into what Wallerstein calls semi-periphery, areas that are themselves exploited but also exploit other peripheries. Wallerstein’s analysis of the modern world has been highly controversial, not least because of his view of the modern world economy as basically unbalanced and unfair,¹¹ but disregarding the potential of his model for the modern world and without considering the balance or fairness of centre–periphery connections in the ancient period, Wallerstein’s approach to the past is highly promising to anyone working with pre-modern international trade, as he focuses on systems rather than on geography, such world-systems can be seen to overlap, coexist and interact and can easily be compared to the Greek *Oikoumene* – ‘the inhabited world’. My claim is that processes of globalisation could and indeed always are studied within such perceived worlds, systems or *oikoumenai* rather than with regard to the physical world. In the case of the ancient world I propose the term ‘oikoumenisation’, to avoid purely geographical discussions and to distinguish the process from modern globalisation.

Now, let us use the Indian Ocean to see how the *Oikoumene* – the known world of the Greeks and Romans fits with the general definition of ‘globalisation’ from the *Britannica* with its primarily cultural emphasis, *and* with the Flynn and Giraldez demands to economic interdependence between trading partners. This will clarify whether this world experienced processes similar to what we today would call globalisation as a result of international trade.

The Indian Ocean System

Around the turn of our era, a trade based on the monsoon winds developed on the Indian Ocean. Ships from Roman Egypt, India, Arabia, Parthia and Africa plied the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, helped by the monsoon winds. These strong and stable winds, which blow from the south-west in the summer and from the north-east in the winter made it possible to cross from most coasts of the wider Indian Ocean region and back again within a year. The Indian Ocean was a nucleus of ancient world trade. Through India, the system connected

⁹ Gills and Frank 1993; Woolf 1990.

¹⁰ Wallerstein 1974–89.

¹¹ Shannon 1989, 137–69; Wallerstein 1993, 292.

eastwards to China and northwards to central Asia. Through the Red Sea it linked up with the Mediterranean system, and through African ports with the African hinterland. This makes the Indian Ocean particularly well suited as a case study of globalisation in the ancient period. The area indirectly linked the three great powers of the period, the Roman empire, Parthian, later Sasanian Persia and Han China, but was not under direct control of any of these. Rather, the Indian Ocean was bordered by a number of independent kingdoms. This makes it likely that cultural change around the Indian Ocean was to a large extent fostered by peaceful trade rather than the political, military and economic coercion, which probably contributed heavily in processes of cultural standardisation within these empires, such as the 'Romanisation' of the Mediterranean world and Western Europe.

The monsoon trade was not a new occurrence in the Roman period, but Rome certainly represented an actor of unprecedented economic weight and the patterns and volume of trade seem to have changed with the Romans taking control in Egypt.¹² Indian and Arabian networks continued along the same patterns up to modern times, but a significant shift in the network must have occurred when Islamic expansion cut off Mediterranean access to the Red Sea, decimated the size and economic power of the Byzantine empire and demolished the Sasanian empire in the 7th century.

The system consisted of interconnecting networks originating from Roman, Aksumite, Arabian, Persian and Indian ports. It included prestige/luxury goods like wine, silk, gems, pearls, aromatics and expensive slaves, but also subsistence goods like cereals, wood, base metals, tools and plain textiles. The general pattern seems to have been that ports sent out ships in order to bring back specific high value goods which were in demand at home, for instance Arabian aromatics to Rome and India, African ivory to Arabia, Indian gems and spices to Rome, Indian spices and hardwood to the Persian Gulf etc. In order to acquire these goods they paid with a mixture of prestige and subsistence goods which were in demand at their ports of call: a non-exhaustive list include Indian grain, rice and textiles to Arabian and African ports, Arabian tools, grain and wine to Africa, Roman glass, metal, textiles, wine and gold to Africa and India, dates, gold, pearls, slaves and textiles from Persian ports to India and Arabia and tortoise shell from modern Malaysia to Southern India.

This glimpse into the Indian Ocean system is derived from an anonymous Greek 1st-century work called the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*.¹³ This remarkable document is a brief merchant's handbook to trade on the Indian Ocean, giving information on trade routes, ports of call, which products to bring, which gifts to

¹² Seland 2006.

¹³ L. Casson (ed.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Princeton 1989).

provide for the local king, how to navigate foreign waters and how the local population is apt to react to foreign traders. It gives us the most complete picture of the Indian Ocean system we can hope to get, but is naturally biased, as the unknown author was a native of Roman Egypt and most interested in the Roman network. Nevertheless, valuable information on Arabian and Indian networks exists and indicates that there was no structural difference in their patterns of commerce. Together with other classical sources and archaeological remains, the *Periplus* also give us some examples of what could be interpreted as processes of globalisation or oikoumenisation around the Indian Ocean in the ancient period.

Cultural Oikoumenisation? Language, Settlement and Religion

Among the most visible and audible effects of modern globalisation is the spread of English language at the expense of national languages across the world within business, entertainment and scholarship. Similar processes seem to have taken place around the Indian Ocean:

One of the ports described in the *Periplus* is Adulis, the commercial Red Sea outlet of the kingdom of Aksum in the modern Ethiopian and Eritrean highlands. Here we encounter the local king, Zoskalês, who we are told is 'a fine person and well versed in reading and writing Greek' (*Periplus* 5). While one Greek-speaking king is hardly significant, Greek language obviously carried a certain prestige on the coast of modern Eritrea in the 1st century. Greek influence in Aksum, however, continued throughout the ancient period: when the kings of Aksum started to issue their own coins, *ca.* AD 270, they initially chose Greek letters and legends rather than the native Aksumite language Ge'ez.¹⁴ Although coins with legends in Ge'ez were also issued, mainly on silver and bronze coins,¹⁵ Greek remained in use until the end of Aksumite coinage.¹⁶

Gold coins and kings using Greek language attest mainly elite familiarity with Mediterranean culture, and Aksumite farmers probably had as little knowledge of Greek as the landed population of modern Eritrea and Ethiopia has of English. But, just as in a modern globalised world, people who dealt with foreigners in the ancient period had to be bi- or multilingual. This is reflected in a passage of the *Periplus* describing Arabian trade with the coast of East Africa, modern Kenya and Tanzania, where we get to know that (the merchants of Muza [Yemen]) 'send out to it merchant craft that they staff mostly with Arab skippers and agents who, through continual intercourse and intermarriage, are familiar with the area and its language' (*Periplus* 16). When the Alexandrian trader Cosmas (*Christian Topography* 3. 65)

¹⁴ Munro-Hay 1991, 184.

¹⁵ Munro-Hay 1991, 189.

¹⁶ Munro-Hay 1991, 194.

visited Adulis in the kingdom of Aksum *ca.* AD 525, he encountered Greek speaking inhabitants of the island of Socotra, directly east of Cape Guardafui in modern Somalia. According to the *Periplus* (30), Socotra was inhabited by 'a mixture of Arabs and Indians and even some Greeks, who sail out of there to trade'. These three passages attest the existence of foreign settlements around the Indian Ocean. Such settlements, or trading diasporas as they are often called,¹⁷ seem to be a near universal aspect of pre-modern trade,¹⁸ and must have played an important part in the processes of cultural standardisation involved in globalisation. Their institutional value is summarised in the passage about Arabian settlements in East Africa cited above: they 'are familiar with the area and its language', we might as well have added 'customs' or 'culture'. The cultural skills and knowledge needed for cross-cultural trade in antiquity were not that different from the skills modern corporate and government agents need to operate internationally.

Trading diasporas remained important around the Indian Ocean. The 4th- or 5th-century work *De Gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus*,¹⁹ commemorating the journey of an Egyptian lawyer to India, mentions an Indian colony at Aksum (*De Gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus* 4),²⁰ 6th-century Cosmas reports a Persian church on Sri Lanka (*Christian Topography* 11. 13), and a Tamil poem of the 6th century refers to Western merchants settled on the Coromandel Coast of India (*Silappadikaram* 5. 11-15). While the Greeks are now long gone from the Indian Ocean, Arab merchants are still settled from East Africa in the west to Indonesia in the east, and a Jewish colony of uncertain age and origin thrived in Cochin on the Indian Malabar Coast until most of its members moved to Israel after 1947.

One of the very long-term cultural results of such commercial connections is the spread of religion. Islamic faith in the region today is a result of the Arabian networks still active in the region, but such developments also took place in the ancient period. Our friend Cosmas, who was interested in such matters, reported Christian churches not only on Sri Lanka, but also in southern India, on Socotra, in Yemen and in Eritrea/Ethiopia (*Christian Topography* 3. 65). This distribution of churches in the 6th century correlates quite well with the *Periplus'* description of Roman trade routes in the 1st century. While no trace remains of the Arabian churches, the churches of Eritrea/Ethiopia and southern India still thrive.

Such examples of cultural standardisation across space and time seem to fall within the definition of globalisation from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Alaric the

¹⁷ A term coined by Abner Cohen in Cohen 1971.

¹⁸ Curtin 1996, 1-11.

¹⁹ Traditionally ascribed to a certain Palladius of the 4th century AD. Both the date and the attribution are uncertain (Weerakkody 1997, 119), but the work certainly belongs to late antiquity.

²⁰ Number refers to Greek version as published in Weerakkody 1997, 212-13.

Goth's taste for pepper and silk could be described in a similar context, but what about Flynn and Giraldez's much stricter demands concerning the volume and effects of international trade in terms of globalisation?

Economic Interdependence and the Red Sea

And, by the lowest reckoning India, China and the Arabian peninsula take from our empire 100 million *sesterces* every year – that is the sum which our luxuries and our women cost us; for what fraction of these imports, I ask you, now goes to the gods or to the powers of the lower world? (Pliny *NH* 12. 84).²¹

Trade was the most important instigator of cultural change around the Indian Ocean. Globalisation is often interpreted partly as a result of international trade while at the same time international trade is often seen as an important aspect of globalisation itself, as in Flynn and Giraldez's statement about when globalisation took place (above). They demanded not only that all continents exchanged goods continuously, but also that this had lasting impact on all the trading partners.²² We have already seen that the Indian Ocean served as the commercial link between the three continents of the Old World for several hundred years, and that this had long-term cultural impact represented by language and religion. The Indian Ocean trade, however, also had political and economic consequences for the partaking societies. This brings us to Flynn and Giraldez's second point: what economic impact did this trade have on the trading partners and did it have political effects. Considering the absence of statistical material, such political and economic consequences of ancient trade are harder to establish than cultural standardisation and change.

To start on the Roman side, Pliny's complaint about the drain of currency from the Roman empire (above) has fostered considerable speculation about the volume of the Roman trade.²³ Elsewhere he estimates the negative balance on the trade with India alone to 50 million *sesterces*, which seems reasonable compared to the 100 million total for the Eastern trade (Pliny *NH* 6. 101). While we will never know the reliability of Pliny's figures, they are the only ones we have, and no doubt can demonstrate that he considered the problem to be real. Some simple calculations could give us a general idea of the amounts involved.

Four *sesterces* equalled one *denarius*, a Roman soldier at the time of Pliny received an annual pay of 225 *denarii*,²⁴ and deductions were made for food, weap-

²¹ *Ca.* AD 70 on the Roman trade with the East.

²² Flynn and Giraldez 2002, 4.

²³ See, for example, Warmington 1974, 272-318; De Romanis 1997, 121-28; Young 2001, 24-26.

²⁴ Jones 1953, 294.

ons and uniforms. 100 million *sesterces*, Pliny's estimate of the total price of Indian Ocean imports thus equals the annual pay of 111,111 Roman legionaries. At the time of Pliny, the standing army consisted of 29 legions,²⁵ each of *ca.* 5500 men.²⁶ 100 million *sesterces* would pay for more than 20 of these. The Roman army also consisted of a large number of auxiliaries, clerks, cooks, officers, cavalry, engineers, doctors, etc. Still, this shows that 100 million *sesterces* must have been a huge sum, even compared to the expenses of the Roman army.

While we only have few figures on the Roman side, we have none from the African, Indian and Arabian societies that delivered the expensive Eastern imports to the Roman empire, but that the trade had an impact on these societies seems very likely. This can be seen by comparing the development of the Roman Indian Ocean trade to the political development of African and Arabian states:

In the table below, different aspects of Roman, Aksumite and South Arabian commercial and political history are tabulated. Separately, most events can be explained by internal developments, but together, they seem to be linked in the following way:

(1) The Roman takeover of Egypt increases the importance of maritime trade at the expense of overland trade. (2) This gives rise to the state of Aksum in Ethiopia/Eritrea and gives states with access to maritime trade the upper hand in conflicts in southern Arabia. (3) The Roman empire is the most dynamic and influential power in the commercial system until the late 2nd century. (4) In the 3rd century the Aksumites take over as the dominant force in the Red Sea region and prosper greatly from their role as intermediaries between Arabia/India and the Roman world. (5) Similarly the Himyarites control the Arabian Indian Ocean trade and emerge victorious from South Arabian power struggles. (6) South Arabia falls victim to foreign invasions in the 6th century, but although initially successful, (7) Aksum (and through it Roman Egypt) is cut off from Indian Ocean commerce with the Persian invasion of Yemen *ca.* AD 570. (8) The end of the ancient Indian Ocean system is complete with the Islamic conquest of Egypt in AD 642.

This summary history of the western part of the Indian Ocean system shows how events in one part of the system influenced other parts. The opening of maritime routes from Egypt had political effects in Arabia. The crisis in the Roman empire from the 3rd century opened the way for the kings of Aksum. The eastward swing in the Indian Ocean commerce which must have resulted from the Persian conquest of Arabia took away the economic basis of Aksumite coinage and perhaps even urbanism. This shows that trade in the Indian Ocean system not only linked all continents of the ancient *Oikoumene*, it also had a significant volume, and it had

²⁵ Watson 1969, 23.

²⁶ Watson 1969, 13.

lasting impact on all trading partners. From the Indian Ocean evidence, the ancient world certainly seems to have been globalised, or should we perhaps say 'oikoumenised'? The question that remains, however, is that if the ancient period experienced processes resembling those we call globalisation today, how relevant is the term really for our interpretation of the changing dynamics of the contemporary world?

Period/main developments	Rome/Egypt	Ethiopia/Eritrea	Southern Arabia
Pre-30 BC Mainly caravan trade with Mediterranean; Indian and Arabian networks on Indian Ocean; inland kingdoms dominate southern Arabia; no state in Ethiopia/Eritrea.	Ptolemaic kingdom, limited maritime trade on the Red Sea. ²⁷	Proto-Aksumite phase, external contacts limited to southern Arabia and Nubia. ²⁸	Inland kingdoms of Saba and Qataban dominate. ²⁹ Caravan trade with the Mediterranean through the Nabatean kingdom. ³⁰
30 BC- <i>ca.</i> AD 50 Roman network developing; coastal states take over in southern Arabia. Start of Aksumite kingdom.	Roman takeover in Egypt leads to increased maritime trade from 30 BC. ³¹ Failed Arabian expedition of Aelius Gallus in 25/4 BC. ³² The <i>Periplus</i> describes fully developed Roman Indian Ocean network <i>ca.</i> AD 50.	<i>Periplus</i> gives first outside account of Aksum <i>ca.</i> AD 50: Aksum trades with India, Arabia and Rome and serves as link to the African hinterland. ³³	Hadramawt and alliance of Saba-Himyar dominate coast, ³⁴ inland state of Qataban marginalised, ³⁵ capital of Timna destroyed. ³⁶ <i>Periplus</i> reports trade in aromatics mainly by sea. Hadramawt tightens control with frankincense production and trade. ³⁷

²⁷ Strabo 2. 5. 13; 17. 1. 13.

²⁸ Fattovich 1997, 70.

²⁹ De Maigret 2002, 213.

³⁰ Pliny *NH* 12. 63.

³¹ Strabo 2. 5. 13; 17. 1. 13.

³² Strabo 16. 4. 22-23.

³³ *Periplus* 4-6.

³⁴ *Periplus* 20-33.

³⁵ De Maigret 2002, 220.

³⁶ Van Beek 1952, 10.

³⁷ Seland 2005.

Period/main developments	Rome/Egypt	Ethiopia/Eritrea	Southern Arabia
<i>ca.</i> AD 50-200 Greatest extent of Roman network?	Pliny complains about drain of money, <i>ca.</i> AD 70. ³⁸ Roman garrison at Farasan Islands, southern Red Sea, during reign of Antoninus Pius (AD 138-161). ³⁹ Ptolemy, <i>ca.</i> AD 160, describes world eastwards to China, coast of Bay of Bengal, south-east Asia, voyage to China. ⁴⁰ Roman visitors reported at Chinese court in AD 166. ⁴¹	Ptolemy describes Aksumite kingdom <i>ca.</i> AD 160. ⁴² Archaeological record shows start of monumental architecture in city of Aksum and increase in imported material at the capital. ⁴³	Struggle for supremacy between Saba, Himyar, Hadramawt and Qataban throughout period. ⁴⁴ Himyar independent <i>ca.</i> AD 100, end of Qataban before <i>ca.</i> AD 200. ⁴⁵ Hadramawt secures control of eastern Yemen by stopping eastward expansion of Himyar and conquering Qataban. ⁴⁶
AD 200-300 Collapse or near collapse of Roman Indian Ocean trade; Aksum seemingly takes over as intermediaries.	Civil wars and crisis in the Roman empire. Little activity at Red Sea port of Berenikê from late 2nd through mid-4th century AD, but Palmyrene presence. ⁴⁷ Height of Palmyrene power (collapses in AD 272).	Inscriptions attest large and aggressive Aksumite territorial state. ⁴⁸ Aksumite expeditions to Me-roë and into southern Arabia. ⁴⁹ Periodic Aksumite control of Red Sea straits? Monumental architecture at Aksum. ⁵⁰ Indian coins from <i>ca.</i> AD 220 attested in Ethiopia. ⁵¹ Introduction of Aksumite gold coinage on Roman standard <i>ca.</i> AD 270. ⁵²	Aksumite influence on and partial occupation of western Yemen. Saba conquers Hadramawt (AD 225). Saba collapses <i>ca.</i> AD 280. Himyar controls southern Arabia alone, ⁵³ except Red Sea coast, which remains under Aksumite control. ⁵⁴

³⁸ Pliny *NH* 6. 101; 12. 84.

³⁹ Phillips *et al.* 2004.

⁴⁰ Ptolemy *Geographia* 7. 2-3; 1. 13-15.

⁴¹ Hirth 1885, 40-43.

⁴² Ptolemy *Geographia* 4.7.

⁴³ Fattovich 1997, 71.

⁴⁴ De Maigret 2002, 238-39.

⁴⁵ De Maigret 2002, 229.

⁴⁶ De Maigret 2002, 238.

⁴⁷ Sidebotham and Wendrich 1999, 455.

⁴⁸ Cosmas *Christian Topography* 2. 60-63; Munro-Hay 1991, 79-80.

⁴⁹ Fattovich 1997, 71.

⁵⁰ Fattovich 1997, 71.

⁵¹ Munro-Hay 1991, 182.

⁵² Munro-Hay 1991, 180.

⁵³ De Maigret 2002, 240-44.

⁵⁴ De Maigret 2002, 247.

Period/main developments	Rome/Egypt	Ethiopia/Eritrea	Southern Arabia
AD 300-500 Roman Red Sea and Indian Ocean trade seemingly recovers with continued important roles for Aksum and Himyar.	Red Sea port of Berenikê recovers from <i>ca.</i> AD 350. ⁵⁵	Introduction of Christianity <i>ca.</i> AD 325. ⁵⁶ The Theban Scholasticus goes to Malabar on an Aksumite ship and reports an Indian colony at Aksum late 4th century AD. ⁵⁷ Continued monumental architecture at Aksum.	Himyarites remain in control. Introduction of Christianity during reign of Roman emperor Constantine II (AD 337-361). ⁵⁸ Introduction of Judaism. ⁵⁹ Aden mentioned as the market for trade with Roman territories. ⁶⁰ Himyar empire reaches greatest extent in 5th century AD. ⁶¹
AD 500-650 Last phase of Roman Indian Ocean commerce.	Berenikê abandoned by early 6th century AD. ⁶² Cosmas (<i>ca.</i> AD 520) reports Christian communities all over Indian Ocean. ⁶³ Egypt conquered by Arabs AD 642.	Peak of urban development. ⁶⁴ Continued role as intermediaries for Roman trade with India. ⁶⁵ Second invasion of Arabia (<i>ca.</i> AD 525). ⁶⁶ Gradual decline and end of coinage shortly after AD 600. ⁶⁷	Second Aksumite invasion, <i>ca.</i> AD 525, Persian conquest of southern Arabia <i>ca.</i> AD 570. (Red Sea trade disrupted?) Conversion to Islam AD 628. ⁶⁸

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⁵⁵ Sidebotham and Wendrich 1999, 456.

⁵⁶ Munro-Hay 1991, 202-06.

⁵⁷ Palladius *De Gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus*.

⁵⁸ Philostorgius *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3. 4.

⁵⁹ De Maigret 2002, 249.

⁶⁰ Philostorgius *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3. 4.

⁶¹ De Maigret 2002, 250.

⁶² Sidebotham and Wendrich 1999, 456.

⁶³ Cosmas *Christian Topography* 3. 65.

⁶⁴ Fattovich 1997, 69.

⁶⁵ Cosmas *Christian Topography* 11. 17.

⁶⁶ Munro-Hay 1991, 85-88; De Maigret 2002, 250-52.

⁶⁷ Munro-Hay 1991, 88-94, 194-95.

⁶⁸ De Maigret 2002, 250-52.

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SINOPEANS ABROAD AND FOREIGNERS AT SINOPE*

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Abstract

Sinope was connected, through the travels of her citizens as well as through the arrival of foreigners, chiefly to cities across the Black Sea and to those along the main sea route connecting the Straits to Egypt; less important are cities on the Greek mainland. Politics seems to have had but limited influence on the movements of people; the one major change was brought about by the coming of Rome, which opened up spaces previously untouched, such as the Anatolian hinterland and Europe beyond Greece.

In the course of her long history, Sinope evolved from an early foundation of the Ionian Greeks to the metropolis of a string of secondary colonies, and then from capital of the kingdom of Pontus finally to a provincial city of the Roman empire. In all of these stages, and despite her peripheral location, the city belonged integrally to the Greek world and played her part in the wider politics of her time. A study of the mobility of individuals may shed additional light upon Sinope's commercial and political background and on the relative importance of Sinope in the concert of Greek city-states.

This paper will survey foreigners coming to Sinope as well as Sinopeans going abroad, and try to determine their motives and aims in leaving their native cities, constant patterns in their choice of destination cities and possible connections between these patterns and the cities' politics and/or economy. The time frame is given by the oldest extant epigraphic evidence concerning Sinope, which reaches no further back than the 5th century BC. A clear break occurs at the onset of Roman times, when the city, after having been conquered by Lucullus in 70 BC, was chosen by Caesar to harbour a colony of his veterans: in 45 BC, the *colonia Iulia Felix Sinopensis* was founded here, receiving part of the Greek city and of her territory (Strabo 12. 3. 11).¹ The change in status as well as the city's incorporation into

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¹ νυνὶ δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποικίαν δέδεκται καὶ μέρος τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐκείνων ἐστί.

the Roman *imperium* meant a distinct turning point for the external relations of the city as well.

The Pre-Roman Period

The external links of Sinope fall geographically into three main categories. First, the oldest and closest, came links to other Black Sea cities. Sinope exhibits a distinct predominance of relations with cities and places outside this area (9 relations inside the Black Sea as against 105 outside it in the pre-Roman period; less unbalanced in Roman times, 12 inside and 42 outside). This ratio placed Sinope alongside the Bosporean kingdom and apart from most other Greek cities in the Black Sea area, whose external relations were largely confined within this region.² For both, the reason for this difference lay presumably in their enormous importance for trade with regions outside their immediate neighbourhood: the Bosporean kingdom was, chiefly in the 4th century BC, one if not the main supplier of grain to Athens and other Greek states in the Aegean region.³ Within the Black Sea area, Sinopean exports greatly exceeded imports; the city was by far the most important port-of-call and trade harbour, as well as one of the most important industry and manufacturing centres.⁴ Sinopean amphorae were exported throughout the Black Sea, reaching some 20,000 pieces.⁵ Even momentous political events, such as the conquests of Alexander, the expansion of the kingdom of Pontus or the coming of Rome, had no noticeable impact on the quantity of goods or on the extent of trade across the Black Sea.⁶ None of the epigraphically attested links gives specific reasons for the presence of particular individuals from various Black Sea cities in any of the others; but, regardless of whether the evidence is from honorary decrees or epitaphs, it is to be assumed that the destinations reached by them followed the directions of trade and lay along the main trading routes across the Black Sea.⁷

² For this, see Vinogradov 1987.

³ Gajdukevich 1971, 97-111; Hind 1994a.

⁴ Mehl 1987, 180-81.

⁵ For the production and export of Sinopean amphorae around the Black Sea, see Garlan 1999, 117-23; Conovici and Garlan 2004, with further literature; Conovici 1998, 181-85. For Sinopean workshops, see most recently Kassab Tezgör 1999.

⁶ Mehl 1987, 183.

⁷ For maritime routes and piracy in the Black Sea, see Maximova 1959; Mehl 1987, 130-40, 183-84; Arnaud 1992; Tsatskhladze 1998; 2002.

The links of Sinope within the Black Sea focus upon Chersonesus,⁸ Panticapaeum⁹ and Tomis,¹⁰ but those of longest standing are with Olbia. There are various links across the sea between the three oldest Milesian *apoikiai* in the region (Sinope, Olbia and Histria), in all likelihood dating back to the time of their foundation.¹¹ The very oldest Olbian inscription, from the second quarter of the 5th century BC, is a decree granting *ateleia* to Ἰητροκλῆς Ἐκαταίο Σινωπέυς.¹² One of the oldest inscriptions from Olbia, dated to the third quarter of the 5th century, is a proxeny decree for [Τι]μησίλ[εως ---α]γόρεω Σ[ινωπε]ύς, identified as the former tyrant of Sinope deposed by the Athenian intervention led by Pericles, and for his brother [Θεό]προπος [---α]γόρεω Σ[ινωπε]ύς.¹³

The second of the main categories mentioned above comprises cities along one of the main trade and navigation routes in the Hellenistic period, that linking the Black Sea to Egypt, through the Straits and along the western coast of Asia Minor. A woman describing herself as Σύνθημα Ἡρακλειώτις, Σόφωνος Σινωπέως γυνή was buried on Lemnos,¹⁴ a place that is little more than a port-of-call *en route* to or from the Straits. She was born at Heracleia and married to a man from Sinope, two cities which had much the same commercial interests and political outlook; in all likelihood, the Sinopean was also a merchant. In the 4th century BC, two men from Sinope, Διογένης Μοιραγένους Σινωπέυς and Δῖος Ἡροξένου Σινωπέυς, became *proxenoi* of Chios.¹⁵ The island had for some time been one of the wealthiest in Greece; its wealth stemmed from the export of wine, one of the most expensive sorts of Greek wine, of mastix and – to a lesser degree – of pottery, metal goods and marble, as well as from slave trade.¹⁶ Chian amphorae were present in the Black Sea

⁸ The Sinopean Menophilos son of Menophilos received a proxeny decree, 2nd century BC (*IOSPE* I², 351). To the end of the century belongs the activity of Mithradates of Pontus' general Διόφαντος Ἀσκληπιοδώρου Σινωπέυς (Strabo 7. 4. 3; *IOSPE* I², 352 = *SyllB*, 709). However, his presence there reflects the politics of his king and not his personal choices, neither genuine external links of his city.

⁹ Funerary inscription of [Μ]ητ[ρότιμ?]ος Σ[ινωπε]εύς, 4th century BC (*CIRB* 208); funerary inscription of Φαρνάκης Φαρνάκου of Sinope, 1st century BC (*CIRB* 129). This man is not necessarily of Iranian origin, there is another bearing this name in Odessus (*IGBulg* I², 64, after AD 202: (Π)ρόσοδος Φαρνά(κ)ου, archon and pontarch) and he is almost certainly Greek; the name might have been touring the Black Sea since the days of Pharnaces I of Pontus, of whom we know that he had concluded some sort of agreement with Odessus (*IGBulg* I², 40).

¹⁰ The Sinopean...ος Πολυδῶ[ρου] erected a dedication to Sarapis *ca.* 100 BC (*ISM* II 152 = *SIRIS* 706).

¹¹ See Ruscu 2001, 191-207, with further literature.

¹² *IO* 1 = Dubois 1996, no. 1.

¹³ Vinogradov 1997, 175 = *SEG* 31, 701.

¹⁴ *IG* XII.8, 33 = *AEM* 31, 1906, 251.

¹⁵ Vanseveren 1937.

¹⁶ Gehrke 1986, 120-22; Sarikakis 1986, 121.

area from early on, especially on the western coast, and though their numbers were never high they give evidence for continuous commercial links.¹⁷ These, however, slackened after the end of the 4th century BC, because of political crises on the island¹⁸ and the increasingly strong competition from producers of cheaper wine. The only other epigraphical evidence for links between Chios and the Black Sea area, both from Chersonesus, also belongs to the 4th century BC at the latest.¹⁹

Further down the coast of Asia Minor, Menestrates Melanthiou was buried at Halicarnassus in the first half of the 1st century BC; the monument was sculpted by Μηνοφάνης Λυσανίου Σινοπεύς.²⁰ This was not the only case of a Sinopean sculptor employed abroad (see below on Rhodes). Halicarnassus had been proclaimed a free city after Apamea, but the inscription does not date to the best of times for the city, involved as she was in the Mithradatic wars. Although she erected a statue of Sulla for favours received,²¹ the city did not belong to the few who resisted Mithradates during his first war with Rome.²² Perhaps local sympathies for the king of Pontus contributed to render Halicarnassus more attractive for the artist than Sinope herself. At the time of Quintus Cicero she was a decayed, albeit rehabilitated city.²³ Two pieces of evidence come from Iasos, both of the 2nd century BC posterior to 167 BC, after the city had ceased to belong to the Rhodian *peraia*.²⁴ In a list of awards at the Dionysia, a *metoikos*, Διοσκουρίδης Ἀπολλωνίου Σινοπεύς, is named.²⁵ In the second half of the century, the gravestone of a funerary association which included *metoikoi* from the commercial or manufacturing population²⁶ also named Ἑρμίας τοῦ Δημητρίου Σινοπεύς.²⁷ These people were probably attracted thither as a consequence of the well-attested existing external trade links of Iasos. The region surrounding the city is in fact not especially rich;²⁸ it had however a good port functioning probably also as a port-of-call, which is confirmed by the numerous mentions of *metoikoi*; other people from the Black Sea area are also named.²⁹ Iasos flourished mainly after 167 BC. The middle of the 2nd

¹⁷ Sarikakis 1986, 123, 126; Lazarov 1982; cf. Buzoianu 1991, 75-80.

¹⁸ See for these Gehrke 1985, 46-49.

¹⁹ *IOSPE* II 468; IV 403.

²⁰ French 1984 = *SEG* 34, 1067.

²¹ *ILS* 8771.

²² Hind 1994b, 162.

²³ See Magie 1950, 109, 238, 382.

²⁴ *IK* 28.1 Iasos, 173.

²⁵ *IK* 28.1 Iasos, 187, l. 9.

²⁶ Robert 1983, 178, n. 127.

²⁷ *IK* 28.2 Iasos, 408, ll. 16-17.

²⁸ Magie 1950, 85.

²⁹ *IK* 28.1, 197: Diogenes son of (.)anybotos of Callatis and Ktesias son of Apollonios of Bizone; *IK* 28.1, 408, ll. 12-13: Hermias son of Dionysios of Tyras.

century was the period which registered most foreigners in Iasos and also coincided with that of greatest prosperity; the second half of the century was a more troubled time, in which the coming of Rome and the war of Aristonicus made the region less attractive to foreigners.³⁰

Plentiful evidence comes from Rhodes, all of the Hellenistic period. There are no fewer than three testimonies for sculptors here: shortly after 300 BC, Εὐάνδρος Διονυσίου Σινωπέυς carved at Rhodes city a monument dedicated to all the gods by the priest Polykles, son of Teisagoras, on behalf of his son Thrasykles.³¹ A statue base erected by the city of Camirus for the *damiurgos* Satyros Ergoita and his *syniereis* ca. 272 BC was sculpted by the same man.³² At Lindos, only the base of a monument survives, which was dedicated in the 3rd century BC by Archinomos Philophronos to Athana Lindia and Zeus Polieus; it was sculpted by Κληρίας Σιν[ω]πέυς.³³ Six other people from Sinope were buried on Rhodes in the Hellenistic period,³⁴ yet three others are mentioned on the island.³⁵ There is no indication of why they were there; but it is only natural that people from Sinope were attracted by Rhodes, given the trade links and political connections between the two cities³⁶ (as shown by the two instances when Rhodes gave diplomatic and logistic support to the besieged Pontic city).³⁷ That it was Rhodes' prosperity as a commercial centre that attracted these people here is clearly shown by the fact that in the Roman period not one Sinopean found his way to this island.

Possibly from Sinope was the man honoured by Thasos, --- 'Εζ]ηγέστου [Σινω?]πῆ.³⁸ An ephebe, Πασίων Ἐργασίωνος Σινωπέυς, is mentioned at Delos in 123/2 BC.³⁹ Λίβανος Σινωπέυς was buried around 300 BC at Eretria,⁴⁰ where no

³⁰ For the development of Iasos' external relations, see Delrieux 2001.

³¹ SEG 12, 359a.

³² Segre and Pugliese Carratelli 1952, 177, no. 16; cf. BE 1954, 197.

³³ Blinkenberg 1941, 89.

³⁴ Διονύσιος Σινωπέυς (IG XII.1, 465 = AEM 7, 1883, 119, 28); Σοφοκλῆς Σινωπέυς (IG XII.1, 466); Χαρμοσύνα Σινωπίς (IG XII.1, 467 = AEM 7, 1883, 119, 29); Ἀθηναῖς Σινωπίς (Konstantinopoulos 1969, 470; cf. BE 1972, 321); Ῥοδίνα Σινωπίς (Zervoudaki 1985, 404 = SEG 35, 893); ---σία (...) Σινωπῆ (Peek 1955; 1966).

³⁵ Σίνδης Σινωπέυς in a Hellenistic catalogue (Pugliese Carratelli 1955-56, 160, no. 4); two unnamed Sinopeans are mentioned in an unpublished inscription of the 2nd-1st centuries BC (Papachristodoulou 2001, 178 = SEG 51, 1015).

³⁶ The occurrence of the sun god Helios on Sinopean coins also lends support to the Rhodian connection – cf. Mehl 1987, 167.

³⁷ In 220 BC, when Sinope was threatened by Mithradates IV of Pontus (Polybius 4. 56. 3); in 183 BC, when Pharnaces succeeded in taking the city (Polybius 23. 9. 1-3; 24. 1. 1-3). See Magie 1950, 184-85, 191-92; Will 1967, 46-47, 288-90; Berthold 1984, 93-94, 172-73.

³⁸ SEG 17, 419; cf. Daux 1958, 638-39.

³⁹ I.Délös 1924.

⁴⁰ Dunant 1978, 58-59, no. 183 = SEG 28, 725.

fewer than 60 Hellenistic funerary inscriptions for foreigners were found.⁴¹ At Histiaea around the middle of the 3rd century BC, the ambassadors of Sinope Μητρ[ρ]ό[βι]ος Δεινίου and Ἐπιχάρης Θεαρίωνος (who also became *proxenoi*) renewed the friendship between the two cities;⁴² the response of the city of Histiaea included *asyleia*, *ateleia* and other privileges for Sinopeans coming to their city; these rights (or some of them) had already been granted by Sinope to Histiaeans. The friendship was also founded on the two cities being sisters (ἐκ παλαιῶν φίλοις καὶ ἀδελφοῖς [οὔσιν---]).⁴³ About 265 BC, Histiaea had granted no less than 32 proxeny decrees, perhaps in just one year.⁴⁴ Histiaea owed her wide-ranging external relations to her place as one of the centres of the transit trade that attracted merchants from the entire Mediterranean. However, a comparison of the list of these *proxenoi* with the diffusion of Histiaeian coins shows that the two did not coincide; this munificence does not mirror the importance of Histiaea as a commercial centre.⁴⁵ The treaty with Sinope acknowledges rather the desire of Histiaea to attract additional Sinopean merchants.

An aside on this route is represented by the two great sanctuaries and oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor, Didyma and Claros. In a 4th-century BC honorary decree, Πυρρίας Μητροδώρου Σινωπεύς was mentioned as μέτοικος at Claros.⁴⁶ This was still a long time away from the heyday of the oracle in Roman times, when it was consulted even by people from the Western provinces,⁴⁷ but the fame of Claros had already travelled throughout Asia Minor.⁴⁸ There are two oracles delivered to Black Sea cities, but they belong to later times.⁴⁹

At Didyma, --- Θέωνος Σινωπεύς consecrated a phiale to Apollo Didymaios in 224/3 BC.⁵⁰ There are no consistent links of Sinope to any of the great oracles, as, for example, Callatis had to Delphi.⁵¹ There is also no record of the city's foundation oracle, unless there was, as some scholars assume, a special oracle issued for all

⁴¹ Davies 1984, 267.

⁴² IG XII.9, 1186 = SEG 30, 1106 = 37, 740 = 42, 793 = 44, 709 = Robinson 1906, 332-33, no. 96.

⁴³ For the reasons for this motivation, see Rigsby 1980, 245. On kinships between cities, see generally Curty 1995.

⁴⁴ Syl³, 492; Tarn 1952, 75.

⁴⁵ Marek 1977. For the circulation of the coins of Histiaea, see Robert 1951, 179-216. For the connection between *proxenoi* and the commercial importance of a city, see generally Marek 1984.

⁴⁶ Meritt 1935, no. III.

⁴⁷ Stauber and Merkelbach 1996; Mitchell 1993 II, 11-13, 30-31.

⁴⁸ See Robert 1989.

⁴⁹ Odessos: *IGBulg* I², 224 = Peek 1955, 1145 (late Hellenistic?); Anchialos: *IGBulg* I², 370 = *IGRR* 767 (2nd century AD).

⁵⁰ *I.Didyma* 447.

⁵¹ Cf. Avram and Lefèvre 1995.

Milesian colonists in the Black Sea by precisely the Apollo of Didyma,⁵² an oracle which instituted the cult of Apollo Ietros as protector in the new cities.⁵³ The cult of Ietros at Sinope is less well attested as, for example, at Histria or Apollonia, but chiefly personal names speak for its early presence there.⁵⁴ It is thus conceivable that this single piece of evidence for a Sinopean at Didyma went back to links established at the time of colonisation.

Several personal links to Egypt are recorded, all of them in the Hellenistic period. One must exclude the ambassadors Σωτέλης and Διονύσιος, sent by Ptolemy I to Sinope to bring back the statue of Sarapis (Manetho fr. 80; Plutarch *Isis* 28), who had no proper personal links to, and possibly no desire to be in, Sinope; nevertheless, this diplomatic mission seems to have inaugurated a unidirectional drift of people from Sinope towards Egypt. Given the great distance between the two, it is not surprising that known cases are not more numerous; there are, however, indications that the actual number might have been considerably larger. Unlike other cities around the Black Sea, Sinope seems to have had no writers, philosophers or artists to give to Egypt;⁵⁵ they apparently preferred to go to Athens or Rhodes. Only mercenaries found their way to Egypt. Our testimonies relate only to those who chose to stay on, but not to integrate themselves fully by giving up their original citizenship.⁵⁶ At Hibeh in Upper Egypt, a Sinopean was mentioned in bureaucratic documents: Ζώϊλος Πτολεμαίου Σινωπεύς had bought from the Eritrean Bion Philemonos 20 *arurae* of land planted with mulberry trees and acanthi, for which he was duly summoned to pay a tax of 5% (229-228 or 228-227 BC).⁵⁷ There is no direct indication of his profession prior to or during his being a landowner in Egypt; however, it is likely that he came as a mercenary.⁵⁸ Δημήτριος Σινωπεύς, cavalry soldier and landowner, is mentioned at Crocodilopolis in 179 BC,⁵⁹ and again sometime later, in 176 or 165 BC.⁶⁰ He came to Egypt at a time when the initial lure of military service to the Ptolemies had much faded and the country had become, subsequent to the incessant Egyptian uprisings and the loss of much of the overseas empire, less appealing than it had been in the days of Philadelphus or Soter. Apparently, the presence of a Sinopean mercenary in 2nd-century Egypt indicates that the recruitment of mercenaries from Sinope had not

⁵² For him, see Ehrhardt 1983, 130-32; for the sanctuary, see Fontenrose 1988.

⁵³ Vinogradov 1981, 21-22; Ehrhardt 1983, 144-47.

⁵⁴ Ehrhardt 1983, 136.

⁵⁵ Ruscu 2004.

⁵⁶ For foreigners in Egypt in this age, see Fraser 1972, 52, 60-86.

⁵⁷ Grenfell and Hunt 1906, 70a.

⁵⁸ Cf. Launey 1987, II 1227.

⁵⁹ *P. Amb.* 42; Launey 1987, II 1227.

⁶⁰ *P. Amb.* 55 [484].

ceased (although it is questionable whether it was undertaken directly or through the mediation of some other Greek city closer to Egypt); the survival of only one name of a Sinopean in Egypt may very well be an accident. An additional indication is the existence of a Sinopion at Memphis.⁶¹

One external link of Sinope is entirely eccentric: the oldest Greek inscription in Susiana, of the 4th century BC, perhaps preceding Alexander, is a funerary inscription for Νικοκλήης Νικοκλέ[ο]ς Σινωπέυς.⁶² It is a place far away from home for a Sinopean to be. Our man was probably in the service of the Great King, most likely as a mercenary recruited at the time when Sinope belonged to the Persian empire after the wane of the Athenian power in the Black Sea and the retreat of the Ten Thousand.⁶³ Still at the time of Alexander, the Sinopeans were reckoned as subjects of the Persians (Arrian *Anabasis* 3. 24. 4; Curtius Rufus 6. 5. 6).

In few cases in this second category of Sinopean presence outside the Black Sea are we told why its citizens went abroad. The example of Histiaea shows that, while generally the number of proxenies granted may not reflect the prosperity of a city, but rather her need for external support and thus her economic weakness,⁶⁴ nonetheless contacts to other cities and their citizens must have already existed before such decrees came into being; thus, the granting of proxenies does to a certain extent mirror the range and intensity of a city's trade links. In the case of Sinope, lured by the huge commercial importance of the city, the initiative seems to have come from the other partner, whether Black Sea or Aegean *poleis*.⁶⁵ Conversely,

⁶¹ Marek 1993, 107.

⁶² Cumont 1928, 79-80, no. 1 = *SEG* 7, 27.

⁶³ For Sinope in the 4th century BC, see Robinson 1906, 245-48; Debord 1999, 59-64, 83-91, 111-15.

⁶⁴ For this, see Marek 1984, 359-64. For Sinope, see also Mehl 1987, 183-84.

⁶⁵ Mehl 1987, 160.

⁶⁶ Εὐξένης Σινω[πίς] (*IG* II² 10327 = *FRA* 6819), [Πα]νφίλη Πανφίλου [Σ]ινωπέως (*IG* II² 10345 = *FRA* 6855, 6856), Ὀνησίχα Μένωνος Σινωπ[έω]ς γυνή (*IG* II² 10344 = *FRA* 6843), Φίλων Διονυσίου Σινωπέυς (*IG* II² 10359 = *FRA* 6878), Ἥγησίθεμις Ἡρακλείδω Σινωπέυς (*IG* II² 10329 = *FRA* 6824, 6826), Λέων Σινωπέυς (*IG* II² 10334/5 = *FRA* 6835), Ὀνήσιμος Ὀνησίππου Σινωπέυς (*IG* II² 10343 = *FRA* 6853), Σίμη Θέωνος Πλαταική and Εὐκτῆμων Καλλιμάχου Σινωπ[έω]ς (*Bradeen* 1974, 648 = *SEG* 18, 122 = *FRA* 6816, 6830), Piraeus Πρωταγόρας Ἀντισθένης Σινωπέυς (*IG* II² 10348 = *FRA* 6784, 6864), Νικίας Φιλ--- Σινωπέυς, (*IG* II² 10341 = *FRA* 6850, 6874), Σωτερὶς Σπόρου Σινωπέως θυγάτηρ, Νικομήδου Ἀντισθέως γυνή (*IG* II² 10353 = *FRA* 6869, 6871), Βόηθος Λυσιμάχου Σινωπέυς (*IG* II² 10317 = *FRA* 6792, 6837), [Πά]μφιλος Σινωπέυς (*IG* II² 10346 = *FRA* 6857), Σφοδρία Πυθαγγέλου Σινωπέυς (*IG* II² 10352 = *FRA* 6865, 6870), Πετραῖος Πετραίου [Σιν]ωπέυς (*IG* II² 10347 = *FRA* 6859, 6860), Ἀθήναιος Ἀντιάνδρου Σινωπέυς (*IG* II² 10314 = *FRA* 6779, 6783), Μητρὶς Νικάνδρου Σινωπέυς (*IG* II² 10339 = *FRA* 6846, 6849 = Robinson 1906, 330, no. 82 (perhaps the same person who received a proxeny at Delphi, see below n. 92), Σοφοκλῆς Δημητρίου Σινωπέυς (*IG* II² 10351 = *FRA* 6795, 6868), Ἀθηνίω[ν] Διονυσίου[ν] Σινωπ[έω]ς (*IG* II² 10315 = *FRA* 6780, 6803), Μένων Σινωπέυς (*IG* II² 10337 = *FRA* 6842), Ἰά[σ]ιος Δημητρίου Σινωπέυς (*IG* II² 10330 = *FRA* 6796, 6829), Τίμων Σινωπέυς (*IG* II² 10354 = *FRA* 6872), Διονύσιος Ἀπολλωνίου

politics seem to have been of little importance in the choice of Sinopeans of a destination or a new home. While Alexander's conquests linked Sinope more firmly to the newly shaped Hellenistic world, they did not provide a break with the preceding period: 23 links recorded for the (5th and) 4th century BC; 27 for the somewhat longer period between Alexander and the conquest of Sinope by Pharnaces of Pontus. Likewise, no drastic changes are recorded in the personal external relations of Sinope by the transformation of the city into the capital of the kingdom of Pontus. Thus, even entirely personal choices of a new environment tend to follow the already established paths of the city's economic (mainly commercial) involvement.

The third great category leads to the Greek mainland. There are no fewer than 60 Sinopeans recorded at Athens between the 4th century BC and the 3rd century AD, most of them between the 4th and 2nd centuries BC. Thirty persons are dated to the 4th-2nd centuries BC,⁶⁶ ten to the time of Mithradates and the beginnings of Roman rule (late 2nd century BC-early 1st century AD)⁶⁷ and seven to the Roman period;⁶⁸ six are undated.⁶⁹

Most of these people are known to us from funerary inscriptions, which give no details about the deceased, but for some, more is known. The most famous Sinopean ever, Diogenes the Dog, was for long years a guest of Athens.⁷⁰ Apart from him, an entire family of playwrights with origins in Sinope were buried in Athens in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC:⁷¹ the poet of the New Comedy, Δίφιλος Δίωνος Σινωπεύς, his brother, Διόδωρος Δίωνος Σημαχίδης (also a poet of the New

Σινωπεύς (*IG* II² 10320 = *FRA* 6787, 6804), Πυρρίας Σινωπεύς (*IG* II² 10349 = *FRA* 6866), Φίλων Διονυσίου Σινωπεύς (*IG* II² 10360 = *FRA* 6806, 6879), Μενίσκος Μήνδος Σινωπεύς (*IG* II² 10336 = *FRA* 6841, 6844), Εὐ...ης Εὐά[ν]δρου Σινω[πε]ύς (*IG* II² 10324 = *FRA* 6815, 6822); Δημήτριος Ἀπολλωδώρου Σινωπεύς (Osborne 1988, 28, no. 154 = *FRA* 6785, 6798).

⁶⁷ Δάιππος Ἀθηνοδώρου Σινωπεύς, Ἀθηνοδωρος Δάιππου Σινωπεύς (*IG* II² 10319 = *FRA* 6781, 6782, 6794), Φιλόνικος Προσιδείου Σινωπεύς (*IG* II² 10358 = Bradeen 1974, 665 = *FRA* 6862, 6877), Μοσχίων Θεοδώρου Σινωπεύς (*IG* II² 10340 = *FRA* 6828, 6848), Ἀπολλώνιος Μενάνδρου Σινωπεύς (*IG* II² 10316 = *FRA* 6789, 6840), [.]ιτ- Εὐτ- Σινω[πε]ύς (*IG* II² 10323 = *FRA* 6821); Δῶρος Διοσκουρίδου Σινωπεύς (*IG* II² 10322 = *FRA* 6809, 6813), Κτησικλῆς Μητροδώρου Σινωπεύς (*IG* II² 10333 = *FRA* 6833, 6847); Νικο--- Πλουτάρχου Σινωπ--- (*IG* II² 10342 = *FRA* 6851, 6861), Κρίτων Δημητρίου Σεινωπεύς (*IG* II² 10332 = *FRA* 6799, 6832).

⁶⁸ Εὐνους Πάπου Σινωπεύς (*IG* II² 10326 = Bradeen 1974, 664 = *FRA* 6817, 6858), Δίσκος Φιλίσκου Σινωπεύς (*SEG* 15, 160 = *FRA* 6810, 6876); Μᾶ Διονυσίου <Σ>ινωπίτις (Osborne 1988, 28 no. 155 = *FRA* 6807, 6838); Φειλιγίων Σινωπεύς (*IG* II² 10357 = *FRA* 6875); Μηνοφίλα Μάου Σινώπισσα (*IG* II² 10338 = *FRA* 6839, 6845), Γάεις Ἀπολλων- Σινωπεύς (*IG* II² 10318 = *FRA* 6786, 6793), Ζώπυρος Σηνωπεύς (*IG* II² 10328 = *FRA* 6823).

⁶⁹ Φρόνη Σινωπίς (*IG* II² 10361 = *FRA* 6880), Κ(Σ)ίπτος Διονυσίου Σινωπεύς (*SEG* 28, 308 = *IG* II², 10331 = 10350 = *FRA* 6805, 6831), Εὐνους Βιότου Σινωπεύς (*IG* II² 10325 = *FRA* 6791, 6818), Φαίδριον Ἐρμαίου Σινωπέως θυγάτηρ (*IG* II² 10355/56 = *FRA* 6814, 6873), Σεραπίων Ἡφαιστίωνος Σινωπεύς (*SEG* 28, 309 = *IG* III 3633 = *FRA* 6827, 6867), Διονύσιος Προκλέους Σινωπεύς (*SEG* 28, 310 = *FRA* 6808, 6863).

⁷⁰ *RE* V.1 (1903) 765-73; Navia 1998.

⁷¹ *IG* II² 10321 = *FRA* 6800, 6801, 6811, 6812, 6825.

Comedy, naturalised Athenian after 282 BC⁷², incidentally the best known of the family⁷³), and their father, Δίων Διοδώρου Σινωπέυς.

Diodoros occurs also at Delos in 284 and 280 BC as χορηγός and κωμωιδός.⁷⁴ Another Sinopean poet, Διονύσιος, was crowned among the winners at the Lenaeen festival in 351/0 BC.⁷⁵ Yet another Διονύσιος was honoured in the theatre of Dionysus in the 2nd century AD.⁷⁶ Two Sinopeans occur in lists of ephebes.⁷⁷ ---ίας Σινωπέυς was recorded among a large number of people bringing offerings to a sanctuary in 161/0 BC.⁷⁸ In the Roman period, the 22-year-old – Ποπίλλιος [Α]ουτατιανός Σινωπέυς was buried at Athens.⁷⁹ Why he was there is not explicitly stated, but study in the prestigious academic centre that Athens still was is the most likely reason for a youth belonging to the top layer of his home society – his father, Ποπίλλιος Ούφικιανός, had twice been *archiereus*; his mother, Σηστία Μαρκιανή, was priestess of μεγάλη Ἀθηνᾶ.⁸⁰

This preponderance of Athens in our sources is due partly to the intensity of the research conducted there over the years, but also to the power of attraction this city exerted even after its political pre-eminence had waned, visible especially in the large proportion of writers who left their country for Athens.

Outside Athens, in a list of victors at the Amphiarraia in Oropus there occurs Ἑστιαῖος Σινωπέυς, winner of the boxing contest sometime between 366 and 338 BC.⁸¹ He belonged to a period in which the city and sanctuary were again part of Boeotia, one of the episodes of the unremitting change of masters to which Oropus was subjected in the 6th-4th centuries BC.⁸² On a list of *proxenoi* of the Arcadian city of Cleitor, two persons from Sinope were named: ---ιππος Δαμε--- and ---ς Φιλίππου.⁸³ Cleitor was one of the larger Arcadian cities, strong enough to subject temporarily some of her weaker neighbours;⁸⁴ part of her strength may have been

⁷² He also occurs in *IG* II² 2319, l. 61, 63; 2325, l. 170.

⁷³ See Robinson 1906, 270-71 *s.v.*

⁷⁴ *IG* XI.2, 105 = Mette 1977, 63 II D1a; *IG* XI.2, 107 = Mette 1977, 64 II D1c.

⁷⁵ *IG* II² 2325 l. 153 = *FRA* 6802.

⁷⁶ *IG* II² 4268.

⁷⁷ Ἀφροδίσιος Εὐπόρου Σινωπέυς, 102/1 BC, *IG* II² 1028 III l. 154 = *FRA* 6790, 6820 (see also Tracy 1975, 35-38, no. 6 l. 318 [where the archon Medeios is dated to 101-100 BC]); [Δημ]ήτριος Ἀπολλωνίου Σινωπέυς, end of the 1st century BC, *IG* II² 1965 I l. 3 = *FRA* 6788, 6797.

⁷⁸ *SEG* 34, 95 I l. 113 = *FRA* 6881.

⁷⁹ *IG* II² 10347a = Robinson 1906, 275 and 331, no. 88 = *FRA* 6836, 6854.

⁸⁰ Cf. Alexandri 1970; *SEG* 32, 310. The cult of Athena is otherwise little known at Sinope; cf. *BE* 1973, 114; French 1994.

⁸¹ Robinson 1906, 330, no. 81 l. 25-26 = *IG* VII, 414.

⁸² Corvisier 1999, 112.

⁸³ *IG* V.2, 368 (= Robinson 1906, 330, no. 80), l. 50. The text is dated to the middle of the 3rd century BC, that is before the city became a member of the Achaean League (Habicht 1998, 490-91).

⁸⁴ See Nielsen 1996, 142-43.

founded upon her economic prosperity,⁸⁵ which rendered her attractive to foreign merchants. Κτήρων Σινωπέυς was named among the contributors in a decree of the *kryptoi* of Rhamnous honouring the *strategos* Philotheos (after 235/4 BC);⁸⁶ the general might have been honoured in conjunction with the events of 236/5 BC, when the city, fearing an attack from Boeotia, at the time an ally of Aetolia, took precautionary measures.⁸⁷ ---άσση [Ἀρτε]μιδώρου [Σιν]ωπῆτις was buried at Rhamnous in the 2nd-1st centuries BC.⁸⁸ In a list of *proxenoi* of the Aetolian League, dated by the presence of the Locri Opuntii as members of the League to 245-236 BC, Πλεισταρχίδης Ἀπομόντου Σινωπέυς occurs.⁸⁹ The great sanctuary at Delphi attracted the attention of the city as well as of individual Sinopean citizens. As early as the 5th century, Sinope may have offered a bronze statue of Apollo at Delphi.⁹⁰ A Sinopean made a financial contribution to the sanctuary in 336 BC,⁹¹ two others became *proxenoi* of the sanctuary in the 3rd century BC⁹², yet another, ---ν Θρασωνίδου Σινωπέυς, was mentioned as ῥα[ψωι]δός in 259/8 or 255/4⁹³ and at the end of the same century Chares Sinopeus consecrated a statue.⁹⁴ The Boeotian *koinon* issued around 200 BC a proxeny decree for --- Λειον]τίσχω Σινωπεῖ(α).⁹⁵ In the 1st century BC, ---νίχου Σι[?νωπέυς] was honoured at Tegea, conceivably for acting as a judge in some conflict.⁹⁶

There is no visible link between the dispersal of Sinopeans through the Greek mainland and the extension of their mother-city's trading links, especially when considering places away from the main commercial routes, like Cleitor or Tegea. Whilst in Boeotia for instance there is evidence of agricultural indebtedness prior to 200 BC,⁹⁷ perhaps the grant of privileges to Sinopeans was a consequence of a need to import grain from the Black Sea area⁹⁸. Regarding the Aetolian league, the granting of proxeny to a Sinopean might have belonged to the then widespread

⁸⁵ See on this Roy 1999.

⁸⁶ SEG 41, 87 l. 34 = FRA 6834; cf. Knoepfler 1993.

⁸⁷ Walbank 1984, 450; Scholten 2000, 272-73, n. 72.

⁸⁸ SEG 51, 285.

⁸⁹ IG IX², 1.1, 25 l. 22.

⁹⁰ Jacquemin 1999, 66, cat. no. 554.

⁹¹ Bourguet 1932, 9 IIB 13-14: Ἐνδέξις [Σινω]πέυς.

⁹² Bourguet 1929, 85: Λῶιος Θ[εμ]ιστοκλέους Σινωπέυς, ca. 255 BC; [--- Δη]μήτριος Σινωπέυς or rather --- Μήτριος Σινωπέυς (perhaps the same person at Athens – see above n. 66): Colin 1913, 13 (266 BC) = Robinson 1906, 330, no. 82 (240-200 BC) = SGDI 2624.

⁹³ SGDI 2564 = Nachtergaele 1977, 416-19, no. 8.

⁹⁴ Jacquemin 1999, 352, no. 439.

⁹⁵ SEG 1, 104. The Λειοντίσχ[ω] Σ[ινωπεῖα?] mentioned in another proxeny decree (SEG 1, 107) is probably the same person.

⁹⁶ IG V.2, 148.

⁹⁷ Green 1990, 393.

⁹⁸ For the grain trade with the Black Sea area, see Tsatskhiladze 1998, 54-63, with further literature.

policy of Greek cities, of courting the goodwill of the Aetolians in order to escape the threat of Aetolian pirates.⁹⁹ These cases apart, there are very few political circumstances which account for the presence of Sinopeans on the Greek mainland. Neither the rivalries of Boeotia and her neighbours in the 3rd century BC nor the tribulations of the Arcadian League seem to have been of much interest to Sinope, far beyond the range of these local powers and much more preoccupied at the time by the expansionist attempts of her most dangerous neighbour, the kingdom of Pontus (in which, conversely, the confederations and cities of Aegean Greece, with the exception of Rhodes, took hardly any interest) (Polybius 4. 56; 23. 9. 2). The presence of Sinopeans throughout the Greek world from the 4th century BC onward is a direct consequence of the integration of the city into the commercial, seafaring and even political network of the Greek world. This in turn is partly a consequence of the lifting of Persian overlordship through the campaign of Pericles, which inaugurated a period of freedom interrupted only by the interlude of the rule of the satrap Datames between *ca.* 380/75-360.¹⁰⁰

The opening of Sinope to the outside world, reflected also in the exchange of persons, took place gradually, reaching a distinct peak in the period after Alexander. The oldest evidence, of the 5th and the early 4th century BC, reveals just two partners: Olbia and Athens. While the first link is a prolongation of ties going back, in all likelihood, to the time of the foundation of the oldest Milesian colonies in the Black Sea area and strengthened by a continuous trading relationship, the second is proof of a political relationship between the two cities inaugurated by Pericles' campaign and for which commercial exchange may have been of subordinate importance.¹⁰¹

In pre-Roman times, the net cast by Sinopeans leaving their city was wide, but touched hardly a place beyond coastal cities, great commercial centres and producers of trade goods. The coming of Rome and the establishment by Caesar of the colony of Roman citizens alongside the old Greek city (Strabo 12. 3. 11)¹⁰² changed the pattern of diffusion of Sinopeans abroad.

The Roman Period

At Sinope, in 47 BC Caesar founded a *colonia* for his veterans, which initially received a part (μέρος τῆς πόλεως) of the Greek city. At first, the Roman and the Greek city coexisted side by side, but throughout the rest of the Roman period there are but scant indications that any other community survived alongside the Roman *colonia*.¹⁰³ The lack of evidence for the continued existence of the Greek

⁹⁹ See Flacelière 1937, 202-05; Grainger 1999; Scholten 2000.

¹⁰⁰ For Datames, see most recently Debord 1999, 357-66.

¹⁰¹ Schuller 1974, 66, 187-89; Alexandrescu 1999.

¹⁰² Sherwin-White 1973, 353-59; Mitchell 1979, 435-38.

¹⁰³ Mitchell 1979, 417 and n. 53.

city under the Principate was used as an argument against the existence of double communities.¹⁰⁴ However, on the coins of Sinope, apart from an era beginning with the foundation of the *colonia*, another was used in the 3rd century AD, one with a starting point of 70 BC, when Lucullus, having forced the Pontic garrison to surrender, bestowed freedom upon the Greek city.¹⁰⁵ This era, based upon an event long predating and meaningless to the Roman *colonia*, is inexplicable at this late date unless a Greek community still existed alongside the Roman. Be this as it may, there is a clear dissimilarity in the activities and goals of Roman and Greek Sinopeans while abroad.

Certainly, by the 3rd century AD a degree of fusion (rather difficult to assess) – at least linguistically – had been reached between the communities. Of the 20 persons bearing Roman names, only 6 chose to express themselves in Latin; moreover, 2 of them did so in Western provinces where hardly any Greek was spoken (Narona, Schloßau) and all of them belonged to the Roman army. Conversely, of course, one can assume that some of these individuals, for whom Greek was not the first language, erected inscriptions in this language in a predominantly Greek milieu. Furthermore, some of them may well have been Sinopean Greeks who had received Roman citizenship, especially the bearers of Imperial *nomina*, although 6 out of 20 is not a very large proportion of Imperial *nomina* by the 3rd century AD. Sinopeans with peregrine Greek name formulas on the one hand and Sinopeans bearing *tria nomina* and Latin *cognomina* on the other hand compose two distinct categories of inhabitants of the city, and their chosen places of residence form a different pattern of dispersal.

Many of those leaving Sinope now travelled in the service of the emperor – military¹⁰⁶ or civil.¹⁰⁷ Of those who were not in his service, the stated (or implicit) rea-

¹⁰⁴ Hampl 1952, 72-73; Vittinghoff 1951, 443-45.

¹⁰⁵ Leschhorn 1993, 150-62.

¹⁰⁶ At Bigeste, main concentration of *auxilia* in Dalmatia and veteran settlement in the territory of the Dalmatian city of Narona, a funerary inscription was erected for *C. Licinius C. f. Fab(ia) dom(o) Sinope veteranus leg(ionis) VII* (Betz 1938, 15-16, no. 58 = *AE* 2000, 1174), Augustan (Betz). The Sinopean *T. Verurius T. fil. Col. Campester, augur, Illvir, Ilvir qq., Ilvir tertium, panegur, curator annonae, sacerdos omnium Caesar, sacerdos dei Mercuri, conditor patriae*, was sent four times as ambassador on behalf of his city to Rome to the emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius on his own expense (*sine viatico*) and for all of this received the characteristically Greek title of *conditor patriae* (Reinach 1916, 339-45 = *AE* 1916, 120 = *IK* 64I Sinope 102; for 'city founders' in inscriptions of the Hellenistic and Roman age see *OMS* V 569-71 and VI 46-7). *T. Mani(us) T. f. Pollia Magnus Senope, (centurio) leg(ionis) XXII P(rimigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis)* served in AD 148/150 as commanding officer of the *numerus of Brittones Trip(utienses)* in Germania Superior (*CIL* XIII 6502, Schloßau) (Cheesman 1914, 86; Callies 1964, 182, 190-91).

¹⁰⁷ *T. Φλ. Μάξιμος, δημοσιώνης* (publican/farmer of the revenue), and his wife *Αἰλία Σχεριβωνία* were buried at Metropolis in Phrygia in the 2nd century AD (Drew-Bear 1978, 22-25, no. 13 = *MAMA* IV 133 = Peek 1955, 779). A nameless man from Sinope was sent to Amisus probably as

sons for leaving their city include participation in athletic contests,¹⁰⁸ marriage¹⁰⁹ and medical treatment¹¹⁰. For instance, around the middle of the 3rd century AD, the herald Οὐαλέριος Ἐκλεκτος [Σιν]οπεύς, thrice *periodonikes*, in addition won the Capitolian games at Rome three times, the Severian games at Nicaea (where he eventually became a *bouleutes* too), the games at Beroia and others. He received a wide range of honours from various Greek cities: member of the boule at Sinope, Delphi, Smyrna, Sardes; seven *ethnika* on the base at Athens¹¹¹ and ten on the one at Olympia¹¹² accompany his name, among them Athenian and Eleian citizenship. He describes himself as Πωμαῖος: at this time when, due to the *constitutio Antoniniana*, everybody was a Roman citizen, this indication stresses the fact that his was a citizenship of old standing, as shown also by his *nomen* Valerius and not Aurelius.¹¹³

Again, most people did not state a specific reason for their presence in certain places;¹¹⁴ presumably at least some of them were connected with trade in one way

curator civitatis, in the 1st or 2nd century AD (Robinson 1906, 315, no. 48 = *CIG* 4159 = *IGRR* III 96 = *SIRIS* 329 = *IK* 64I Sinope 172).

¹⁰⁸ The παράδοξος Μ. Εἰούτιος Μαρκιανὸς Ποῦφος Σινωπεύς won 150 victories in the 1st-2nd centuries AD in a multitude of games, reaching from the Greek *periodos* and the Panatheneia as first Sinopean to the Roman Capitolian games and the games of a plethora of the κοινὰ of Asia Minor (*SEG* 13, 540 = *LAG* 69 = Tataki 1988, 427 = *IK* 64I Sinope 105; cf. Bean 1953, no. 12).

¹⁰⁹ *Italia*, see below n. 151; at Puteoli, a funerary inscription (*CIL* XI, 3462 = 2712) records *Artoria Euphraenusa nati Sinop*, the wife of Artorius Sabinus, *optio* of the *legio III Concors/Concordia = III Italica* (Ritterling 1924, 1505, 1539). Puteoli was probably Artorius' native city. It was an originally Greek city with strong links to the Greek east; which may account for his meeting a woman from Sinope, while his legion had never been active in the Orient. Given the uncommonness of the *nomen*, she had certainly been Artorius' slave before becoming his wife.

¹¹⁰ At Epidauros, Τιβ(έριος) Κλαύδιος Σεουήριος Σινωπεύς gave thanks in AD 224 to Apollo Maleatas and Soter Asklapios for his cure (Robinson 1906, 331, no. 90 = *IG* IV², 1, 1 *Inscriptiones Argolidis: Inscriptiones Epidauri*, 127).

¹¹¹ *IG* II2 3169/70 = *IK* 10,3 Nikaia 90, T39e = *LAG* 90 = Tataki 1988, 985.

¹¹² AD 261: *SEG* 17, 203 = *IvO* 243 = Semmlinger 1974, no. 67.

¹¹³ See for this *BE* 1976, 279.

¹¹⁴ Anazarbos, 1st-2nd centuries AD: Κλαυδία Πρό[κλα] was buried here by Κλαύδιος Μαρεῖνος, probably her father (*IK* 56 I, 75); Chersonesus, 2nd century AD: three proxyeny decrees for Sinopeans: 106/7-113/4 Γάιος Οὐαλέριος --- (*SEG* 48, 999; Saprykin 1998), Λ. [Κορ]νήλιος Πο[ντι]ανὸς Σινωπεύς (Solomonik 1964, 32, no. 7: a fragment published in 1953 + *IOSPE* I², 697; *BE* 1964, 313) and Γ. Κάιος Εὐ[τυχία]νὸς ναύκληρος Σινωπεύς (*IOSPE* I², 364 = *IOSPE* IV 72 = Robinson 1906, 331, no. 86); eleven persons at Athens, see there; Pantikapaion, four funerary inscriptions: ca. 50 BC-AD 50 Μηρόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου (*CIRB* 131) and Θεοφίλη Ἐκαταίου Σινωπίς (*CIRB* 130), AD 124 Πόπλιος Ἰγνάτιος Ὀνησιφόρος Σινωπεύς (*CIRB* 703a), 2nd-3rd centuries AD Τι(βέριος) Κλαύδιος Μεθυλλίων Σινωπεύς (*CIRB* 733); Comana, see there; Emirgazi in the territory of Ancyra, Roman times: funerary epigram for Ἀθηναίς, her husband [Δι?]φίλος, her father Νεόνικος and Τ[ροφ]ίμης, who was in charge of the grave (Mitchell 1982, 184 = *SEG* 30, 1459); Tieion, see there; at Kavsá/Mersifon in the territory of Amaseia (Mitchell 1993 I, 178), Πρόκλος Σινω[πεύς] consecrated a sculpture for Poseidon and the Nymphae, the work of Χρηστος Σινω[πεύς] λιθοουργός

or the other,¹¹⁵ especially those in coastal cities. The importance of Sinope as a commercial centre had not waned, but the inclusion in the Roman empire had modified the destinations of people, even of those who had no official standing.

There is in the Roman period a twofold change of objective. Not only did the requirements of military or civil Imperial service lead people into regions previously utterly alien to the inhabitants of Sinope, such as the European provinces of the Empire and Rome herself (as seen above), but now they were also to be found in places which, without being as unusual, had earlier yielded no trace of Sinopeans, for example the interior of Anatolia. Though ancient authors mention a road across Anatolia, connecting Sinope and Amisus to Cilicia (the time to traverse which was consistently underrated) (Herodotus 1. 72; 2. 34),¹¹⁶ and though it is evident that under the Achaemenids such a road was already in use,¹¹⁷ no Sinopeans were to be found in places like Savatra, Tarsus, Ancyra or Comana prior to the Roman period. In Roman times, a branch of the great Pontic east-west road along the Amnias was built, perhaps over an already existing trail, which meant that Sinope could be reached directly from the south.¹¹⁸ Of course, this does not mean that no people had crossed the land-routes to and from Sinope, though the city is difficult to reach overland. Coin hoards convey an entirely different picture of the displacement of persons from the one suggested by epigraphic sources: there are very few coins from Greece proper and the Aegean islands, the continental trade with the Balkan area north of Greece, and especially along the route through Asia Minor and across Cilicia to Syria and beyond, to Egypt or Iran, appears very important.¹¹⁹ But people displaced by the requirements of trade or mercenary military service probably had found no opportunity to record their passage in countries, like inner Anatolia, where the habit of epigraphic registration *à la grecque* was not common. In the Roman period, at a time when the Graeco-Roman practice of erecting inscriptions had reached the Anatolian hinterland also, the people attested in such places went

(Robinson 1906, 331, no. 87 = REG 15, 1902, 332-33, no. 51); Olbia, 2nd century AD: epitaph for --- Θεοδ[?]οσίου Σινωπ<π>εύ[ς] (IO 101); the Olbian Θεοκλῆς Σατύρου was honoured by the παρρεπιδημούντες ξένοι from 18 cities, Sinope among them (CIG II 2059 = Robinson 1906, 330, no. 83 = IOSPE I², 40), these people were most likely merchants (Robert 1980, 82; Bounegru 2000, 118); Tarsus, 1st-2nd centuries AD: epitaph of Σωσιγένης Ζηγοδότου Ταρσε[ύς] (Merkelbach and Stauber 2001a, 70-71, no. 2 = Merkelbach and Stauber 2001b, 10/06/11 = IK 641 Sinope 85); Rome: epitaph of Κορνουτίων (Σινωπέυς) (IG XIV 1787; Robinson 1906, 332, no. 92).

¹¹⁵ Most notably the ship owner Markion, later turned Christian theologian and founder of a Christian community of his own: Epiphanes *Adversus haereses* 42; Tertullian *De praescriptione haereticorum* 30; Mehl 1987, 153.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Magie 1950, 1076-77; Mehl 1987, 129-30 and n. 56.

¹¹⁷ Magie 1950, 184.

¹¹⁸ Weimert 1984, 128-29.

¹¹⁹ Mehl 1987, 168-79.

there to stay and were buried in their chosen homes or had, conversely, left their homes to come and settle at Sinope.

Probably for similar reasons, only in the Roman period are there direct personal links attested to places in the vicinity of Sinope, like Amaseia or Tieion. The only such connection in pre-Roman times is Xenophon's mention that Ἐκκτώνυμος, the head of the Sinopean delegation to the Ten Thousand, was also a *proxenos* of the Paphlagonian Κορύλλαι (Xenophon *Anabasis* 5. 5. 7; 6. 11). But there is no reason to assume that such personal contacts had not existed previously. Numismatic evidence, for instance, outlines an overland route connected to the trade in *miltos* from Cappadocia by way of Zela, Amaseia and Amisus, and another route leading from Sinope (or else Amisus) to Tarsus.¹²⁰ The lack of evidence for personal links is due perhaps, in part, to a difference in outlook between the two largest neighbouring trade centres, Sinope and Amisus, in the pre-Roman period, with Amisus linked especially to the coastal cities in the north-eastern Pontus and the Pontic hinterland, and Sinope mainly towards the Bosporean kingdom and the northern and eastern Black Sea coast,¹²¹ as well as being the most important port-of-call for maritime trade between the Propontis and Trapezus.¹²² Thus, Sinope rather turned her back on her Anatolian hinterland in favour of overseas connections.

For members of the Greek community at Sinope, the pattern of dispersal is distinct from that of pre-Roman times. Certainly, some of them followed the routes outlined in previous times: ten people went to Athens, which is the largest number for a single destination, but lays far behind the figures for the Hellenistic period, and five crossed the Black Sea and went to (or came from) Panticapaeum, Chersonesus, Olbia or Tomis/Tieion. But five were to be found travelling the land routes across Anatolia, to Ankyra and Tarsus and none came or went to places along the great sea routes of the previous times, into the Aegean and beyond. These changes are due primarily to innovations coming with Roman rule: the expansion of the road system in Asia Minor,¹²³ the unprecedented increase in cereal production in inland Anatolia, linked in its turn to the needs of the Roman army and administration,¹²⁴ the development of commerce within the provinces of the empire as well as between provinces, especially from the 2nd century AD.¹²⁵ This is noticeable in and around Sinope herself, where the rural settlements in the city's territory,

¹²⁰ Weimert 1984, 121 (the coin hoard of Küçük Köhne, dated *ca.* 320 BC and including coins of Sinope, Amisus and Tarsus only), 133.

¹²¹ For this, see Tsetskhladze and Vnukov 1992; Tsetskhladze 1992, 91-93; 1999, 109-14.

¹²² Magie 1950, 183-85; Weimert 1984, 130-31.

¹²³ Cf. French 1981.

¹²⁴ Mitchell 1993 I, 143-64, 241-59.

¹²⁵ Rostovtzeff 1957, 162-72.

which had slowly expanded during the Hellenistic period from purely coastal settlements until they covered the promontory and hinterland of the city, spread further in the Roman period to meet the challenge of an integrated Roman economy.¹²⁶

Foreigners at Sinope

Was Sinope a place from which to get away? The exchange of persons was heavily imbalanced. Little more than 10% of the total (20 out of 172) is made up of foreigners coming to Sinope; the vast majority is constituted by Sinopeans abroad. To those named above, several others must be added, whose destinations remain unknown, among them Θέογνις, buried abroad by his friend Glaukos,¹²⁷ the Epicurean philosopher Timotheus Patrion (Strabo 12. 3. 11), the athlete Δαμόστρατος Σινωπέυς,¹²⁸ Θεόπομπος Σινωπέυς who wrote περὶ σεισμῶν,¹²⁹ the Sinopean Ἡρακλείδης¹³⁰ or the historian and rhetorician Baton, who lived in the second half of the 3rd century BC.¹³¹ This is, of course, partly because of the scarcity of archaeological research undertaken in the city itself; currently something over 200 inscriptions are known from here,¹³² a figure which does not match the economic, commercial and political importance of the city.¹³³ Often, foreigners were in Sinope more through the political actions in states of origin than by their own preferences: there are, for example, only three Athenians attested at Sinope, all of them buried there in the 5th-4th centuries BC.¹³⁴ In no instance are we told why they were in Sinope at the time of their death, and no more such people are recorded later, so it is likely that they were members or descendants of the cleruchs Pericles had sent to Sinope in the wake of his deposing the tyrant Timesileos in *ca.* 437/6 BC.¹³⁵

¹²⁶ Cf. Doonan 2004.

¹²⁷ Simonides 101 (174); Paton 1960, 277, no. 509; Robinson 1906, 332, no. 93.

¹²⁸ Robinson 1906, 332, no. 94 = *Anthologia Planudea* III 25.

¹²⁹ *FHG* III 622, 48.

¹³⁰ *Anthologia Palatina* VII 281, 392, 465; cf. Robinson 1906, 274.

¹³¹ Strabo 12, C546; Athenaeus 6, 251e; 10, 436; 14, 639d; Plutarch *Agis* 15; cf. *RE* III.1, 143-44, no. 7 (Schwartz). His slave Menippos, however, a comical poet and philosopher who later became citizen of Thebes and whom Diogenes Laertius (6. 95) calls Σινωπέυς, probably because of his owner, does not belong here: his actual birthplace was Gadara in Phoenicia (Strabo 16. 2. 29; Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* Gadara; cf. *RE* XV.1, 888-93, no. 10 [Helm]; Robinson 1906, 275-77).

¹³² *IK* 64I Sinope.

¹³³ There is as yet no monograph of Sinope. See most recently Doonan 2003; 2004; Avram *et al.* 2004, 960-63.

¹³⁴ Εὐθυκράτης Βατῆθεν Αἰγυπτῶς φυλῆς Ἀθηναῖος, 5th century BC (French 1991, 143-44, no. 5 = *IK* 64I Sinope 57); Δημοσίων Δημοκλέους Ἀθηναῖος, 5th century BC (*IK* 64I Sinope 54 = French 1991, 142, no. 2); Χαῖρις Ἀθηναῖος Φαλαερες (Φαλαερεύς?), 5th-4th centuries BC (French 1991, 141, no. 1 = Robinson 1906, 319, no. 56 = *IK* 64I Sinope 61).

¹³⁵ See for Pericles' campaign in the Black Sea Plutarch *Pericles* 11. 5-6; 19. 1; 20. 1-2; Theopompus *FGH* 115 F 389; Diodorus 11. 88. 3; cf. Kagan 1969, 389; Gajdukevič 1971, 60-70; Meiggs 1973, 198-99; Lewis 1992, 146; Surikov 2001; Tsatskheladze 1997.

Relations with Cos seem to have been of a similar kind. A proxeny decree was issued by Sinope to Καλλιππίδης Ἐμμενιδάω Κώιος in the 4th century BC, for unspecified reasons,¹³⁶ the earliest record of a link between Sinope and Cos. Towards the end of the 4th century BC, Cos voted honours for Διονύσιος Σινωπέυς and sent envoys to Sinope to have him crowned there also.¹³⁷ The text reveals that Cos had granted honours to Sinopeans previously. In *ca.* 220 BC, Sinope voted an honorary decree (published at Cos too) to Δίωννος Πολυτίωνος Κῶιος, who had acted as an ambassador during the war this city waged to defend herself against the Pontic king Mithradates II¹³⁸ (thus, Rhodes had not been the only city to assist Sinope in this war, although Cos' efforts seem to have been confined to the diplomatic sphere).¹³⁹ Around this time, the earliest epigraphic evidence links Sinope to Rhodes as well as to Egypt. During the wars of the Diadochi, Cos had swum with the tide prior to settling firmly in the Ptolemaic camp. The Lagids' protection – albeit in a moderate form, Cos being a faithful ally and not a dependency of Egypt¹⁴⁰ – contributed to the prosperity the island enjoyed in the first half of the 3rd century BC, the city's golden age.¹⁴¹ The island had already formerly had links to Egypt and the fact that Ptolemy Soter was born there presumably also helped.¹⁴² Along with the waning of the maritime power of the Ptolemies mid-century, Cos increasingly followed the political lead of Rhodes, also in regard to Rome.¹⁴³ Thus, whichever influence prevailed at Cos, it probably stimulated the connection to Sinope. It does not seem that these relations stemmed from the natural tendency of Coan merchants or other travellers to drift towards the Black Sea city; rather, they are a consequence of Cos' political involvement with Rhodes and/or Ptolemaic Egypt. Perhaps in 220 BC the initiative had been Sinopean, which would mean that Sinope then had yet to establish direct links to Rhodes, the Greek power most likely to help her in her predicament.¹⁴⁴ Probably the fact that Cos was leaning politically and militarily on Rhodes accounts for these predominantly official relations between Sinope and Cos, as well as for the penetration of a small amount only of Coan amphorae to Sinope. The trade links of the Black Sea area with Cos are well attested by amphora stamps.¹⁴⁵ The wine of Cos was famous and much

¹³⁶ *IK* 641 Sinope 5.

¹³⁷ Segre 1993, 20.

¹³⁸ Hallof *et al.* 1998, 137–40, no. 21 = *SEG* 48, 1097 = 1503bis.

¹³⁹ Sherwin-White 1978, 118.

¹⁴⁰ Buraselis 2000, 5.

¹⁴¹ Sherwin-White 1978, 82–110.

¹⁴² Green 1990, 85–87.

¹⁴³ Sherwin-White 1978, 118–31; Wiemer 2002, 229–30.

¹⁴⁴ Mehl 1987, 156–58.

¹⁴⁵ See Sherwin-White 1978, esp. the statistics on p. 238.

exported, still the number of Coan amphorae in the Black Sea area is relatively small.¹⁴⁶ Thus, Rhodes probably absorbed potential visitors from Sinope to the area, as she did in the case of other Black Sea cities,¹⁴⁷ although Cos had her own attractions, such as the sanctuary of Asclepius, which was also a famous centre for medical treatment.

In the pre-Roman period, for the presence of only one other foreigner can a reasonable supposition be put forward: Σάτυρος Ἰασίεος Καλλατ[ιανός], *proxenos* of Sinope *ca.* 300 BC,¹⁴⁸ was presumably honoured for his activities as a merchant; however, the trade links between Callatis and Sinope were much closer than this isolated text might suggest.¹⁴⁹ Why the three other foreigners buried at Sinope in pre-Roman times¹⁵⁰ were there is unclear, although commercial incentives can be suggested here as well.

In Roman times, understandably, political reasons for the presence of foreigners disappeared and, if one passes over the people serving in the Roman army and civil service, personal ones multiplied – or at least the reasons given for being at Sinope do. There is, for instance, the only known case of a person coming to Sinope through marriage: ---ίμια Σεουήρα, who describes herself as γένει Ἰτάλῃ and wife of M. Κέλερ,¹⁵¹ centurion of the *legio XI Claudia*. The legion her husband served in had been stationed at Burnum in Dalmatia, Vindonissa in Germania Superior and Brigetio in Pannonia before being transferred by Trajan to Durostorum, where it remained to the end of Roman rule.¹⁵² Roman military mobility also accounts for the presence of *C. Octavius C. f. Vel. dom. Savatra mil. cohort. August. et ea<e>dem cohortis sesqueplicarius*, buried at Sinope in the 1st century AD.¹⁵³ He came from the small city of Savatra in southern Galatia (Yağlıbayat),¹⁵⁴ later included in Isauria.¹⁵⁵ The unit to which he belonged seems to have been the *cohort I Augusta Cyrenaica*. Little is known of the whereabouts of this cohort at this time, but likely stations are Iconium or Ancyra, where the unit is attested, close enough to Savatra

¹⁴⁶ Magie 1950, 88.

¹⁴⁷ For the entire western Pontic coast, there is one testimony only, the gravestone of Aphrodisia Istriana in Hippiia on Cos: Paton and Hicks 1891, 232, no. 364 (probably late Hellenistic).

¹⁴⁸ SEG 25, 1356 = French 1985 (trading links) = French 1986, 392.

¹⁴⁹ See, for instance, Rădulescu *et al.* 1989.

¹⁵⁰ Νάδους the Carian, second quarter of 5th century BC (*IK* 64I, 73); Ζηγνόδωρος Λεωπειθός Κλαζομένιος, 5th–4th centuries BC (*IK* 64I Sinope 70); Ὀλυμπιόδωρος Εὐξένῳ Κυμαῖος, 5th–4th centuries BC (French 1991, 144–45, no. 7 = *IK* 64I Sinope 66).

¹⁵¹ *IGRR* III 1426 = *IK* 64I Sinope 137, 1st–2nd centuries AD.

¹⁵² Ritterling 1924.

¹⁵³ *IK* 64I Sinope 108.

¹⁵⁴ Robert 1965, 42; *MAMA* VIII xiii and nos. 226–258; Mitchell 1993 I, 96–97.

¹⁵⁵ Ptolemy 5. 4. 9; *cf.* Magie 1950, 1170.

to make it easy for Octavius to join.¹⁵⁶ Q. Licinius Macrinus,¹⁵⁷ centurion of the *legio XXII Primigenia*, also a centurion of the *legio IIII Flavia*¹⁵⁸ and probably a participant in Trajan's Dacian wars, erected a votive inscription at Sinope.¹⁵⁹ A legionary *veteranus ex centurio* born at Carnuntum, P. Aelius Pompeius, was buried at Sinope in the 2nd century AD;¹⁶⁰ his bilingual epitaph also names his wife, Numeria Prokopeti or Προκοπή. The transfer of the *legio XV Apollinaris* from Carnuntum to Cappadocia in Trajan's last years may account for his presence here.¹⁶¹ Στρατόνεικος Εὐαρέστου Τιανδὸς ὁ καὶ Τομείτης, who erected an altar for Zeus Helios Sarapis and Isis Myrionymos at Sinope in the 1st-2nd centuries AD, was probably a merchant.¹⁶² He had double citizenship of Tieion¹⁶³ and the western Pontic city of Tomis, due to a longer stay in the latter, in all likelihood linked to trade. This is not a singular instance in similar links between the western Pontic Greek cities and those of Pontus-Bithynia during the Principate.¹⁶⁴ No reason for the presence here of Σωσιγένης Ζηγοδότου Ταρσε[ύς],¹⁶⁵ buried in the 1st-2nd centuries AD, can be suggested; nor for Σόσσιος of Comana (presumably the one in Pontus, but Cappadocian Comana cannot be ruled out), who left his city to live at Sinope, came to love this city better than his own (μᾶλλον τήνδε φίλησε πάτραν), and who was remembered in an elegiac couplet of the 1st-2nd centuries AD,¹⁶⁶ or for Licinius ---, who in the 1st-2nd centuries AD erected a monumental building for his foster-father Licinius Chrysogonus Olympio--- and for his native city, whose name remains, however, unknown.¹⁶⁷ Thus, the place of the pre-Roman foreigners present at Sinope due to the requirements of diplomatic service or military dislocation is taken during the Principate by Roman soldiers and their families. The existence of the Roman colony seems to have rendered the city marginally more attractive to foreigners than she used to be.

¹⁵⁶ See for the unit Ramsay 1928; Speidel 1983, 15-16; Mitchell 1993 II, 121-23; Spaul 2000, 386.

¹⁵⁷ *IKSinope* has Olcinius and dates the text to the 1st-2nd centuries; the stone at Micia has distinctly Q. Licinius. This is however the same man, cf. von Domaszewski 1967, 87, n. 22.

¹⁵⁸ *CIL* III 1353 = *IDR* III.3, 95 Micia, dedication to IOM Heliopolitanus; cf. Benea 1983, 155.

¹⁵⁹ *CIL* III 14402b = *AE* 1902, 99 = *IK* 64I Sinope 125.

¹⁶⁰ Reinach 1916; Salač 1920 = *IK* 64I Sinope 121.

¹⁶¹ Mehl 1987, 152.

¹⁶² *SEG* 44, 1021 = French, 1994, 105-06 no. 13 = *IK* 64I Sinope 115.

¹⁶³ Thus, rather than Tius, *SEG* 44, 1021 (Pleket).

¹⁶⁴ See Avram 2000; cf. also Ruscú and Ciongradi 2005.

¹⁶⁵ Merkelbach and Stauber 2001a, 70-71, no. 2 = Merkelbach and Stauber 2001b, 10/06/11.

¹⁶⁶ Merkelbach and Stauber 2001a, 71-72, no. 3 = Merkelbach and Stauber 2001b, 10/06/12 = *IK* 64I Sinope 173.

¹⁶⁷ *IK* 64I Sinope 108.

Conclusions

Unusually for a Black Sea city, the 'personal' external relations of Sinope stretched predominantly into the Mediterranean at all periods (147 to 21 cases out of a total of 168 known destinations). The dispersal of Sinopeans reached a clear peak in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC (28 and 22 cases respectively), when links were registered to places along the main commercial and seafaring artery of the age, that linking the Straits to Egypt, but also around the Black Sea and on the Greek mainland.

Most of the destinations reached by these persons in all periods follow the direction of trade; a majority of the records are funerary inscriptions (47,¹⁶⁸ as against 32 proxy and honorary decrees), which points towards permanent settlement of these people in their chosen locations. It is nonetheless to be assumed that trade links opened up the connections in the first place.

Sinope held little attraction to foreigners, although this imbalance may arise in part from the scarcity of inscriptions from the city herself; nonetheless, in spite of intensive commercial exchanges and overall prosperity, especially in the Hellenistic period, a peripheral location, far away from the main centres of the Hellenic world, in an area troubled by tempests, pirates and inland Barbarians rendered her unappealing to incomers. The foreigners coming to Sinope were here chiefly as a result of the city's political connections (or later, in the Roman period, through the imperatives of Roman military or civil service).

The main change in the pattern of dispersal of Sinope's personal external links over time is determined not by any of the major political changes prior to the Roman period, but to the city's integration into the Roman political and economic system. Apart from the fact that people were coming and going in the service of the emperor, the two main changes were: the abandonment of the age-long navigation route across the Hellenic world, linking the Straits to Egypt, and the opening up of hitherto untouched spaces, such as the Anatolian interior or Europe beyond Greece.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

<i>AEM</i>	<i>Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn.</i>
<i>BE</i>	J. and L. Robert, <i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> (Paris).
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.</i>

¹⁶⁸ Again, most of these come from Athens, where we encounter a rather singular situation (see above).

- EA *Epigraphica Anatolica* (Cologne).
- FRA M.J. Osborne and S.G. Byrne, *The Foreign Residents of Athens. An Annex to the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names: Attica* (Leuven 1996).
- IAG L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* (Rome 1953).
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DAS SCHWARZE MEER IN DER GEOKARTOGRAPHISCHEN TRADITION DER ANTIKE UND DES FRÜHEN MITTELALTERS. III: DIE FLUßVERBINDUNGEN ZWISCHEN DEM BALTISCHEN UND DEM SCHWARZEN MEER NACH ANGABEN DER ANTIKEN, MITTELALTERLICHEN UND ARABISCHEN GEOKARTOGRAPHIE¹

Alexander V. PODOSSINOV

Abstract

This paper continues the series of works on the historical geocartography of the Black Sea countries in antiquity. It is devoted to the river connection between the Black Sea and the Baltic in ancient, early mediaeval European and Islamic maps and geographical descriptions based on maps. The author comes to the conclusion that there always existed the idea of the possibility of reaching the Baltic by river(s). Beginning from ancient Greek cosmological theories about the origin of rivers from the ocean and mythological beliefs connected with the return journey of argonauts, this concept was alive in many Greek and Roman geographical descriptions as well as in cartography. This phenomenon was inherited by mediaeval cartography in Western and Eastern Europe and in some Islamic cartographical schools.

In diesem Beitrag werden einige Angaben der antiken und mittelalterlichen narrativen und kartographischen Werken über die Flußrouten analysiert, die, nach der Meinung ihrer Autoren, das Schwarze und das Baltische Meeren verbinden.

Zunächst möchte ich einen interessanten historiographischen *casus* anführen. Ein italienischer Historiker und Schriftsteller des 15. Jhts Biondo Flavio (*Blondus Flavius*) hat in seiner 'Römischen Geschichte' (*Historiarum Romanarum decades tres*) den Überfall der Russen (*sc.* der Normannen aus Rußland) auf Konstantinopel im Jahre 860 folgenderweise erwähnt: 'Die Normannen... brachten die Flotte von 360 Schiffen zu Konstantinopel und, nachdem sie die Stadt geplündert und die

¹ Diese Studie ist eine Fortsetzung meiner Beobachtungen an der Darstellung der circumponischen Territorien in der antiken und frühmittelalterlichen Geokartographie (s. in *AWE* 2.2 [2003], 308–24 und 3.2 [2004], 338–53).

Vorstadt verbrannt haben, sind sie ins Britannische Meer zurückgekehrt...'² Nach etwa halbes Jahrhundert lachte der venezianischer Historiker Marcus Sabellicus in seinem Werk *Rapsodiae historiarum Enneadum* Biondo Flavio für seine geographische Ignoranz aus:

Ich wundere mich an Biondo in dem Punkt, wo er den Überfall der Normannen erwähnt... Solche Expedition sollte gewiss das ganze Europa aufregen, als sie, nachdem sie so viele Länder umgegangen ist und durch den Gallischen, Iberischen und Atlantischen Ozeanen, davon aber auch durch innere Meeren die unermessliche Ufer vor aller Augen umgefahren ist, Konstantinopel erreichte; ich vermute, daß dieser in übrigem weise Mann aus Unwissenheit dieser Gegenden geirrt hat, wenn er glaubte, daß angeblich eine Wasseroute (*quasi pervia sit navigatio*) aus dem Britannischen Meer durch das Germanische und Sarmatische zur Maeotis und zum Bosphorus und dann zum Pontischen Meer existiere; darauf haben einige Griechen und unter ihnen Orpheus bestanden; mit dieser Meinung sind diejenige, die der Geographie besonders kundig sind, nicht einverstanden...³

Damit also bestreitet der Autor des 16. Jhts die Existenz der gut bekannten im Mittelalter Wasseroute Osteuropas 'von den Waräger zu den Griechen' und betrachtet sie als eine Erfindung der alten Griechen. Wenn im ersten Fall irrt er sich offensichtlich, ist die Zuschreibung der Bekanntschaft mit dieser Route den antiken Griechen nicht ganz ungerecht.

Deshalb beginnen wir die Geschichte des Wissens über die Flußverbindung zwischen dem Schwarzen und dem Baltischen Meeren von der Antike.

Zuerst soll gesagt werden, daß die Geographie Osteuropas in den Vorstellungen der antiken Autoren viele Details hatte, die der Realität gar nicht entsprachen, was auch verständlich ist, da die Kenntnisse über Osteuropa ziemlich gering und ungenau waren.

Nach den antiken Vorstellungen wurde das ganze Eurasien in ihrer nördlichen Seite von dem Skythischen (bzw. Sarmatischen, Nördlichen, Kronischen, Eis-) Ozean umgeflossen. Diese Tatsache machte möglich (natürlich nur spekulativ) die Schifffahrt durch den Nördliche Seeweg, der nur zwei Jahrtausende später durch Experiment entdeckt wurde. Als einen Beweis der Möglichkeit dieser Fahrt erzählt der römische Autor aus Mitte des 1. Jhts Pomponius Mela folgende Geschichte:

Was jenseits des Kaspischen Golfes liege, war lange zweifelhaft, ob nämlich dort auch wieder der Ozean liegt oder ein Land, das wegen des strengen Frosts menschenfeindlich ist und sich ohne Rand und Grenze erstreckt. Aber außer den Naturphilosophen und

² *Normanni... classem trecentiarum sexaginta navium Constantinopolim duxere suburbanisque illius incensis in Britannicum mare sunt reversi.* Den lateinischen Text s. in Vasiliev 1946, 30.

³ Vasiliev 1946, 30.

Homer, die erklärten, daß der ganze Erdkreis vom Meer umflossen sei, gibt es Cornelius Nepos, der als modernerer Schriftsteller um so zuverlässiger ist; er nennt als Zeugen hierfür den Quintus Metellus Celer und erwähnt folgenden Bericht jenes Mannes: Als er Statthalter von Gallien war, erhielt er vom König der Boier einige Inder als Geschenk; als er sie fragte, woher sie in dieses Land gekommen seien, erfuhr er, daß sie durch Stürme aus den indischen Gewässern verschlagen waren, die dazwischenliegenden durchmessen hatten und schließlich an den Küsten Germaniens an Land gegangen waren. Also geht das Meer hier weiter... (Mela 3. 44-45).⁴

Dieselbe Geschichte (mit einigen Abweichungen) erzählte später Plinius der Ältere (NH 2. 170).⁵ Also, Osteuropa ist von Norden von einem Meer-Ozean begrenzt.

In der Antike kannte man das Skandinavien als eine Halbinsel nicht; im besten Fall wurde es als eine Insel Scanza bekannt (schon bei Pomponius Mela, bei Plinius dem Älteren und später bei Ptolemäus); nur im Mittelalter wurde Scandinavien als eine Halbinsel erkannt. Man glaubte, daß diese Insel gegenüber von der Küste Germaniens ostwärts von der Elbemündung sich befindet (s., z.B. Mela 3. 54; Plin. NH 4. 96). Dadurch erschien das Baltische Meer für den größten Teil Europas praktisch als das Nördliche Eismeer.⁶

Als noch eine 'falsche Realität' der Geographie Osteuropas kann das Kaspische Meer betrachtet werden, das – der meist verbreiteten Überlieferung gemäß – als der Golf des Nordozeans wahrgenommen wurde; mit dem letzteren sollte das Kaspische Meer durch die enge und lange Wasserstraße verbunden sein. Als Binnensee wurde das Kaspische Meer nur von Herodot und Ptolemäus erkannt.

Das alles führte dazu, daß die allgemeine Kontouren Eurasiens, wie sie den antiken Geographen und Kartographen bekannt waren, sich stark von den realen unterschieden: die Größe Osteuropas verringerte sich wesentlich, Europa blieb ohne Skandinavien, dabei wurde die baltische Küste als die nördlichste und von Westen bis Osten durch dieselbe Breite sich ausdehnende verstanden; damit wurde das ganze Nord-Ost-Europa abgeschnitten.⁷ Die Wahrnehmung des Kaspischen Meeres als des Golfes des nördlichen Ozeans machte die kaspische Mündung der Wolga praktisch zu dem nördlichsten Punkt Osteuropas. Dabei wurde fast das ganze Territorium Sibiriens, des Fernostens, Chinas und des südöstlichen Asiens abgeschnit-

⁴ Übersetzung von K. Brodersen.

⁵ S. Interpretationen dieser Episode: Thomson 1948, 199; Hennig 1937, 289-92; Bengtson 1954-55; André 1982; Silberman 1988, 278; Tausend 1999.

⁶ Zum ersten Mal trifft man den Name 'Baltisches Meer' (*mare Balteum*) als die Benennung des Golfes des Nordozeans bei Adam von Bremen in 1070er Jahren (Adam. Brem. 4. 10. P. 238).

⁷ Nur in dieser Perspektive konnten die *Aesti* der Baltischen Küste als die Nachbarn der *Acatziri* (Chazaren) beschrieben werden, wie bei Iordanes (*Get.* 36: *ripam oceani item Aesti tenent... quibus in austrum adsidet gens Acatzirorum fortissima... ultra quos distenduntur supra mare Ponticum Bulgarum sedes...*).

ten, wenn auch oft vorausgesetzt wurde, daß der Nordozean bis zur Verbindung mit dem Östlichen Ozean sich ausdehnt.

Also, wenn wir die nördliche Grenze Eurasiens, wie sie sich in den mentalen Karten der antiken Geographen einprägte, auf die moderne Karte auflegen, läuft diese Grenze von dem Westen durch die baltische Küste nach dem Osten, dann kommt sie zum nördlichen Teil des Kaspischen Meer, weiter durch die nach Alexanderzügen gut bekannten zentralasiatischen Länder Baktrien und Choresm geht sie direkt nach Süden, dabei bildet sie die östliche Grenze Indiens⁸ (s. Abb. 1). In Rahmen dieser geographischen Scheinrealitäten dürften die historische Ereignisse abspielen, die Flüsse, Gebirge, Seen, Völker und Städte lokalisiert werden, was zu den zahlreichen Paradoxen und Verwirrungen in den literarischen Quellen brachte. In Rahmen dieser Vorstellungen⁹ wurde auch Glauben möglich, daß die

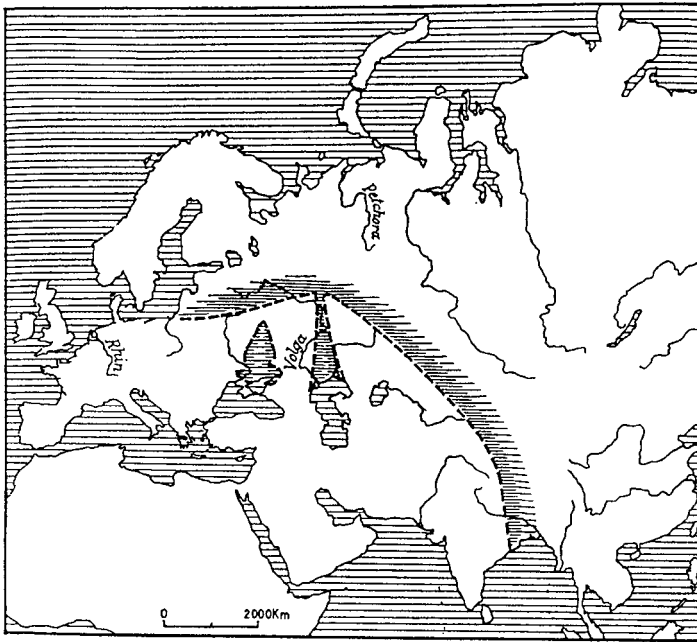


Abb. 1: Die Kontouren Eurasiens nach der Vorstellungen der antiken Geographen (nach R. Dion, *Aspects politiques de la géographie antique* [Paris 1977], 220).

⁸ Vgl. Plin. *NH.* 2. 167-168: 'Das Nordmeer aber ist zu seinem größten Teil befahren... Ebenso wurde aber im Osten vom Indischen Meere aus immer unter demselben Sternbild der ganze gegen das Kaspische Meer liegende Teil von makedonischen Kriegern befahren... 168. Auch um das Kaspische Meer sind viele Küsten des Ozeans erforscht worden und bis auf eine kleine Strecke wurde das ganze Nordmeer von dieser und jener Seite durchfahren' (Übersetzung von R. König).

⁹ In der Antike wurde die Vorstellung verbreitet, daß die Skythen, die von dem Osteuropa bis zum Mittelasien gewohnt haben sollten, als Nachbarn von den Indern betrachtet wurden; nur die Gebirge, die das Asien auf zwei Teilen – einen 'skythische' (nördliche) und einen 'indische' (südliche)

Inder, wie wir oben gesehen haben, nach Westeuropa durch den Nördlichen Ozean 'kommen' konnten.¹⁰ Auf diesem Hintergrund klingen nicht zu kühn die Worte Senecas über die Offenheit der Welt, wobei 'der Inder trinkt von dem eisigen Araxes, die Perser trinken von Elbe und Rhein' (*Medea* 376-378: *Indus gelidum potat Araxen, Albin Persae Rhenumque bibunt*).

Was in dieser Perspektive die Flüsse Osteuropas und die Möglichkeit der Schifffahrt von dem Schwarzen Meer zu dem Baltischen Meer betrifft, da soll gesagt werden, daß die Griechen und die Römer durch die Einwohner der antiken nordpontischen Städten ziemlich gut informiert waren in dem System der Flüsse, die in das Asowsche und Schwarze Meer mündeten, wenn auch einige Angaben nicht ganz mit den modernen übereinstimmen.¹¹ So, neben den gut bekannten in der Antike Flüsse, wie Donau (*Histos*), Dnjestr (*Tyras*), Südlicher Bug (*Hypanis*), Dnjepr (*Borysthenes*), Don (*Tanais*) und Kuban (*Hypanis*, später *Kuphis*), erwähnen die antiken Autoren, z. B. Herodot, noch einige Flüsse, die bis jetzt zu Übereinstimmung mit den modernen Flüsse nicht gebracht werden konnten. Ich meine die Flüsse Pantikapes, Hypakyris, Gerrhos, Hyrgis, die Herodot zwischen dem Borysthenes und dem Tanais lokalisierte (4. 54-56), wie auch die Flüsse Lykos, Oaros und Syrgis, die nach Herodot (4. 123) durch das Land der Maeoten ins Asowsche Meer fließen.

Der Fluß Wolga wurde in der Antike bis zum Ptolemäus unbekannt, auch wegen der Wahrnehmung des Kaspischen Meeres als des Golfes des Ozeans. Es ist möglich, daß doch die unklare Kenntnisse von Wolga in dem Name *Oaros* (= *Rha*

teilen, trennen zwei diese Völker ab. Vgl. Diod. 2. 43: 'Nun aber gehen wir von den Indern zu den Skythen über, die das Nachbarland bewohnen'. Vielsagend ist auch die Bemerkung von Johannes Tsetses: 'Kolcher sind die indische Skythen' (*Comm. ad Cassandram Lycophronis* 174). Vgl. Plutarch. *Marius* 11: 'Einige Gelehrte behaupten auch, das Gebiet der Kelten erstrecke sich in gewaltiger Tiefe und Ausdehnung von der Nordsee nach Osten bis zum Asowschen Meer und grenze hier an das Land der Skythen am Schwarzen Meer' (Übersetzung von K. Ziegler). Wenn 'das Gebiet der Kelten', unter dem das ganze Westeuropa verstanden wurde, an das Skythien grenzt, das seinerseits an das Indien grenzt, sah der Weg vom Indien bis Keltika ganz realistisch aus. Derselbe Plutarch teilt über die Pläne des Caesars folgendes (*Caesar* 58) '...So war der Entschluß in ihm gereift, gegen die Parther zu ziehen, und die Vorbereitungen für das Unternehmen wurden schon getroffen. Er wollte, wenn er die Feinde niedergeworfen hat, durch Hyrkanien am Kaspischen Meer und dem Kaukasos hin um das Schwarze Meer herumziehen und ins Gebiet der Skythen einfallen, dann die Nachbarländer der Germanen und diese selbst bezwingen und schließlich durch Gallien nach Italien zurückkehren, um auf diese Weise den Kreis zu schließen und überall den Ozean zur Reichsgrenze zu machen' (Übersetzung von K. Ziegler). Damit wollte Caesar nach Westeuropa von dem Land der Parther praktisch den Ozean entlang kommen.

¹⁰ Nach Strabo (11. 11. 6), glaubte Patrokles, der am Ende des 3. Jhts die südliche Küste des Kaspischen Meeres untersuchte, daß die Schifffahrt aus Indien durch den nördlichen Ozean ins Kaspische Meer ganz möglich war, wenn auch Strabo selbst es bezweifelte.

¹¹ S. über die nordpontische Flüsse eine spezielle Untersuchung von G. Schramm (1973).

von Ptolemäus) bei Herodot (4. 123-124) widergespiegelt sind,¹² wie auch in der Beschreibung der Meerenge, die das Kaspische Meer mit dem Ozean angeblich verbindet, als der langen, engen und einer dem Fluß gleichen (s. Mela 3. 38: *Mare Caspium ut angusto ita longo etiam freto primum terras quasi fluvius inrumpit...*).¹³

Wenn die Mündungen der nordpontischen Flüsse gut bekannt und ziemlich genau lokalisiert wurden, war in den Kenntnissen über ihre Quellen keine Klarheit. In der Antike waren zwei Ansichten verbreitet – ‘Bergtheorie’ (nach Aristoteles, fließen alle skythischen Flüsse von den Rhipäischen Bergen – *Meteor.* 1. 13. 350b) и ‘Seetheorie’ (nach Herod. 4. 51-57 fließen Tyras, Hypanis, Panticapes, Hypacyris und Tanais aus den Seen aus). Keine von diesen Theorien entspricht der geographischen Realität, da sie von den rein spekulativen und generellen Vorstellungen über die Herkunft der Flüsse hervorgerufen wurden. Über die Unsicherheit in den Kenntnissen von den Quellen der nordpontischen Flüsse hat Strabo in der Polemik mit seinen Vorgänger so geschrieben (2. 4. 6):

Indiskutabel ist was Manche behaupten, die einen, er (*sc.* Tanais) erspringe in der Gegend des Istros im Westen, ohne zu bedenken, dass dazwischen der Tyras, der Borysthenes und der Hypanis, drei große Flüsse, zum Schwarzen Meer fließen, der eine parallel zum Istros, die beiden anderen zum Tanais; und da die Quellen des Tyras nicht entdeckt sind, und auch die des Borysthenes und des Hypanis nicht, dürfte das Gebiet nördlich davon noch viel unbekannter sein (Übersetzung von S. Radt).

Betrachten wir jetzt die Kenntnisse der antiken Autoren über die Flüsse Osteuropas, *die ins Baltische Meer münden*. Bemerkenswert, daß bis zum Ptolemäus (das ist die Mitte des 2. Jhts nach Chr.) hören wir praktisch nichts über diese Flüsse, was auch verständlich ist – so weit ins Festland nach Norden sind die Griechen und Römer der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste nicht hingegangen. Derselbe Strabo, der sehr gut in der Geographie informiert war, schreibt (7. 2. 4):

Was jenseits der Elbe am Ozean liegt, ist uns ganz und gar unbekannt; wissen wir doch weder von Früheren, die diese Küstenfahrt ostwärts bis zur Mündung des Kaspischen Meeres gemacht hätten, noch sind die Römer bisher über die Elbe hinausgekommen; und ebensowenig sind je Leute zu Fuß hindurchgezogen (Übersetzung von S. Radt).

Betonen wir in dieser Beschreibung nochmals die Tatsache, daß das Baltische Meer als nördlicher Ozean verstanden wird, der von der westlichen Küste Germaniens

¹² S. A. Hermann in *RE* 17 (1937), 1680: ‘Danach kann es sich nur um die Wolga handeln’; so auch Rozwadowski 1948, 258; dagegen Schramm 1973, 113.

¹³ S. ausführlicher Podossinov 2000, 230-39.

bis zur ‘Mündung’ des Kaspischen Meeres sich ausdehnt. Etwa später beschreibt schon Plinius der Ältere den Eintritt ins Baltische Meer so (2. 167):

Das Nordmeer aber ist zu seinem größten Teil befahren worden, als im Auftrag des göttlichen Augustus eine Flotte um Germanien herum bis zum kimbrischen Vorgebirge fuhr, von wo aus man ein unermeßliches Meer vor sich liegen sah oder durch Gerüchte von ihm hörte, bis zum skythischen Lande und zu wasserreichen, von Eis starrenden Gegenden (Übersetzung von R. König und G. Winkler).

Der erste ins Baltische Meer mündende Fluß Osteuropas, der in der Antike bekannt wurde, war die Weichsel (*Vistula*). Sie war bereits in der *Chorographia* und möglicherweise auf der Weltkarte von Marcus Vipsanius Agrippas (gestorben im J. 12 vor Chr.) erwähnt und eingezeichnet. Darüber informiert uns die direkte Zitate aus Agrippas Werk, die Plinius der Ältere angeführt hat und in der der Fluß *Vistla* genannt wurde.¹⁴ Die Weichsel begrenzt vom Westen das Territorium Daziens, wie der spätrömische Traktat *Divisio orbis terrarum* erzählt, der die Weltkarte Agrippas beschreibt.¹⁵ Der Name der Weichsel taucht vor Ptolemäus nur bei den Autoren der agrippäischen Tradition auf – bei Pomponius Mela (3. 33: *Vistula*) und Plinius (*NH* 4. 81: *Vistla*).

Nur ab 2. Jht. nach Chr. erscheinen die Angaben über andere Flüsse Osteuropas, die ins Baltische Meer münden.

So z.B. beschreibt Ptolemäus die nördliche und westliche Grenze des europäischen Sarmatiens, während er die 8. Karte Europas darstellt (3. 5):

1. Das europäische Sarmatien wird im Norden von dem Sarmatischen Ozean an dem Wenedischen Golf und von einem Teil des unbekannten Landes begrenzt. Die Beschreibung ist die folgende: Jenseits des Flusses *Vistula*, der unter 45° der Länge und 56° der Breite liegt, folgen

die Mündung des Flusses *Chronos* unter 50°-56°

die Mündung des Flusses *Rudon*¹⁶ unter 53°-57°

die Mündung des Flusses *Turontos* unter 56°30'-58° 30'

die Mündung des Flusses *Chesinos*¹⁷ unter 58°30'-59°30'.

¹⁴ Plin. *NH*. 4. 81: ‘Agrippa überlieferte, daß sich dieser ganze Landstrich vom Hister bis zum Ozean etwa 1200 Meilen in die Länge, von den Einöden Sarmatiens bis zum Flusse *Vistla* 396 Meilen in die Breite erstreckte’ (Übersetzung von G. Winkler und R. König).

¹⁵ *Divisio orbis terrarum* 14: ‘Dakien wird im Osten von den Wüsten Sarmatiens begrenzt, im Westen vom Fluß *Vistla*, im Norden von Ozean und im Süden vom Fluß *Hister*’ (Übersetzung von K. Brodersen). Über die Weltkarte des Agrippa und ihre spätere Repliken s. ausführlicher Podossinov 2002, 35-76 und besonders 46, 55, 67, 75.

¹⁶ ‘Ρούδωνος; handschriftliche Varianten: ‘Ρούβωνος, Βούβωνος, ‘Ρουβόνου.

¹⁷ Χερίνου; Varianten: Χεσίνου, Χεσόνου, Χερσίνου.

Daraus folgt also, daß Ptolemäus östlich von Vistula noch vier Flüsse kennt, die ins Baltisches Meer münden: Chronos, Rudon, Turuntos und Chesinos. Diese Namen kommen nach Ptolemäus nur noch im 4. Jht. vor, nämlich bei Markianos von Herakleia (*Periplus maris externi* 2. 39: Χρόνος und Ρουδῶν) und bei Ammianus Marcellinus (22. 8. 38: die Flüsse *Chronios/Chronus* und *Visula/Bisula*).¹⁸ Es gibt mehrere Versionen der Zusammenstellung der ptolemäischen Flüsse mit den modernen;¹⁹ diese Frage wird in diesem Beitrag ausführlich nicht besprochen.

Ein anderer Autor des 2. Jhts nach Chr. Dionysius Periegetes beschreibt in seiner *Periegesis tes oikoumenes* die nordpontische Küste und ihre Flüsse (vv. 298-320) und nach der Erwähnung des Borysthenes sagt:

Dort sind auch des Aldeskos und auch des Pantikapes Wasser, die von Rhipäischen Höhen in gesondertem Lauf abrauschen; und an deren Erguß, dem Erstarreten Meere benachbart, wird der Bernstein erzeugt, sanftschimmernder, gleichwie des Mondes neu beginnender Glanz (vv. 314-318; Übersetzung von K. Brodersen).

Die Flüsse Pantikapes und Aldeskos haben also nach Dionysios ihre Mündungen in dem Baltischen Meer. Diese beiden Flüsse wurden schon von Herodot (Pantikapes), Hesiodos (in der Form Ardeskos) und einigen anderen späteren Autoren erwähnt, aber ihre Lokalisation war nie klar. Besonders interessant ist die Erwähnung von Aldeskos, der bestimmt dasselbe ist, wie Ardeskos von Hesiodos.²⁰ Der letzte nennt den Fluß Ardeskos (Ἄρδηςκος) in seiner *Theogonie* (v. 345) in dem 'Flüssenkatalog' neben den anderen 24 Flüssen, unter denen solche Flüsse sind, wie Nil, Maiandros, Istros, Phasis, Acheloos, Kaikos, Skamandros und andere (*Theog.* 338-345). Ein Fluß Aldeskos (Ἄλδηςκος) ist auch von Eustathius in seinen Kommentaren zur Homers *Odysseia* (ad 18. 70) und im Suidas Lexikon (1101: Ἄλδῆςκος· ὄνομα ποταμοῦ) genannt. Nichts spricht in diesen Stellen für die Lokalisierung dieses Flusses in Osteuropa, aber es fehlen auch andere geographische Merkmale. Dafür sagt der Scholiast von Hesiodos direkt, daß 'Histros der Fluß in Skythien ist, Phasis bei Kolcher..., Ardeskos in Skythien'.²¹ Man kann deshalb ver-

¹⁸ Den Versuch, diese Flüsse mit den Flüssen der anderen antiken Autoren gleichzusetzen, s. schon in einem Kommentar von C. Müllerus in seiner Ausgabe von Ptolemäus (Müllerus 1883, 412-13).

¹⁹ Eine alte Version stellt die ptolemäischen Flüsse mit den folgenden modernen Flüssen zusammen: Pregel, Memel (oder Rusne), Windau (Venta), für Chesinos gibt es keine sichere Gleichsetzung, s. Müllenhoff 1906, 25-26 und 251-52; Kulakovskij 2000, 252-53; vgl. auch Plezia 1952, 38. Es gibt aber eine andere Version: Chronos – Memel (Neman/Nemunas), Rudon – Windau (Venta), Turuntos – Polota; Chesinos dabei hat keine Identifikation (s. Bulkin 1983, 5-8).

²⁰ Interessant, daß Avienus und Priscianus, die das Werk von Dionysios ins Lateinisch übertragen haben, statt *Aldescos* von Dionysios den 'alten' Name *Ardescos* (Avien. 450)/*Ardiscos* (Priscian. 306) behielten. Das bestätigt die Identität des hesiodischen *Ardeskos* und des dionysischen *Aldeskos*.

²¹ Ἴστρος Σκυθίας, Φάσις Κόλχων, Ἄρδηςκος Σκυθίας.

muten, daß Dionysios in seiner Beschreibung von Aldeskos eine sehr alte Tradition benutzt hat, der gemäß die großen Flüsse Skythiens mit dem nördlichen Ozean kommunizieren konnten.²²

Ungeachtet der Tatsache, daß es bis zum Anfang unserer Zeit fast keine Information über die Flüsse gab, die ins Baltisches Meer mündeten (ausschließlich der Weichsel bei Agrippa), existieren in einigen, manchmal sehr alten Quellen unklare Angaben über die Möglichkeit von dem Schwarzen Meer das Baltische Meer (= den nördlichen Ozean) durch die osteuropäische Flüsse zu erreichen.

In der frühen griechischen Tradition wurden der ägyptische Nil und der skythische Tanais, wie auch der kolchische Phasis,²³ die die Kontinente trennten, als aus dem Weltozean ausfließende Ströme betrachtet.²⁴ Diese Meinung wurde im großen Maße von der spekulativen mythisch-kosmologischen Theorie bestimmt, der gemäß die Erde von dem Fluß-Ozean ungetrennt war.²⁵ Außerdem dachte man schon seit Homer, daß alle Flüsse der Erde, wie auch die Meeren, die Quellen und die Brunnen die Söhne des Ozeans waren und von ihm entfließen.²⁶

Davon nimmt seinen Anfang die unklare, aber während der ganzen Antike zu verfolgende Vorstellung, daß auch Tanais das Schwarze und das Baltische Meer (= den nördlichen Ozean) verbinden kann.

²² Über das Problem des Ardeskos bei Dionysios und seine eventuelle Identität mit dem Fluß Ordessos bei Herodot s. Müllerus 1883, 412.

²³ Wenn der Phasis nach einer Tradition als die Grenze zwischen Europa und Asien wahrgenommen wurde, hat man auch ihm die Verbindung mit dem Ozean zugeschrieben (vgl. Schol. ad Apollon. Rhod. Arg. 4. 259: 'Hesiodos, Pindar in "Pythioniken" und Antimachos in "Lidos" sagen, daß die Argonauten durch den Ozean nach Lybien kamen und, nachdem sie die Argo auf ihren Schultern übertragen haben, in Unseres Meer gerieten (διὰ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ φασιν ἐλθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς Λιβύην, καὶ βασιλεύσαντας τὴν Ἀργὴν εἰς τὸ ἡμέτερον πέλαγος <παρα>γενέσθαι – Wendel 273-4)', dabei teilt derselbe Scholiast etwas später (ad 4. 284) mit, daß 'Hesiodos sagt, daß sie durch den Phasis gefahren sind ('Ἡσίοδος δὲ διὰ Φάσιδος αὐτοὺς εἰσπεπλευκέναι λέγει)').

²⁴ Vgl. Herodot (2. 21) über den Nil: '...Die Überschwemmungen rührten davon her, daß der Nil aus dem Okeanos entspringe und dieser Okeanos fließe um die ganze Erde herum' (Übersetzung von A.Horneffer); vgl. über den Phasis: Schol. ad Apollon. Rhod. Arg. 4. 259: 'Hekataios von Milet [sagt], daß sie (sc. die Argonauten) vom Phasis in den Ozean gefahren, dann davon in den Nil, daher ins Unsere Meer' ('Ἐκταῖος δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος [λέγει] ἐκ τοῦ Φάσιδος διελθεῖν εἰς τὸν Ὠκεανόν, εἴτα ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὸν Νεῖλον, ὅθεν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν θάλασσαν). Damit konnte man aus dem Mittelmeer und dem Schwarzen Meer in den Ozean und umgekehrt fahren.

²⁵ Lesky 1947, 58-87; *KlPauly* 4, 267-70.

²⁶ Vgl. Hom. *Il.* 21. 196-197:

ἐξ οὗ(ς) Ὠκεανοῦ περ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα
καὶ πᾶσαι κρήναι καὶ φρεῖατα μακρὰ νάουσιν.

und Hesiod. *Theog.* 337:

Τεθὺς δ' Ὀκεανῷ Ποταμοὺς τέκε δινῆεντας...

Bemerkenswert, daß der Fluß Ardeskos gerade hier in der Liste der Flüsse erwähnt wurde, die von dem Okeanos und Tethys geboren sind.

So teilt Strabo mit (2. 4. 1), daß Pytheas bei seiner Schifffahrt nach Norden die ganze europäische Küste von Gadeira bis zum Tanais bereist wäre (πάσαν ἐπέλθοι τὴν παρωκεανῆτιν τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπὸ Γαδείρων ἕως Τανάιδος). Daraus schließen die modernen Historiker zusammen, daß der Tanais, unter dem gewöhnlich der moderne Don gemeint wurde, auch ins Baltische Meer münden konnte.²⁷ Gewiß kann man diese Äußerung von Strabo abstrakt-geographisch verstehen: 'bis zum Tanais' bedeutete 'bis zur Grenze zwischen Europa und Asien', die der Tanais verkörperte. Und doch konnte diese Aussage auch buchstäblich verstanden werden, da viele Autoren glaubten, der Nil und der Tanais machen drei Kontinente zu echten Inseln,²⁸ was voraussetzt, daß diese Flüsse von Meer zu Meer fließen.

So beschreibt Strabo selbst das Territorium zwischen dem Tanais und der Wolga, die von ihm als die Mündung des Kaspischen Meeres verstanden wird, als eine Halbinsel (11. 1. 5):

Von diesen (d.h. dem nördlichen Teil Asiens) seinerseits ist das erste das Gebiet am Tanais, den wir als Grenze zwischen Europa und Asien angesetzt haben. Dieses Gebiet bildet gewissermaßen eine Halbinsel: wird es doch im Westen umfasst von dem Fluss Tanais und dem Maiotischen See bis zum Bosphoros und der Küste des Schwarzen Meeres, die in Kolchis endet, im Norden vom Ozean bis zur Mündung des Kaspischen Meeres, und im Osten von eben diesem Meer bis zu dem Grenzgebiet von Albanien und Armenien... (Übersetzung von S. Radt).

Aus dem Text ist klar, daß man dieses Territorium nur in dem Fall als eine Halbinsel betrachten darf, wenn der Tanais mit dem nördlichen Ozean sich verbindet.

Zu derselben Überlieferung kann man die Worte des Markianos von Herakleia zurechnen, daß im Norden 'die Küste Europas von dem Fluß Tanais anfängt'.²⁹

Nur dem Prokop von Caesarea wurde Widersprüchlichkeit der Situation mit dem Tanais als der Grenze zwischen Europa und Asia zum ersten Mal klar, als er schrieb:

Im übrigen entspricht der Don (im Text – Τάναις) im sog. Rhipäischen Gebirge, das nach dem übereinstimmenden Berichte der alten Schriftsteller zu Europa gehört. Von

²⁷ S. z. B. El'nizkij 1961, 123-24.

²⁸ Siehe Strabo 1. 65: 'Ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ τῶν ἡπείρων εἰπόν (sc. Ἑρατοσθένης) γεγονέναι πολλὸν λόγον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοῖς ποταμοῖς διαιρεῖν αὐτάς τῳ τε Νεῖλῳ καὶ τῳ Τανάιδι νήσους ἀποφαίνοντας...; Ael. Aristid. *Aegypt.* 2. 472 (Dindorf): καὶ ἔστιν ὁ κόλπος οὗτος ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὕτη θάλαττα, ἣ σχίζει δίχῃ τὴν γῆν προσλαβούσα τὴν Μαιώτιν λίμνην καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ποταμὸν Τάναιν, καὶ ποιεῖ νῆσον τὸ μῆμα ἐκάτερον τῇ κύκλῳ θαλάττῃ...; Theopomp. *apud* Aelian. *Var. hist.* 3. 18: τὴν μὲν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὴν Λιβύην νήσους εἶναι, ἃς περιρρεῖν κύκλῳ τὸν ὠκεανόν...; vgl. dazu Berger 1903, 92-93.

²⁹ *Periplus maris externi* I. 5: Τῆς μὲν Εὐρώπης... ἡ παράλιος χώρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχει ἀπὸ τοῦ Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ. Vgl. Berger 1903, 92-93.

diesem Rhipäischen Gebirge ist der Ozean sehr weit entfernt, weshalb die hinter ihm und dem Don liegenden Länder nach beiden Seiten hin zu Europa gehören müssen. Von wo an der Don die beiden Erdteile nun zu trennen beginnen soll, ist demnach schwer zu sagen (Übersetzung von O. Veh).

Viele geographischen Angaben (manchmal von sehr alter Herkunft) über den nord-östliche Teilen der Oikoumene sind in den Beschreibungen der Argonautenreise der nach dem Goldenen Vlies ins Schwarze Meer erhalten.³⁰ Eine der Marschroueten der Rückfahrt der Argonauten von dem Schwarzen Meer zu dem Mittelmeer führt durch den Tanais in den nördlichen Ozean³¹ und dann an der nördlichen und westlichen Küsten Europas entlang durch die Säulen des Herakles ins Mittelmeer.³² Diodoros von Sizilien (4. 56. 3) beschreibt – mit dem Hinweis auf einigen Historiker und darunter Timaios von Tauromenion (2. Hälfte des 4. Jhts) – die Rückfahrt der Argonauten durch den Tanais, dann durch einen anderen großen Fluß, der in den Ozean mündet³³ (= Wolga-Rha?³⁴). Die nahe Ansicht hat Skymnos von Chios, s. *Schol. ad Apollon. Rhod. Arg.* 4. 284: 'Skymnos sagt, daß sie (sc. Argonauten) durch den Fluß Tanais ins Große Meer (sc. in den nördlichen Ozean), davon aber ins Unsere Meer (sc. Mittelmeer) gefahren sind'.³⁵ In der Orphischen Argonautika (vv. 1035-1245) ging die Marschroute der Argonauten

³⁰ S. allgemeine Arbeiten zum Thema: Meuli 1921; Bacon 1925; Delage 1930; Roux 1949.

³¹ Daß die Argonauten zum Ozean oder durch den Ozean ihre Fahrt vollzogen haben, wußten schon Pindar (*Pyth.* 4. 251) und Mimnermos (*Fr.* 11).

³² Andere Versionen der Rückfahrt der Argonauten (durch den Phasis, den Istros und den Bosporos Thracicus) s. ausführlicher Delage 1930, 51-73; Radermacher 1938, 220-23.

³³ 'Nicht wenige der alten und späteren Historiker, zu denen auch Timaios zählt, berichten nämlich, die Argonauten hätten nach dem Raub des Vlieses erfahren, daß die Mündung des Pontos von Aietes durch Schiffe im voraus abgeriegelt worden sei. Da vollbrachten sie eine erstaunliche und denkwürdige Leistung: Sie sollen nämlich den Fluß Tanais (= Don) aufwärts bis zu den Quellen gefahren sein (ἀναπλεύσαντας... διὰ τοῦ Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὰς πηγάς), dann an einer bestimmten Stelle das Schiff über Land gezogen haben (διελκύσαντας) und wieder auf einem anderen Fluß, der zum Ozean strömte, hinab zum Meer gefahren sein (καταπλεῦσαι πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν). Vom Norden aus aber nahmen sie Kurs zum Sonnenuntergang, wobei sie Land zur Linken hatten, und nachdem sie in die Nähe von Gadeira (Cadix) gekommen waren, liefen sie in unser Meer (Mittelmeer)' (Übersetzung von O. Veh). Siehe über diesen Text ausführlicher Ef'nikij 1961, 7-27; vgl. *ibid.* 20 über die Marschroute von Timaios: 'Irgendeine Berichte über die Möglichkeit der Kommunikation durch die europäische Flüsse zwischen dem Schwarzen und Baltischen Meer konnten das Schaffen solcher Marschroute beeinflussen, dabei hat Timaios das Baltische Meer für den Ozean gehalten.' Sehr wahrscheinlich, daß gerade Timaios der Erfinder dieser Marschroute war (Delage 1930, 65).

³⁴ G. Schramm ist fest überzeugt, daß es die Wolga war und daß nach Diodor Iason mit seinen Argonauten 'den Don hochgefahren sei und an einer Stelle, die nur die Enge von Stalingrad gewesen sein kann, die Boote zu einem anderen Fluß habe hinüberschleppen lassen. Hier taucht erstmals, noch ohne einen Namen, die Wolga im Weltbild der Griechen auf. Eine richtige und wichtige geographische Information... steckt in dem sagenhaften Bericht Diodors' (Schramm 1973, 125-26).

³⁵ 'Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Σύμνονος αὐτοὺς διὰ Τανάιδος πεπλευκέναι ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν, ἐκῆθεν δὲ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν θάλασσαν ἐληλυθέναι.

durch die Maeotis (= Asowsches Meer), den Tanais, eine Schlucht in den Rhipäischen Gebirgen (v. 1079 – Ῥιπαίους ἀλῶνας) zur Küste des nördlichen Ozeans (v. 1102: Τηθύος ἔσχατον ὕδωρ – ‘das letzte Wasser der Tethys’), dann durch den Ozean an Ierna vorbei bis zur Gaditanischen Meeresenge (s. Abb. 2).

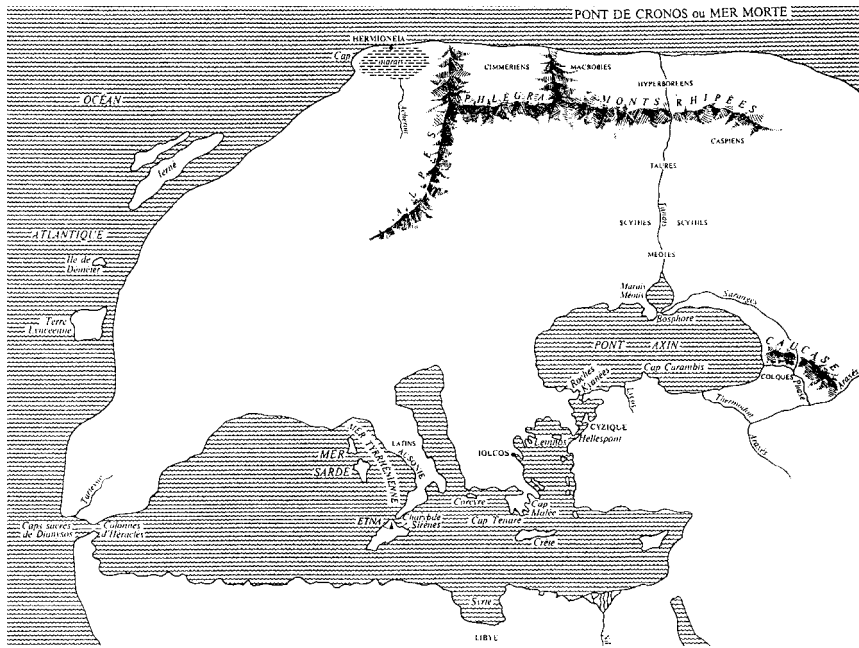


Abb. 2: Der Tanais und die Argonautenrückfahrt nach der Vorstellungen des Verfassers der Orphischen Argonautik (nach F. Vian (Hrsg.), *Les Argonautiques Orphiques* [Paris 1987]).

Dabei dauerte der Weg durch den Tanais von der Maeotis bis zum Ozean neun Tagen und Nächten (v. 1071: ἐννέα μὲν νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας μοχθίζοντες). Es soll bemerkt werden, daß in einigen oben zitierten Quellen die Rede über die Rollwege – das Schleppen des Schiffes zwischen den Flüssen oder zwischen den Quellen von Tanais und der Küste des nördlichen Ozeans geht, was der geographischen und praktischen Realitäten ganz und völlig entspricht.

Es gibt noch eine Ursache, warum die Wasseroute von dem Schwarzen Meer zum Baltischen Meer von den Griechen und Römern als mögliche betrachtet wurde. Ich meine eine sehr alte Überlieferung, der gemäß die Maeotis (Asowsches Meer) als ein Teil des Äußeren Ozeans (in diesem Fall – des nördlichen Ozeans) wahrgenommen war.³⁶

³⁶ Vgl. Burr 1932, 37-38: ‘Einige hielten sie (sc. Maeotis) sogar wie das Hyrkanische Meer für einen Busen des nördlichen Okeanos’.

So schreibt schon Pseudo-Hippokrates (5.-4. Jht vor Chr.) in seinem Traktat 'Über die Zahl 7', wo die Kontouren der Erde mit dem Mann verglichen werden, der mit seinem Kopf nach Süden liegt, so daß die Erde den Pontos Euxeinos und den Maeotischen Sumpf als den Unterleib und den Mastdarm hat (11. 7).³⁷ L.El'nizkij interpretiert diese Stelle folgendermaßen: 'Der Vergleich der Maeotis mit dem Mastdarm läßt vermuten, daß auf der ionischen Karte die Maeotis als ein offenes Bassin dargestellt wurde, das mit dem Äußerem Ozean verbunden war.'³⁸ Diese Überlieferung, verstärkt durch die Nachrichten über die realen Kontakten zwischen den Einwohnern der Küsten des Schwarzen und Baltischen Meeres, ist während der vielen Jahrhunderten zu beobachten.

Der lateinische Dichter der Mitte des 1. Jhts nach Chr. Lukan schreibt in seinem Werk *De bello civili* (3. 277-279): 'Auch vom Pontos kommen Truppen, vom brausenden Meer, das Wasser des maiotischen Sees in sich aufnimmt (dadurch verlieren die Säule des Herakles ihren Ruhm, und man darf sagen, daß nicht nur Gades den Ozean einlasse)' (Übersetzung von G. Luck).³⁹ Damit meint Lukan, daß das Mittelmeer durch Maeotis einen anderen neben dem Gibraltar Ausgang in den Äußeren Ozean hat.⁴⁰

Denselben Sinn haben die Worte Senecas über die gefrorene Maeotis, die das nördliche Meer (*arctoum mare* = *Tethys* = Ozean) ausströmt.⁴¹

In den 60-er Jahren des 1. Jhts nach Chr. wurde *Periplus maris Erythraei* geschrieben, in dem behauptet wird, daß 'der Maeotische See, die neben dem Kaspischen Meer liegt, in den Ozean mündet' (ἡ παρακειμένη λίμνη Μαιῶτις εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν συναναστομοῦσα).

Der in der zweite Hälfte des 2. Jhts n. Chr. lebende Maximus von Tyros hatte offensichtlich auch die Verbindung des Schwarzen Meeres und des nördlichen Ozeans in Auge, als er bemerkt: '...Aus dem Ozean [fließt] die Maeotis, aus der Maeotis der Pontus, aus dem Pontus der Hellespontus und aus dem Hellespontus

³⁷ Nur die lateinische (sehr verdorbene) Übersetzung des Traktates ist erhalten; s. [M.P.]É. Littré (Hrsg.), *Œuvres complètes d'Hippocrate* 8 (neu auf. Amsterdam 1962), 639: *ventur inferior et longao intestinus exumus pontus et palus meothis*.

³⁸ El'nizkij 1961, 51.

³⁹ *Quaque, fretum torrens, Maeotidos egeris undas
Pontus, et Herculeis aufertur gloria metis,
Oceanumque negant solasmittere Gades.*

⁴⁰ G. Luck in seinem Kommentar zur Stelle bemerkt: 'Das Asowsche Meer... hatte angeblich eine Verbindung zum nördlichen Ozean' (Luck 1985, 516).

⁴¹ Seneca *Herc. fur.* 1336-1338:

...*arctoum licet
Maeotis in me gelida transfundat mare
et tota Tethys per meas currat manus.*

das [Innere] Meer...'.⁴² Für den Golf des nördlichen Ozeans hielt die Maeotis und Marcianus Capella (5. Jht).⁴³

Von der Verbreitung in der Antike dieser Vorstellung über die Maeotis zeugt Plinius der Ältere, der sagte, daß seiner Beobachtung nach viele geglaubt haben, der Maeotische Sumpf sei eine Ausbuchtung des Ozeans;⁴⁴ Plinius selbst teilte diese Meinung nicht.

Zu derselben Ansicht gehört auch eine sehr verbreitete in der Antike nach den asiatischen Zügen Alexanders Meinung, daß die Maeotis mit dem Kaspischen Meer verbunden ist;⁴⁵ diese Tatsache machte sie zu einem Busen des nördlichen Ozeans.⁴⁶

Einige Worte soll über die antike kartographische Tradition gesagt werden. Wie es mit den Karten von Ptolemäus war, von denen nur ihre ausführliche Beschreibungen sich erhielten, wurde schon oben gesagt. Außer der ptolemäischen Karten haben wir nur noch eine antike Karte, auf der die Darstellung Osteuropas anwesend ist; das ist so genannte *Tabula Peutingeriana*, die in einer Kopie der Ende des 12.-Anfanges des 13. Jhts erhalten ist, nach ihrer Form und dem Inhalt aber zu den ersten Jahrhunderten nach Chr. zurückgeht. Interessant, daß auf dieser Karte und nur hier – in Osteuropa ostwärts von den Karpaten zum ertsen mal die Flüsse dargestellt sind, die in den nördlichen Ozean münden (Segm. VII-VIII⁴⁷). Aber noch interessanter ist die Tatsache, daß diese Flüsse vom nördlichen Ozean bis zum Schwarzen oder Asowschen Meer fließen.

Das sind die Flüsse von Westen zu Osten: *Sellianus* (wahrscheinlich *Vistula*⁴⁸), der als der rechte Nebenfluß des Bugs gezeigt wird. Bug selbst hat auch zwei Mündungen, die eine im Nordozean und die zweite im Schwarzen Meer. Östlich von Tanais-Don sind noch zwei ungenannte Flüsse gezeichnet, die einerseits in den Ozean münden, andererseits – ins Asowsche Meer⁴⁹ (s. Abb. 3).

⁴² *Dissert.* 26. 3: ...ἐξ Ὠκεανοῦ ἡ Μαίωτις, ὡς ἐκ τῆς Μαίωτιδος ὁ Πόντος, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ὁ Ἑλλησπόντος, ὡς ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου ἡ [ἐντὸς] θάλασσα.

⁴³ *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 6. 619: *Palus vero Maeotica eiusdem sinus habetur Oceani.*

⁴⁴ Plin. *NH* 2. 168: ...*ea* (sc. *palus Maeotica*) *illius oceani sinus est, ut multos aduerto credidisse.*

⁴⁵ Strabo 11. 7. 4: 'Deshalb zog man (bei Alexander) den Maiotischen See, der den Tanais aufnimmt, und das Kaspische Meer in eins zusammen, wobei man auch letzteres "See" nannte und behauptete, beide seien mit einander verbunden und jedes bilde einen Teil des anderen. Polykleitos bringt sogar Argumente dafür bei, dass dieses Meer ein See sei: es nähre nämlich Schlangen und sein Wasser sei etwa süß' (Übersetzung von S. Radt); Curt. Ruf. 6. 4: *alii sunt, qui Maeotim paludem in id* (sc. *Caspium mare*) *cadere putent; et argumentum afferunt, aquam quod dulcior sit, quam cetera maria, infuso paludis humore mitescere;* vgl. auch Plut. *Alex.* 44.

⁴⁶ Burr 1932, 37.

⁴⁷ Die Numeration der Kartensegmente ist nach der Ausgabe von E. Weber angegeben (Weber 1976).

⁴⁸ S. ausführlicher Podossinov 2000, 336-37.

⁴⁹ Podossinov 2000, 338, 353. Vgl. auch Müllerus 1883, 412-13.

Der bekannter Erforscher der *Tabula Peutingeriana* Konrad Miller glaubte, vier Flüsse, die von den nördlichen Ozean ins Schwarze oder Asowsche Meer fließen, der Inkompetenz des Kartographen schuldig seien.⁵⁰ Aber die Analogie mit den vier ptolemäischen Flüssen, die in den Wenedischen Golf münden, lassen vermuten, daß hier wir eine kartographische Tradition haben, die etwas über diese Flüsse kannte.

Bemerkenswert, daß die Flüsse, die gleichzeitig mit ihren zwei Endungen in zwei Meeren münden, nicht ganz fremd der antiken Kartographie erscheinen. So, auf der Karte, die als Grundlage der 'Kosmographie' des Julius Honorius (4.-5. Jhte) diente, mündete der Rhein gleichzeitig in den westlichen Ozean (wie es ihm gehört) und ins Mittelmeer (hier verwandelt er sich offensichtlich in Rhone), dabei bemerkt der Autor der Kartenbeschreibung nicht ohne Verwirrung: 'wohin er fließt – in den westlichen Ozean oder ins Tyrrhenische Meer, kann man nicht aus der presenten Karte entscheiden, da er scheint von Wasser zu Wasser zu fließen (*ab aqua ad aquam videtur currere*)'.⁵¹

Der Anonymus aus Ravenna, der die kartographischen Quellen benutzt hat, die nah zur *Tabula Peutingeriana* stehen, erwähnt in seiner 'Kosmographie' (ca. 700 J.) auch zwei Flüsse in Osteuropa, die ins Baltische Meer münden: *Vistula* und *Bangis*.⁵² Sehr wahrscheinlich, daß unter dem zweiten Namen der Fluß Südllicher Bug sich versteckt.⁵³ In diesem Fall zeugt seine Mündung im Baltischen Meer, daß

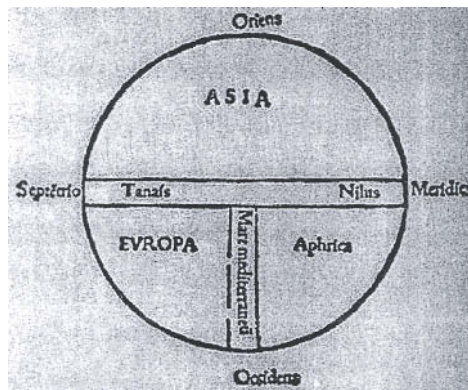


Abb. 4: Eine der mittelalterlichen T-O-Karten.

⁵⁰ Miller 1916, 597.

⁵¹ *Cosmogr.* 22 B. Den Text und die Übersetzung s. Podossinov 2002, 121.

⁵² Rav. Anon. 4. 4: 'Ferner ist am Ozean ein Land, das genannt wird das der Roxolanen, Sauricen, Sauromaten. Durch dieses Land fließen viele Flüsse, unter anderen, die genannt werden, ein sehr grosser Fluss mit Namen Vistula, der sehr wasserreich sich in den Ozean ergießt'; 4. 11: 'Aus den Bergen dieses Sarmatiens kommen sehr viele Flüsse, unter anderen fließt einer in den Ozean, mit Namen Bangis' (Übersetzung von J. Schnetz).

⁵³ Podossinov 2002, 277-78. In den byzantinischen Quellen kommt der Name Bug in der Forme Βογού erst im 10. Jht. bei Constantin Porphyrt. *De imp. adm.* 42. 59 und 38. 69 vor.

doch die kartographische Tradition der Darstellung der zwei Mündungen bei einem Fluß, die an den verschiedenen Meeren sich befinden, existierte.

Von großem Interesse ist die Tatsache, daß diese kartographisch-geographische Tradition die Antike überlebt und in den vielen mittelalterlichen westeuropäischen und byzantinischen, wie auch in den islamischen Denkmäler der Kartographie und Geographie fortgesetzt hat.

Was die westeuropäischen Karten betrifft, die in vieler Hinsicht die kartographische Tradition der Antike beibehielten und ebenfalls solche Vorstellungen repräsentieren, so lassen alle so genannten T-O-Karten den Tanais (zusammen mit dem Asowschen und Schwarzen Meeren, dem Marmarameer und Aegäischen Meer) zum Nordozean führen⁵⁴ (s. Abb. 4).

Selbst auf den ausführlichen mittelalterlichen *mappae mundi* gibt es die Flüsse, die die Maeotis mit dem Nordozean verbinden. So ist es z.B. mit der Freisinger Karte des 11. Jhts aus München, auf der das Mittelmeer, das Schwarze Meer und das Asowsche Meer ziemlich realistisch dargestellt wurden. Dabei geht eine Fluß (offensichtlich Tanais) von dem Asowschen Meer zum Nördlichen Ozean⁵⁵ (s. Abb. 5). Tanais fließt auch zwischen dem Nordozean und dem *Pontus Euxinus* auf der Cambridge Karte des Endes des 12. Jhts⁵⁶ (s. Abb. 6). Bemerkenswert, daß Fr.Dvornik diese Darstellung als das Zeugnis der Kenntnisse des Kartographers über die Flussroute 'von den Waräger zu den Griechen' verstanden hat, die die Baltische und Schwarze Meere verbandete,⁵⁷ obwohl vielleicht mehr recht L.S. Chekin hat, der hier nur einen Tribut der vielhundertjährigen Tradition der kartographischen Darstellung des Tanais sehen will.⁵⁸ Viele andere mittelalterliche Karten haben dieselbe Verbindung zwischen zwei Meeren: die Karten von Beatus (11.-12. Jhte),⁵⁹ eine Weltkarte aus München (BS, CLM 6362, f. 74; aus dem 11. Jht.), eine Weltkarte von Ranulf Higden (1350 J.) und andere.

In Rahmen dieser Vorstellungen wird auch die Idee von Adam von Bremen über das Baltische Meer⁶⁰ verständlich, der gemäß man aus dänischer Stadt Schleswig bis zum Rußland und weiter zum Griechenland fahren konnte, da die

⁵⁴ Chekin 1999, 22-108 und Abb. 1-18, 26, 27, 29, 31, 33, 34 u.a.

⁵⁵ Chekin 1999, Abb. 37.

⁵⁶ Chekin 1999, Abb. 42.

⁵⁷ Dvornik 1968, 20.

⁵⁸ Chekin 1999, 128.

⁵⁹ Siehe Miller 1897, Taf. 2, 3a, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

⁶⁰ Adam. Brem. 4. 10: 'Die Ortsansässige nennen diesen Golf den Baltischen, da er sich auf grosser Distanz durch die skythische Gegenden ähnlich wie ein Gurtel (*balteum*) ausdehnt. Man nennt ihn auch den Barbarischen oder den Skythischen nach den barbarischen Völker, die seine Küste bewohnen.'

licet non ignoret esse nullof qui a deoceanio ingressi negant. ha dubium
 e nulla qd australis generis temperata. mare deoceanio simili influere. sed de-
 scribi hac nra attestatione ndebuit. cui satis nob incognita pseuerant.
 quod aut nram habitabile
 die angusta uerticibus
 lateribus latiore in
 eade descriptione
 poterimus aduer-
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 to longior est
 tropicus cir-
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 to zona
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 bus angustior
 e. quia su-
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 aut lateru cu longitu-
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 mile eo dixer. hic quia omis terra in qua deocean e adque us celestis
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 qui tam. tanto nomine qua fit paruis uidet. Na licet apud nos atlantici
 mare & licet magnu uocet. de celo despicientibus n pote magnu uideri. cu ad celu
 sit tra signu qd diuidi n possit ipartes. Ideo aut terrae breuitas tam diligenti
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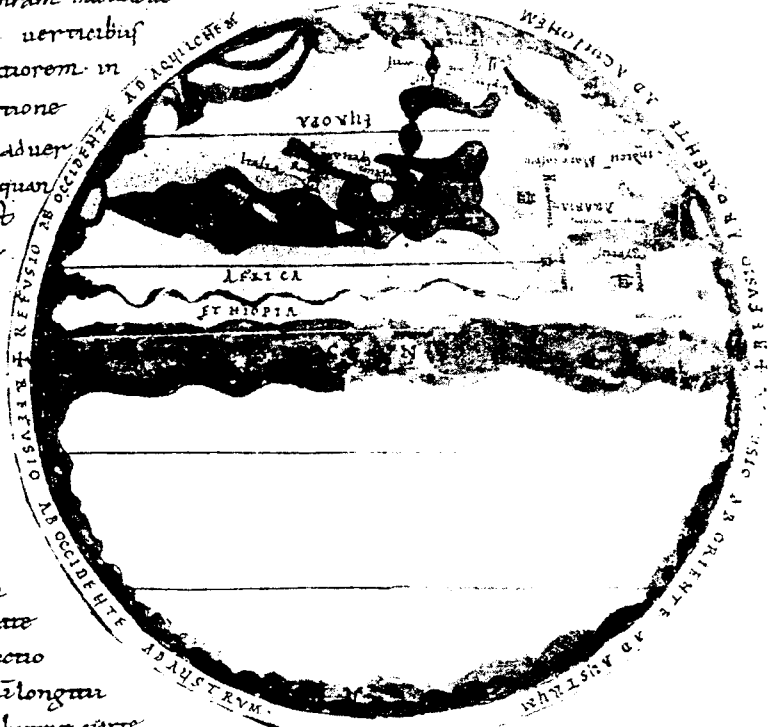


Abb. 5: Freisinger Weltkarte.



Abb. 6: Cambridge Weltkarte.

Maeotis, wie Adam bei Marcianus Capella gelesen hat, auch ein Busen des Nordozeans ist.⁶¹

Was denn die byzantinischen Karten betrifft, wissen wir fast nichts von ihrer Existenz⁶². Neulich wurde in der Handschriftenabteilung des Historischen Staatsmuseums in Moskau ein Manuskript des 15. Jhts von A.A. Rossius wiederentdeckt, in dem eine spätbyzantinische Weltkarte sich befindet.⁶³ Diese Karte scheint zu den sehr alten kartographischen Mustern zurückzugehen. Auf dieser Karte verläuft ein Wasserweg von Konstantinopel nordwärts, der zuerst als Pontus Euxinus, dann als Maeotis kenntlich ist, wobei die letztere in den nördlichen Ozean mündet (s. Abb. 7). Damit vermittelt dieser sehr seltene Beispiel der byzantinischen Kartographie auch die Verbindung der Schwarzen und Baltischen Meere.

Zu der byzantinischen Kartographie kann man auch eine bulgarische *mappa mundi* von 15. Jht.⁶⁴ zählen, wo das Mittelländische Meer die ganze Oikoumene von Spanien bis zum Nordozean durchquert (s. Abb. 8). Wenn auch dieser große Kanal ins Kaspische Meer mündet, das als ein Golf des Nordozeans dargestellt

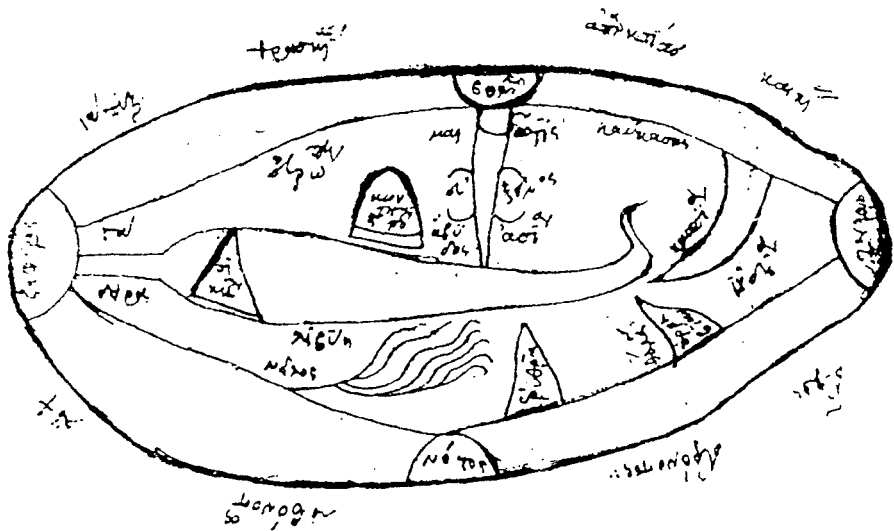


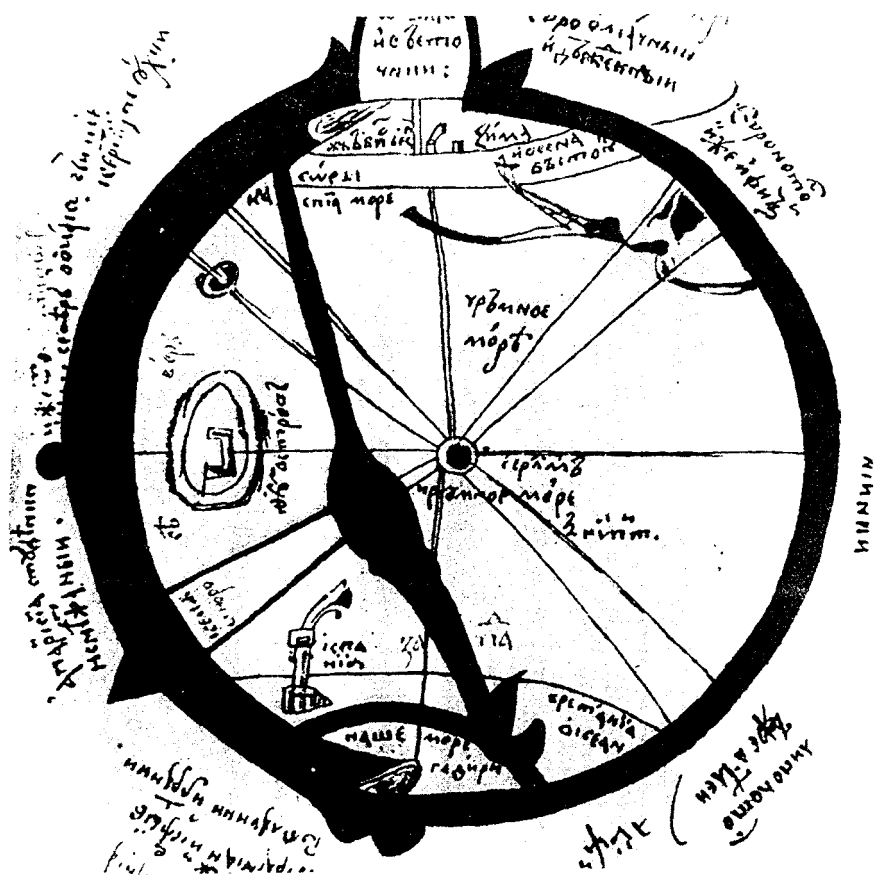
Abb. 7: Spätbyzantinische Weltkarte.

⁶¹ Adam. Brem. 4. 1. P. 228, cp. 4. 16. P. 243; 4. 20: 'Ich glaube, die Alten kannten die oben beschriebene Gewässer [des Baltischen Meeres] unter den Namen der "Skythischen" oder "Maeotischen" Sumpfe, der "getischen Wüste", als auch der "skythischen Küste, die dicht von verschiedenen Barbaren bewohnt ist", wie Marcianus sie erwähnt hat, der schrieb, daß "die Geten, Dakier, Sarmaten, [Neuren], Alanen, Gelonen, Anthropophagen und Trogloditen da wohnen".'

⁶² Über die byzantinische Kartographie s. Podossinov 1993.

⁶³ Syn. 415 (VI. 509) GIM f 79v.

⁶⁴ Cholova 1988, 30-34.

Abb. 8: Bulgarische *mappa mundi*.

wird, ist die Verbindung des Unseren Meeres mit dem nördlichen Ozean offensichtlich.

Diese Idee spiegelte sich auch in den byzantinischen literarischen Quellen. Der Historiker Theophanes im 9. Jht. schrieb in seiner Chronographie unter dem 679/680 J. (356. 18 sqq. C. de Boor), daß die Wolga (Atel), die von dem Nördlichen Ozean fließt, nicht in das Kaspische Meer, sondern in die Maeotis mündet.

Auch in der arabischen Kartographie finden sich Vorstellungen über eine Wasserverbindung zwischen dem Schwarzen (bzw. Asowschen) und dem Baltischen Meer.⁶⁵ Das sind einige Beispiele.

⁶⁵ Einige Beispiele der Abhängigkeit der arabischen Kartographie von der europäischen sind in den folgenden Arbeiten angeführt: Podossinov 2003, 314-15; 2004, 348-51; Kalinina und Podossinov 2005, 108-19.

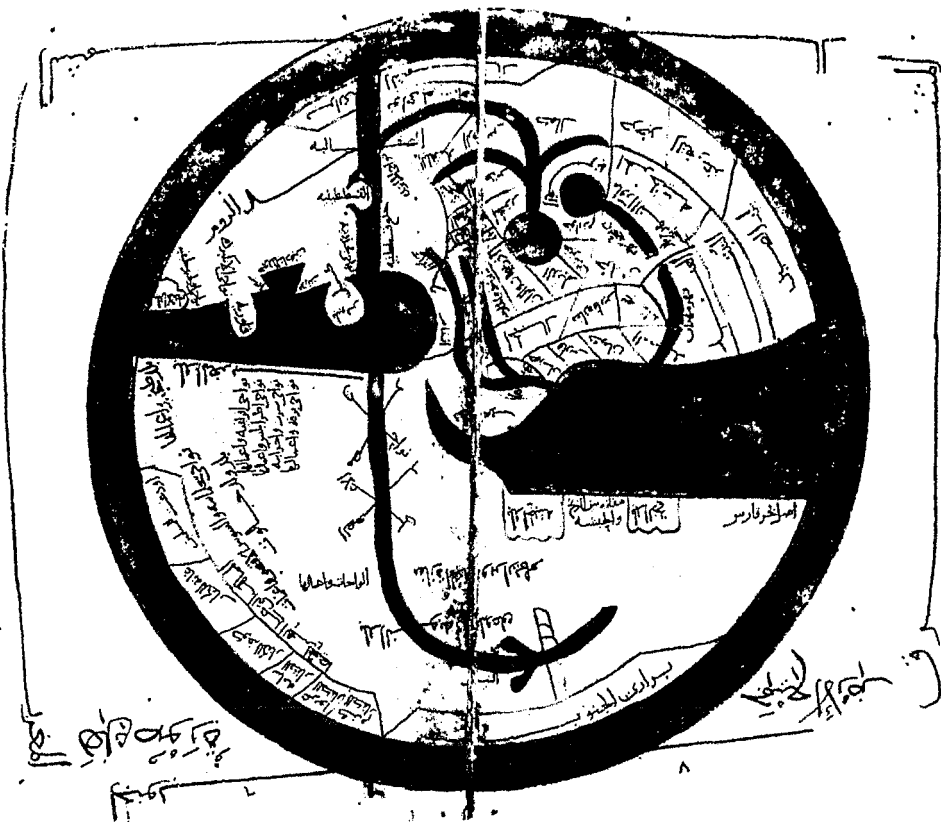


Abb. 9: Die Weltkarte von Ibn Ḥauqal.

Im 10. Jht. im arabischen Kalifat lebten und arbeiteten die Gelehrte, die zu der sogenannten klassischen Tradition der arabischen Kartographie gehörten – al-İṣṭahrī, sein Schuler und Nachfolger Ibn Ḥauqal und einige andere. Ihre Schriften stützten sich auf die nicht erhaltene Werke des zentralasiatischen Gelehrten al-Balḥī (20-er Jahre des 10. Jhts). Diese Werke bestehen aus den Texten und Karten, die im Einklang miteinander stehen. Was denn das Territorium Osteuropas betrifft, kennen die Geographen dieser Schule das Schwarze Meer und das Asowsche Meer überhaupt nicht. Stattdessen ist ein großer Kanal gezeigt (es heisst ‘der Meerenge von Konstantinopel’), der im ‘westlichen Meer’ (d.h. im Atlantischen Ozean) seinen Anfang nimmt, weiter bei Konstantinopel vorbeifliesst und dann zum Norden wendend die Länder der Slawen, der Russen und der Bulgaren durchschneidet und im Norden in den Ozean mündet⁶⁶ (Abb. 9 und 10). Es ist also klar, daß al-İṣṭahrī

⁶⁶ de Goeje 1870, 220; Kramers 1938, 388, 393. S. ausführlicher Kalinina 1999, 92-93.



Abb. 10: Die Weltkarte von al-Isfahārī.

und Ibn Hauqal, wenn sie auch keine konkrete Angaben über die Schwarze und Asowsche Meere hatten, doch über die Wasserroute zwischen den Süden und den Norden Europas wußten, die durch die osteuropäische Länder geht. Man kann wahrscheinlich hier einen Einfluß der westeuropäischen T-O-Karten (*mappae mundi*) sehen, wo die Schwarze und Asowsche Meere zusammen mit dem Tanais als eine ununterbrochene Linie bezeichnet wurden (vgl. auch oben erwähnte bulgarische *mappa mundi*). Europa als ein von allen Seiten mit dem Wasser umgebenes Insel ist auch auf einer neu gefundenen arabischen Weltkarte des 11. Jhts repräsentiert, die jetzt in Bodleian Library, Oxford, aufbewahrt ist.⁶⁷

Zu demselben Kreis der Vorstellungen gehören die Mitteilungen der arabischen Geographen al-Idrīsī (1154 r.) über einen 'Russischen Fluß', der die Züge einiger

⁶⁷ Die Karte wurde auf 'The 35th Medieval Workshop' in the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, am 28. Oktober 2005 von E. Savage-Smith, Y. Rapoport und L. Berggren vorgestellt.

Flüssen Osteuropas trägt (darunter auch der Wolga und Don) und die Kenntnisse der arabischen Reisenden über den Wasserweg aus dem Schwarzen Meer nach Nordrußland widerspiegelt.⁶⁸

In den 30-er Jahren des 12. Jhts hat ein zentralasiatischer Gelehrte al-Kharaqī einen geographischen Werk geschrieben, in dem er Osteuropa so beschreibt:

Aus dem Westozean, der auch der Umgebende oder der Griechische genannt wird,...fließt auch ein großer Golf im Norden bei Slawen, der auch das Warängergeeß heißt, die Waränger aber sind ein Volk an seiner Küste. Dieser Golf erstreckt sich bis zu dem Lande der mohammedanischen Bulgaren... Was denn das Pontos Meer betrifft, nennt man es das Meer des Trabzon... In dieses Meer mündet ein Fluß, der der Tanais heißt und von Norden aus dem Meer fließt, das Maeotis heißt, und das ist das Warängergeeß.⁶⁹

Die Gleichsetzung des Warängergeeßes (d.h. des Baltischen Meeres) und der Maeotis (d.h. des Asowschen Meeres) erinnert an den oben erwähnten Ansichten von Adam von Bremen, der in dem östlichen Teil des Baltischen Meeres die Maeotis sehen wollte.

Endlich soll auch die schon in dem Teil II. unserer Reihe⁷⁰ besprochene Karte aus dem Manuskript von 1037 J. von arabischen Geographen al-Ḥwārizmī erwähnt werden. Auf der Karte ist die Maeotis (Māyūtīs) dargestellt.⁷¹ Die Karte und der Text⁷² zeugen, daß nach Angaben von al-Ḥwārizmī das Asowsche Meer (Maeotis) nicht mit dem Schwarzen Meer, sondern durch zwei parallel fließende Flüsse mit dem Nordozean verbunden ist (s. Abb. 11).⁷³

Zusammenfassend kann man sagen, daß in der antiken, wie auch in der mittelalterlichen Geokartographie, unbeachtet des Mangels der Information, die Vorstellung immer existierte über die Möglichkeit der direkten oder indirekten Flußverbindung zwischen dem Baltischen und Schwarzen (bzw. Asowschen) Meeren. Wahrscheinlich soll man neben den gewöhnlichen Erklärungen dieser Tatsachen durch die Fehler, Fantasien oder pseudowissenschaftlichen Spekulationen,⁷⁴ auch die Möglichkeit der realen Kontakten in Anspruch nehmen, die zwischen den Ein-

⁶⁸ S. ausführlicher Konovalova 1999, 96-112.

⁶⁹ Diesen Text s. in al-Battānī, *Opus Astronomicum* 3 (Mailand 1899), 173. N. 4.

⁷⁰ Podossinov 2004, 349.

⁷¹ Mžik 1915, 161; Abb. der Karte bei Harley und Woodward 1992, Taf. 5.

⁷² S. die Paragraphen 2378-2384 nach der Ausgabe: Mžik 1926.

⁷³ Die Besprechung dieses Texten s. in Kalinina 1999, 85-86.

⁷⁴ Vielleicht soll gerade die vermutliche Verbindung des Tanais (Don) mit dem Nordozean die Leichtigkeit und die Beharrlichkeit erklären, mit denen man während vieler Jahrhunderte die Grenze zwischen Europa und Asien durch diesen Fluß geführt wurde, was von dem geographischen Standpunkt kaum vertretbar ist.



Abb. 11: Eine *Maeotis*-Karte von al-Hwārizmī.

wohnern des Ostbaltikums und der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste bestanden, die archäologisch zu verfolgen sind⁷⁵ und auch in unseren Quellen widergespiegelt wurden. Letzten Endes erreichte irgendwie der baltische Bernstein die Länder des Mittelmeeres, wo er große Nachfrage fand, und ein der Wege seines Importes ins Mittelmeer (mindestens an der Zeitwende) war der Weg durch den Neman und Beresina in das Dnjeprgebiet und weiter ins Schwarze Meer.⁷⁶ Einige Jahrhunderte später, schon im 2.-3. Jht., kamen zum Schwarzen Meer von der baltischen Küste durch die Weichsel und den Westlichen Bug⁷⁷ zu den Mündungen des Dnjestr und des Donaus auch die Goten.⁷⁸ Noch später funktionierte eine den alten Skandinaven, Byzantiern und Slaven gut bekannte Wasseroute 'von den Waräger zu den Griechen', die der am Anfang unserer Behandlung zitierte Markus Sabellicus nicht kannte. Und doch, 'die Wasseroute aus dem Britannischen Meer durch das Germanische und Sarmatische zur Maeotis und zum Bosphorus und dann zum Pontischen Meer' (so Sabellicus) existierte!

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⁷⁵ S. darüber Bulkin 1983, 7-8; vgl. besonders S. 7: 'Die geographische Lage der Flüsse des zentralen Weißrußlands (woher seine Anfänge die Ströme nehmen, die teils zum Baltischen, teils zum Schwarzen Meer fließen – A.P.) schufen gute Bedingungen für die Benutzung derer in der Antike und in der Neuzeit als Kommunikationswege zwischen dem Baltischen und dem Schwarzen Meeren.' S. auch Schramm 1973, 129-33, 142.

⁷⁶ Siehe dazu Schchukin 1994, 190-201; 1998; vgl. auch Kulakov 2005. Übrigens schrieb Blumner in seinem Artikel in *RE* 5. Hlbd. 1897, 298 über das viel ältere Datum solcher Kontakten: 'Aus altgriechischen Funden im Norden... hat man schliessen wollen, dass schon im 5. Jhdt. v. Chr. eine Handelsverbindung, die vornehmlich auch Bernstein betraf, zwischen der Ostsee und dem Schwarzen Meere bestand.'

⁷⁷ Es soll kein Zufall sein, daß zwei Flüsse Osteuropas, die eine von denen ins Schwarze Meer, die zweite aber zum Baltischen Meer fließt, die seine Quellen nicht weit voneinander haben und die als eine Wasserarterie dienen könnte, einen Name – Bug (Südlicher und Westlicher) trugen (s. über die Identität beider Namen Schramm 1973, 98). Markianos von Herakleia (2. 39) erzählt, daß Rudon, der Fluß, der in das Baltische Meer mündet, am Berg der Alanen seine Anfänge nimmt, wo die Sarmatischen Alanen wohnen und wo auch Borysthenes (Dnjepr) entspringt, der in das Schwarze Meer mündet (τὸ τῶν Ἀλανῶν Σαρμάτων ἔθνος, παρ' οἷς τοῦ Βορυσθένους ποταμοῦ τοῦ εἰς τὸν Πόντον ἔξινοντος αἱ πηγαὶ τυγχάνουσιν). Auch Ammianus Marcellinus plaziert neben (*iuxta*) den Flüssen Chronos und Vistula die Völker Massageten, Alanen und Sargeten (22. 8. 38), die bekanntlich nicht weit von dem Schwarzen Meer wohnten.

⁷⁸ Eine der ersten Nachrichten über Erscheinung der Goten am Schwarzen Meer gehört dem Dexippos, der im J. 262/3 der Archon in Athens war. Nach ihm (*Chron.* Frg. 14 und 16 Dindorf) sind im J. 238 die Goten zum ersten Mal das römische Territorium am Niederen Donau überfallen und haben die Stadt Istria geplündert. Über die Marschroute der Goten vom Baltischen Meer bis zum Schwarzen Meer s. Wolfram 1990, 52–53.

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SOCIAL STATUS AND CULTURAL IDENTITY IN ROMAN THRACE (GRAVE STELAI AND ALTARS)

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Abstract

Study of grave monuments shows that the basis of ancient provincial society was the nuclear family. The erection of a stele for a deceased child indicates the same level of urbanisation and also reveals the existence of very few middle to large towns. Relations of friendship between soldiers are often related to the right of inheritance; relations of dependence are rarely in evidence. Most of the grave monuments are in honour of military men, gladiators and craftsmen – people who formed the middle-class of provincial urban society. Before AD 212 the status of *civis Romanus* is rarely mentioned, and mostly related to military men. The onomastic data reveals a predominance of Greek and Roman names. This study of cultural identity through grave epigrams confirms the subjects' integration into the urban cultural model.

Grave monuments from the Roman provinces provide great opportunities for research into different social and cultural processes current in provincial Roman society. The information, which concerns the juridical, social, ethnic and family status of the deceased, is contained mainly in inscriptions on monuments. This is because relief images offer less material for analysis, even though most of them are consistent with the family tradition and social position of the deceased. The numerous stelai and altars from the province of Thrace (Fig. 1)¹ provide a good opportunity for analysing certain aspects of the life of provincial society. Although but a single category monument, they may be taken to represent developments in the whole of society.

Categories of Social Relationships

In epitaphs we find various categories of relationships: family, friendship (including military inscriptions) and dependence. The largest is that mentioning family relationships – husband and wife, children mentioning parents, parents mourning children, brothers, sisters, etc. Inscriptions which indicate relationships of other types are rare, representing a small proportion of our database.

¹ This article is part of the author's PhD thesis, which examined 305 grave stelai and altars found in the territory of the Roman province of Thrace. The analysis excludes monuments known only by their epigraphic data. References here to Thrace are to the Roman province.

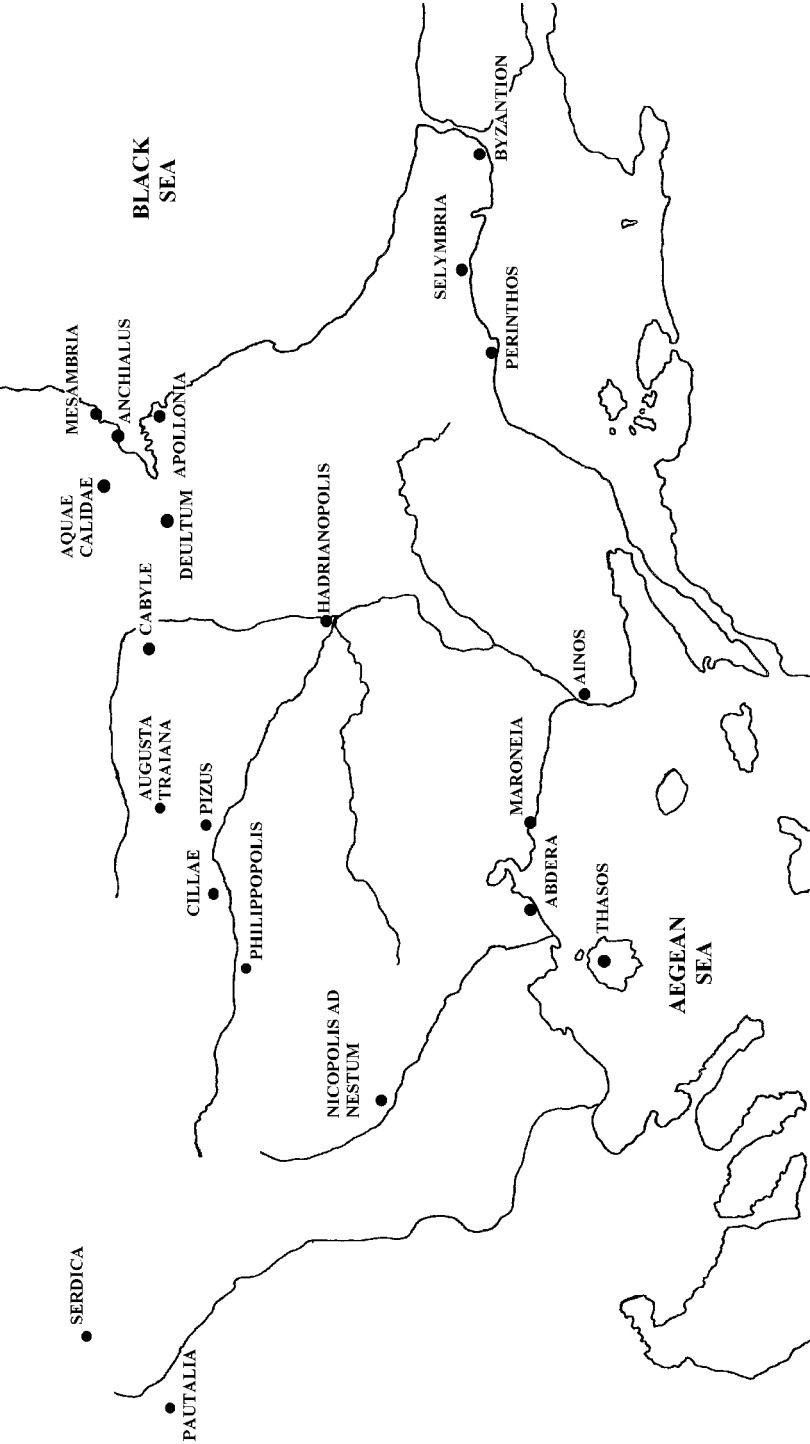


Fig. 1: Map of the province of Thrace with Roman cities and settlements, mentioned in the text.

In provincial society in Thrace, family relationships are indicated mainly by those who ordered the tombstone and their relationship with the deceased. On many stelai such relationships are not mentioned (especially in Thasos), or the inscription may be heavily damaged or not engraved on the stele. Nevertheless, sufficient examples provide material for research and yield results which might be accepted as representative of the provincial population.

The large number of instances in which family relationships between the deceased and the one who erected the grave monument are revealed, expose the major role of the family in provincial (mainly urban) society. Of stelai and altars mentioning family relationships, the largest group is that concerning husbands and wives – 48. Of these, 37 monuments were by husbands for their wives,² for themselves and their wives,³ or for themselves, their wives and their child/children;⁴ the other 11 are from wives for their husbands,⁵ for their husbands and themselves,⁶ or for their husbands, themselves and their child/children (Fig. 2).⁷ Monuments put up by both parents for their children are fewer;⁸ most were set up by one parent for a deceased child, regardless of that child's sex. The number of monuments put up by fathers⁹ is almost equal to that by mothers.¹⁰ The number of monuments prepared by children for their parents is smaller.¹¹ Furthermore, it must be mentioned that sons more commonly accepted this obligation,¹² in most cases preparing a monument for their father,¹³ rarely for their mother.¹⁴ Only three monuments were prepared by a daughter for her father¹⁵ or mother.¹⁶ Our examination of family rela-

² *IGBulg* 1, 340 bis; *IGBulg* 3.1, 1005, 1095, 1512; *IGBulg* 3.2, 1667, 1862; *IGBulg* 4, 2088, 2347, 2112; Sayar 1998, 320-21, 364-65, 404, nos. 162, 218, 283; Bakalake 1937, 18-20; Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, 141, no. 282; Kalinka 1906, 293-94, no. 374.

³ Sayar 1998, 293, 300, 301, 320-22, 427, nos. 123, 132, 134, 135, 162-164, 314; *IGBulg* 3.1, 1010, 1787.

⁴ *IGBulg* 3.2, 1653, 1849, 1863; *IGBulg* 4, 2346; *IGBulg* 5, 5585, 5930; Sayar 1998, 295, 303-04, 315-16, 322-23, 426, nos. 126, 137, 155, 165, 312; Babritsas 1965, 482-85.

⁵ Sayar 1998, 327-28, no. 171; *IGBulg* 4, 1955; *IGBulg* 5, 5465; Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, 139, no. 273; Kazarow 1938, 62-63, no. 283; Dobruski 1901, 784.

⁶ Sayar 1998, 317-18, no. 158; *IGBulg* 3.2, 1604.

⁷ Sayar 1998, 316, 326, nos. 152, 169; Kazarow 1938, 165, no. 971.

⁸ *IGBulg* 3.1, 1006, 1022; Sayar 1998, 314, no. 153.

⁹ *IGBulg* 3.1, 1021; *IGBulg* 3.2, 1611; *IGBulg* 5, 5464, 5468, 5863; Sayar 1998, 304-05, 307-08, nos. 139, 144; Launey 1934, 495-500.

¹⁰ Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, 174, no. 339; Sayar 1998, 306-07, 311, 362, nos. 143, 148, 216; *IGBulg* 3.2, 1605, 1610, 1673, 1698, 1828.

¹¹ Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, 157, no. 321; *IGBulg* 3.2, 1846.

¹² Sayar 1998, 316, no. 156; *IGBulg* 3.2, 1632; *IGBulg* 4, 1957.

¹³ *IGBulg* 3.1, 1014; *IGBulg* 5, 5467.

¹⁴ *IGBulg* 3.2, 1701.

¹⁵ *IGBulg* 4, 2011, 2228.

¹⁶ Sayar 1998, 305-06, no. 141.



Fig. 2: Stele of L. Titovius Diadumenus – *libertus*, found in Aquae Calidae, last quarter of the 2nd-beginning of the 3rd century AD (author's photograph).

tionships, exposed in funerary epigraphy, includes monuments put up by brother for brother as well.¹⁷ Their number is not inconsiderable, considering the lack of monuments prepared by a sister for a brother or sister, or by a brother for a sister. In more than half the cases (five of nine monuments), a military commitment ex-

¹⁷ Sayar 1998, 260-61, 268-70, 327, 355, 403, nos. 74, 81, 82, 170, 208, 282; *IGBulg* 3.1, 1521; Gerasimova and Martinova 1994, 29-30; V. Velkov 1991, 28-29, no. 37.

ists as well as a brotherly relationship (Fig. 3). Military service often sent men away from home and bred even stronger relationships between brothers serving in the same military unit.



Fig. 3: Stele of M. Ulpus Statius – *equus singularis Augusti*, found in Philippopolis, AD 131 (author's photograph).

Family relationship is heavily concentrated on the so-called nuclear family of parents and children.¹⁸ In only two cases are persons mentioned who belong to the third or fourth generation – grandfathers and great-grandfathers.¹⁹ Two particular stelai deserve attention:²⁰ one prepared for a father and mother-in-law, the other for a son-in-law. Such relationships are exceptions. The rare mention of grandparents may be explained, on the one hand, by the comparatively short average life expectancy, and on the other by the late marriage of men, so that fewer children had living grandparents.²¹

The data about family relationship (mostly within the nuclear family) present similar results to those from other provinces. The nuclear family is everywhere associated with cities and urban culture. The family represents the main unit of social reproduction in the Roman world. So family relationships indicated in the grave inscriptions of civil citizens considerably exceed all others.²²

Monuments of great importance are those erected by parents for their deceased unmarried children. Their number is 29 – a comparatively high proportion of the funerary epigraphic material in Thrace. The number of stelai erected by fathers for their children²³ is almost equal to that of stelai erected by mothers.²⁴ Smaller is the number of monuments erected by both parents.²⁵ To these monuments we can add some fragmentary artefacts, erected for young people by their parents, which bear relief decoration.²⁶ A considerable number of stelai point to the high rate of infant mortality, but they also bear witness to the prevalence of urban culture. Research on different parts of the Roman empire reveals that erecting a grave monument for children is related to the degree of integration into the urban cultural model. In small towns, with a close resemblance to villages, monuments to children form only 1%-2% of all grave monuments, but in middle-sized urban centres it is higher – up to 10%. In the big centres, such as Carthage and Ostia, children's monuments form up to 40%. The conclusion to draw is that urban populations paid more attention to honouring children.²⁷ According to the data of grave monu-

¹⁸ Saller and Shaw 1984, 124.

¹⁹ *IGBulg* 4, 2147; Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, 166, no. 331.

²⁰ *IGBulg* 3.1, 1011; V. Velkov 1991, 29-30, no. 38.

²¹ Saller and Shaw 1984, 136.

²² Saller and Shaw 1984, 145.

²³ *IGBulg* 3.1, 1021; *IGBulg* 3.2, 1611; *IGBulg* 5, 5464; Sayar 1998, 260-61, 307-08, nos. 74, 144; Launey 1934, 495-500.

²⁴ Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, 174, no. 339; Sayar 1998, 306-07, 311, 362, nos. 143, 148, 216; *IGBulg* 3.2, 1605, 1610, 1673, 1698, 1828.

²⁵ *IGBulg* 3.1, 1006, 1022; Sayar 1998, 314, no. 153.

²⁶ Grandjean *et al.* 1973, 174, 178, nos. 26, 27; Bernard and Salviat 1967, 610, no. 66; Daux 1979, 368; Baker-Penoyre and Tod 1909, 94; Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, 203, no. 759; 1979, 523, no. 2190; *IGBulg* 1, 345; *IGBulg* 3.1, 1016; Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, 134.

²⁷ Saller and Shaw 1984, 130.

ments in Thrace, where the biggest urban centres (Perinthos and Philippopolis) belonged to the middle-sized category, a similar linkage existed. Such results are important indicators of the level of urbanisation especially for the hinterland of Thrace.

Different aspects are shown by the lapidary production of Thasos shows other aspects of the question, although its social significance is more difficult to interpret because most examples consist only of the name of the deceased with no indication about who erected the monument. The existence of the nuclear family in Thasos is beyond doubt, even though concrete evidence for it in grave monuments does not exist. It appears that there is a tradition of individual honouring of each citizen. Erecting separate stelai for a male and a female at the same grave expresses the family relationship. Such practices began in about the second quarter of the 4th century BC and soon after became popular throughout the Greek world.²⁸ In Thasos they probably used a similar way of marking the graves, which explains the great number of stelai there.

Some of the artefacts illustrate a second category of social relationship – friendship. To this category belong monuments in which the erector of the monument is also the heir/beneficiary. All monuments in this category, whether they mention inheritance or not, are those of soldiers.²⁹ The precise military rank or service of the deceased (navy, praetorians, *equites singulares*, *auxilia*, etc.) is not of importance. Only one monument³⁰ was erected by a woman, who was also the inheritrix of a deceased veteran; family relationship is not mentioned. Another stele³¹ was erected by a friend without mentioning any relationship or rights of inheritance.

Indication of friendship on grave monuments has a long tradition. During the Hellenistic period in Greece the obligation of preparing funeral rites was closely related to inheritance. Such commitments received appropriate expression.³² During the Roman period these relationships were expressed even more clearly: Roman law indicates close relations between funeral, monument and inheritance. In ancient Roman thinking the implication was that the person who took care of the funeral *ipso facto* demonstrated his position as heir. According to juridical tradition, some of the potential inheritors were forbidden to take part in the funeral, in terms whereby they were not to be considered as inheritors.³³

Explicit legal arguments have their importance for provincial culture, even though their role was not a primary one. It is not accidental that military men

²⁸ Schmaltz 1983, 213.

²⁹ Gerasimova and Martinova 1994, 27-29; Gerasimova-Tomova 1985, 92-93; *IGBulg* 3.2, 1741bis; *IGBulg* 4, 1962a, b; Topalilov 2002; Sayar 1998, 261-64, 266, 271, nos. 77, 79, 86.

³⁰ I. Velkov 1938, 409-14.

³¹ *IGBulg* 4, 2348.

³² Humphreys 1980, 98.

³³ Saller and Shaw 1984, 126.

erected almost all the monuments which illustrate rights of inheritance. In this social group many factors promote friendship over and above family relationship: the long term of military service, the comparatively young age of the soldiers, and separation from the family, often by thousands of kilometres. On soldiers' epitaphs it was typical to specify as inheritor the soldier who erected the monument.³⁴ For understandable reasons these obligations were even stronger for the elite praetorian guards and for *equites* (Fig. 3). However, we are aware of examples of brothers who served in the same military unit. Invariably in such cases one of the brothers was named as inheritor (Fig. 4), and he took on the obligation of erecting the monument to the deceased.³⁵ Friendship between soldiers was so strong that a friend is often preferred as inheritor to the woman with whom the soldier cohabited.³⁶ To conclude, we can assume that the category of 'friendship' was not as wide-ranging as that of 'family'. It is evident mainly in the monuments of military men, for whom special status and duties caused family relationships to be overshadowed and displaced by comradeship.

Only limited evidence of dependence between the deceased and the person erecting his or her monument exists in the grave reliefs from Thrace. Several examples mention liberated slaves who take on the obligation to serve their patrons.³⁷ In the first case the person served as a *servus actor* (Fig. 5), in the second as a *pragmatikos*. These monuments provide rather data on the social status of the deceased. Only one stele from Perinthos³⁸ was erected as a result of dependence by a *libertus* for his patron. The lack of material might be explained by the high position occupied by patrons in provincial society, perhaps as occupants of significant public positions. Such grave monuments as altars and stelai were common for the middle-class of Roman society; thus such indications on the monuments from the territory in question are extremely rare.

Profession and Social Status

The epigraphic and relief data from grave monuments often contain essential information about the profession and social status of the deceased, even for some of their relatives. Compared with the whole number of monuments such artefacts are few. Even so, they are valuable indicators of the public positions of different individuals. The greatest number of stelai and altars present affiliation to the military

³⁴ Saller and Shaw 1984, 142.

³⁵ Sayar 1998, 260-61, 268-70, nos. 74, 81, 82; Gerasimova and Martinova 1994, 29-30; V. Velkov 1991, 28-29, no. 37.

³⁶ Saller and Shaw 1984, 139-45.

³⁷ Dobruski 1901, 782, no. 91; Sayar 1998, 292, no. 121.

³⁸ Sayar 1998, 266-68, no. 80.



Fig. 4: Stele of C. Iulius Gratus – *veteranus cohortis V praetoriae*, found in Philippopolis, third quarter of the 1st century AD (author's photograph).



Fig. 5: Stele of Aemilia Servanda, found in Serdica, first half of the 2nd century AD (author's photograph).

profession at different levels: soldiers on active service, *militēs*,³⁹ including those with special duties and functions;⁴⁰ a comparatively large number of stelai of veterans;⁴¹ several stelai belonging to *equites*⁴² or sailors (Fig. 6).⁴³ Some monuments are of praetorians⁴⁴ and *equites singulares Augusti*.⁴⁵ On a few examples we see the pro-

³⁹ *IGBulg* 4, 1962a, b; von Calice 1901, 207-208; Sayar 1998, 261-62, 266, 268-69, nos. 79, 81.

⁴⁰ Sayar 1998, 263-64, 266-68, 271, nos. 77, 80, 86; V. Velkov 1991, 29-30, no. 38.

⁴¹ Sayar 1998, 404, no. 283; *IGBulg* 3.1, 1007, 1536; *IGBulg* 3.2, 1632; Filov 1913, 97-98; Kazarow 1938, no. 1022; V. Velkov 1991, 28-29, no. 37; I. Velkov 1938, 409-14.

⁴² Sayar 1998, 266, no. 79; *IGBulg* 3.2, 1741bis; Kalinka 1906, 300-01, no. 383.

⁴³ Sayar 1998, 269-70, no. 82; Topalilov 2002.

⁴⁴ Gerasimova and Martinova 1994, 27-29; Gerasimova-Tomova 1985, 92-93; *IGBulg* 3.2, 1701.

⁴⁵ Gerasimova and Martinova 1994, 29-30.



Fig. 6: Stele of M. Annius Severus – *veteranus ex classe praetoria Misenensi*, found in Philippopolis, last quarter of the 2nd century AD (photograph by I. Topalilov).

fessions of the deceased – fuller, constructor, fire keeper at baths, musician, *augur*, physician, turner.⁴⁶ A special category is that of monuments of gladiators; compared with other civil professions, these are of significant number.⁴⁷ Comparatively rare are the grave monuments of priests⁴⁸ or *buleutae*.⁴⁹ Some monuments are in honour of an *actor*/ *pragmateutes*; these were probably slaves.⁵¹ *Liberti*, whose pro-

⁴⁶ *IGBulg* 5, 5585; Sayar 1998, 301, 361, nos. 135, 215; *IGBulg* 3.1, 1024; Launey 1934, 495-500; *IGBulg* 3.2, 1776; Sharankov and Cherneva-Tilkiyan 2004, 86-87.

⁴⁷ *IGBulg* 5, 5465, 5584; *IGBulg* 3.1, 1019, 1453; Sayar 1998, 61.

⁴⁸ *IGBulg* 3.2, 1862; *IGBulg* 4, 1953.

⁴⁹ Sayar 1998, 321, 426, nos. 163, 312.

⁵⁰ *IGBulg* 3.2, 863; Filov 1912-13, 12; Sayar 1998, 292, no. 121.

⁵¹ Tacheva-Hitova 1978, 85.

fessions were not mentioned, are also known from a limited number of monuments.⁵² A single monument mentions a *beneficiarius* and a *procurator Augusti publici portorii*.⁵³

From a brief study of monuments containing information of social position, we can deduce that they belong to a middle class urban society formed of military men (mostly soldiers and veterans) and craftsmen. It is likely that their wealth was limited. We have rare data for high-ranking administrative officials. A possible explanation is that the grave monument stele itself is not sufficiently representative. In the few cases where stelai were set up, we can presume that they were a part of an architectural ensemble. High magistrates of the municipal administration, as well as large landowners or merchants, preferred to build tombs or architectural structures – mausolea/heroons – and honour themselves with sculptures and/or sarcophagi. Examination of economic development in Thrace (and Moesia) indicates the presence of stelai and altars mainly in urban necropoleis or close to urban centres. The custom of erecting a grave monument, closely related to urban culture, points to a mainly Romanised or Hellenised Thracian population whose representatives were principally soldiers, veterans or their heirs and successors.⁵⁴ Another significant group is that of comparatively well-off craftsmen – immigrants from Asia Minor, who carried on different crafts or trades.⁵⁵

Names

The data extracted from the names of the deceased as well as those of their relatives are of significance in determining their ethnicity and cultural position. A great number (more than two-thirds) of stelai and altars preserved parts or whole names of the deceased; this forms a basis for some firm observations. The rest of the monuments lack inscriptions or the inscriptions are fragmentary or unreadable. Information about the status of Roman citizens is included in the onomastic data on grave monuments in Thrace. In Moesia Inferior and Thrace research into this is limited by a number of factors. The use of *tria nomina* and indication of *filiatio* and *tribus* might be a sign of Roman citizenship, especially for monuments from the 1st and the first half of the 2nd century AD.⁵⁶ But only the indication of *tribus* is evidence for the status of *civis Romanus*.⁵⁷ It must be emphasised that observations about grave material hold good only for monuments which are dated before the *constitutio Antoniniana*.

⁵² Kazarow 1938, 165, no. 971; and probably *IGBulg* 4, 2006.

⁵³ *IGBulg* 3.1, 1512; *IGBulg* 3.2, 868.

⁵⁴ Gerov 1977, 112–30.

⁵⁵ Tacheva-Hitova 1972, 87–89.

⁵⁶ Conrad 2004, 101.

⁵⁷ Mocsy 1986, 462.

Grave monuments from Thrace include little information about Roman citizens. In three cases, from Augusta Traiana⁵⁸ and Philippopolis,⁵⁹ the presence of *tribus* indicates civil status. One of the deceased was praetorian, the others were civil citizens. More evidence is available for people with tri-partite names. The information is for Philippopolis (Figs. 3-4)⁶⁰ and its environs,⁶¹ Thasos,⁶² Cabyle,⁶³ Perinthos,⁶⁴ Selymbria⁶⁵ and Serdica.⁶⁶ Most of the monuments are altars erected in honour of military men who lived permanently in the province. The available data, though incomplete (only from stelai and altars), show the limited number of Roman citizens until the beginning of the 3rd century AD. Among the middle class of the provincial society, Roman citizens were exclusively military men, concentrated, quite naturally, in the major urban centres of Philippopolis, Thasos and Perinthos.

Ethnic and Cultural Identity

The onomastic data included on grave monuments from Thrace present information about other aspects of society. An important example concerns the ethnic identity of the people who erected the monuments, identified on the basis of name variants.⁶⁷ To summarise: Greek names are mentioned on more than half the monuments (with inscriptions preserved) – 118, including Romanised Greek names. The number of Roman names is significant as well – 41 monuments, mostly erected for soldiers. Stelai and altars including oriental names are limited in number – 10; they are also combined with Greek and Roman elements. Very few monuments contain Thracian onomastic data – 11, which is less than 5%; the number of Hellenised Thracians is 15; and Romanised Thracians are 13. Most, especially the Romanised examples, relate to soldiers or Thracian families living in the urban centres.

Analysis of the data indicates that the bulk of the monuments (76%) were erected for deceased with Greek, Roman or mixed Greek and Roman names. The monuments of Hellenised or Romanised Thracians form approximately 14%. The

⁵⁸ *IGBulg* 3.2, 1606.

⁵⁹ *IGBulg* 3.1, 1006; Gerasimova-Tomova 1985, 92-93.

⁶⁰ Gerasimova and Martinova 1994, 27-30; Tsontchev 1958, 529-30; Topalilov 2002; *IGBulg* 5, 5466; Sharankov and Cherneva-Tilkiyan 2004, 86-87.

⁶¹ *IGBulg* 3.1, 1077, 1324; Kazarow 1938, no. 1022.

⁶² Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, 239, 243, 244; Sève 1979, 384.

⁶³ V. Velkov 1991, 28-29, no. 37.

⁶⁴ Sayar 1998, 292, 294, 317-18, nos. 121, 124, 158.

⁶⁵ Von Calice 1901, 207-08.

⁶⁶ Filov 1913, 97-98.

⁶⁷ Determination of the names as Thracian, Roman, Greek or Eastern is made after *IGBulg*; Dunant and Pouilloux 1958; Tacheva-Hitova 1972; Minkova 2000.

smallest categories are for those with Thracian names – 5% – as well as for people of Eastern origin.

Such data might be accepted as misleading because many ethnic Thracians or people of Eastern origin took Greek or Roman names and their determination cannot be made using onomastic data alone. But such statistics are a good indicator if cultural rather than ethnic characteristics are the priority. Adoption of foreign names by Thracians shows their incorporation into Greek and Roman culture, which in the provinces is urban in nature.⁶⁸ Thracian identity, in Hellenised or Romanised form, reflects mainly people living in urban centres and belonging to a comparatively well-off urban society or to the military or ex-military class. The Romanising process began by including the Thracian population in the army – the first local recruitment was during the reign of the emperor Hadrian.⁶⁹ Land settlement of veterans provided the opportunity to form a new middle-class society influenced by another kind of culture. As mentioned before, erecting grave monuments such as stelai or altars is a feature of urban culture and it was related mainly to people of Greek, Eastern or Roman origin, or to those who were influenced by the Greek or Roman cultural model. The erection of grave monuments beyond the cities became the practice only later. In the main, it was a manifestation of the Hellenisation or Romanisation of the Thracians. Outside the cities the population was conservative, adhering to traditional names and customs, as witness the inscription of Pizus.⁷⁰

Epigrams

In the Thracian territories the grave epigram became popular during the Roman period. These metrical inscriptions spread through Thrace. They are not very original; instead they follow some hackneyed models. Most of them are poetic vapidities, sometimes there is even a lack of any poetic features and metrics. The content and expressions of the epigrams from Thrace (as elsewhere) show the influence of Homer, often containing echoes of phrases or paraphrases from his works. Most metrical inscriptions have elegiac distichs, hexameters or pentameters in in-consequent order.⁷¹

The epigrams on grave stelai and altars from Thrace are spread throughout all the urban centres of the province, but their number is greatest in the cities of

⁶⁸ Mihailov 1980, 214.

⁶⁹ Gerov 1971, 36.

⁷⁰ Gerov 1971, 34.

⁷¹ Mihailov 1942-43, 7.

Perinthos and Philippopolis. They present the occupation and social status of the deceased – fireman,⁷² musician,⁷³ gladiator,⁷⁴ veteran,⁷⁵ steward/bailiff,⁷⁶ priestess.⁷⁷ Some are for children or young unmarried people;⁷⁸ others are evidence of matrimonial love.⁷⁹ As far as ethnic differentiation is possible, it is clear that metrical inscriptions were also used by Thracians.⁸⁰

Just as grave monuments – stelai, altars and often sarcophagi – indicate integration into urban culture so too do epigrams. But in some cases the aspiration to use refined language is transformed into ridiculous expressions,⁸¹ but in any case it is a product of urban (or of provincial Roman) culture. This conclusion is supported by the fact that most epigrams from Thrace, as in other Roman provinces,⁸² are from the end of the 2nd-first half of the 3rd century AD, which is also the most significant cultural and economic flourish of Thrace, to which the rich reliefs, the architectural and artistic production of the urban centres, and the non-material culture testify. It is important to bear in mind that the development of epigrams is closely related to other literary genres – drama, tragedy, epos and lyrics. Despite the preference for epic prototypes (not only in the provinces), the adoption of epigrams and the fact that they are preferred to conventional language demonstrates a literary, particularly a poetic tradition. Poetic tradition is above all a product of urban environment and culture, which are conditions for its existence and development. The use of philosophical sentences and expressions⁸³ demonstrates the alternative view of life and death. The development of philosophy itself is a result of urban culture. It is difficult to determine whether a certain part of Thracian society (or its elite) was particularly drawn to the use of epigrams. But we have already shown that a kind of middle-class society preferred grave monuments such as stelai and altars. In any case the existence of epigrams presupposes that of users in the urban centres and reflects a higher level of culture.

⁷² Sayar 1998, no. 215.

⁷³ *IGBulg* 3.1, 1024.

⁷⁴ *IGBulg* 3.1, 1019.

⁷⁵ *IGBulg* 3.1, 1007.

⁷⁶ *IGBulg* 3.2, 1863.

⁷⁷ *IGBulg* 3.2, 1862.

⁷⁸ *IGBulg* 3.1, 1022; *IGBulg* 5, 5930; Sayar 1998, 362, 364–65, nos. 216, 218.

⁷⁹ *IGBulg* 3.1, 1025; *IGBulg* 4, 2088, 2089.

⁸⁰ *IGB* 4, 2088.

⁸¹ Sayar 1998, 361, no. 215.

⁸² Grassl 1978, 521.

⁸³ Sayar 1998, 306, no. 142.

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THE NORTH-WESTERN REGION OF THE BLACK SEA DURING THE 6TH AND EARLY 7TH CENTURY AD*

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Abstract

Early Byzantine authors knew very little about the north-western region of the Black Sea. 6th- to 7th-century archaeological assemblages display a remarkable polarity of distribution. This has often been viewed as an indication of distinct ethnic groups (Slavs in the north and nomads in the south), but a closer examination of the archaeological record suggests a different interpretation. Burial assemblages in the steppe represent the funerary monuments of individuals of prominent status from communities living in settlements on the border between the steppe and the forest-steppe belts.

‘From the city of Cherson to the mouth of the Ister river, which is also called the Danube, is a journey of ten days, and barbarians hold that whole region’ (Procopius *Wars* 8. 5. 29). Procopius of Caesarea’s description of the Black Sea shore between the Crimea and the Danube delta, a part of his ‘account of the distribution of the peoples who live about the Euxine Sea’ (*Wars* 7. 1. 7),¹ underscores the limits of his knowledge. Because of barbarians holding that entire region, not much was known to him about what was going on north of the Danube delta and the region beyond that, because of barbarians holding that entire region.² It is not at all clear just who were the barbarians controlling the north-western coast of the Black Sea, but those ‘still’ crossing the Danube during Procopius’ lifetime were the Cutrigurs, whom Procopius otherwise placed ‘on the western side of the Maeotic Lake’ (*Wars* 8. 18. 14).³ The Cutrigurs had ‘summoned their children and wives and settled’ in that

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¹ For the description of the Black Sea and the peoples living around it as an example of Classical ethnography, see Cesa 1982, 191.

² Procopius *Wars* 3. 1. 10: ‘barbarians beyond the Ister River, which they also call the Danube, make the shore of that sea (i.e. the Black Sea) quite impossible for the Romans to traverse.’ It is not clear what particular shore is referred here, but it is certainly not the western coast of the Black Sea. Because of his reference to the barbarians on the other side of the Danube, Procopius most likely had in mind that segment of the northern coast of the Black Sea which is closest to the river, namely the region between the Crimea and the Danube delta.

³ See also Procopius *Wars* 8. 5. 23, where the Cutrigurs are said to have established themselves ‘over the greater part of the plains of that region’. For the Cutrigurs crossing the Danube, see *Wars* 8. 5. 16.

region, where they were still dwelling during his lifetime (Procopius *Wars* 8. 15. 16).⁴ Procopius had good information about those 'Huns' who, together with their wives and children, had been granted asylum in Thrace by the emperor Justinian, after the Utigur victory over the Cutrigurs (*Wars* 8. 19. 6).⁵ Writing in 554 or shortly thereafter, Procopius thus brought back to the minds of his audience the events following the devastating invasion of 540.⁶

But where did Procopius learn about how long it took to sail from Chersonesus to the Danube delta? There is no doubt that he used earlier sources, most likely Greek descriptions of the circuit of the sea. He mentioned 'those who have attempted heretofore to ascertain these measurements' in relation to his own inability to come up with exact information, 'since such vast numbers of barbarians, as stated above, dwell along its shores' (Procopius *Wars* 8. 5. 32). While it is unlikely that he used Arrian's *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, Procopius may well have consulted earlier *itineraria* or *periploi*.⁷ His contemporary, Jordanes, also relied on much earlier sources of different origins and dates, especially on Priscus, for his description of the northern shore of the Black Sea:

Farther away and above the Sea of Pontus are the abodes of the Bulgars, well known from the wrong done by them on account of our sins. From this region, the Huns, like a fruitful root of bravest races, expanded with ferocity in two branches of people. Some of these are called Altziagiri, others Sabiri; and they have different dwelling places. The Altziagiri are near Cherson, where the avaricious trader brings in the goods of Asia. In summer they range the plains, their broad domains, wherever the pasturage of the cattle invites them, and in winter they return back to the Pontus (Jordanes *Getica* 37).⁸

While Procopius speaks of Cutrigurs, Jordanes introduces the Altziagiri.⁹ The former are associated with Lake Maeotis, the Altziagiri appear near Chersonesus, but are otherwise given 'broad domains' in the form of vast plains, which they use for grazing their cattle in the summer. The seasonal movements of the Altziagiri between the plains and the Black Sea coast have been interpreted as an authentic description of their nomadic pastoralism. Although not as explicitly as Jordanes, his (and Procopius') younger contemporary, Agathias of Myrina, attributed a similar mode of life to the 'Hunnic tribes', which were 'at the height of their fame' during

⁴ English translation from H.B. Dewing (Cambridge, MA 1928).

⁵ The Cutrigurs had brought with them their chieftain, Sinnion.

⁶ For the date of Book 8, see Greatrex 1994, 102, 105-06; Evans 1996.

⁷ Cesa 1982, 193.

⁸ For Jordanes' use of Priscus, see Anfertev 1991, 128-29. The Altziagiri are not known from either Priscus or any other source.

⁹ Despite evident parallels, Procopius' 'Huns' and 'Cutrigurs' are not the same as Jordanes' 'Altziagiri', as maintained by several historians (Beshevliev 1970; K. Dimitrov 1996).

his lifetime (Agathias *Histories* 5. 11. 5).¹⁰ Agathias certainly was in Constantinople in 558/9, when 'Hunnish' horsemen under the leadership of Zabergan crossed the frozen Danube, as if on a bridge, and invaded Thrace. According to him, prior to that invasion, the 'Hunnish tribes' had moved south from their abodes and 'had encamped not far from the banks of the Danube' (Agathias *Histories* 5. 11. 5).¹¹ Given that the 'Hunnish' horsemen subsequently crossed the Danube on ice, it is therefore likely that the movement to the south in the direction of the Black Sea shore had taken place in winter time. An eyewitness to the fears inflicted upon the population of Constantinople by Zabergan's invasion of 558, Agathias may have learned about these movements from military reports sent to Constantinople from the Danube frontier, and not from personal experience.¹²

Written sources pertaining to the north-western Black Sea coast during the 6th century are therefore based on second-hand information. No author had ever visited the region and all used written sources of various origins. This has not deterred scholars from attempting to reconstruct the 6th- and 7th-century history of the region primarily on the basis of written sources. Conclusions drawn from such accounts were then illustrated by means of the archaeological evidence, which was rarely, if ever, studied for its own merits. For example, according to Procopius, 'the countless tribes' of the Antes lived to the north of the Utigurs, whom he placed in the region of Lake Maeotis (Procopius *Wars* 8. 4. 8-9).¹³ As a consequence, scholars attributed archaeological assemblages of the forest-steppe belt to the (supposedly Slavic) Antes, and those of the steppe to the (supposedly Bulgar) nomads.¹⁴ But is this clear-cut polarity supported by the archaeological evidence?

Burials

To date, over 30 burial sites possibly of the 6th and 7th centuries can be listed in the north-western region of the Black Sea (Fig. 1). The burial customs in the Black Sea lowlands differed from those at the periphery of the steppe. The dominant form of burial in the valley of the Middle Dnieper, as most clearly shown at four sites in Velika Andrusivka,¹⁵ consisted of cremations with few, if any, grave goods. Systematic excavations in Velika Andrusivka, on the banks of the River Tiasmin, a

¹⁰ Translation of J.D. Frendo (Berlin/New York 1975).

¹¹ For Agathias' life and work, see Cameron 1970, 3; Levinskaya and Tokhtasev 1991. For Agathias' account of the events of 558/9, see Bakalov 1974.

¹² For Agathias' reliance on written sources, see Curta 2001, 45.

¹³ For Procopius' account of Utigur and Cutrigur history, see Peneva-Ruseva 1997.

¹⁴ Most typical in this respect are Symonovich 1971 and Prikhodniuk 1996. For the north-western Black Sea region and the 6th-century 'Bulgar' nomads, see D. Dimitrov 1987; Romashov 1992-94; K. Dimitrov 1996; Rashev 2000.

¹⁵ Petrovska and Telegin 1965; Berezovets 1969, 58-59, 67-69.

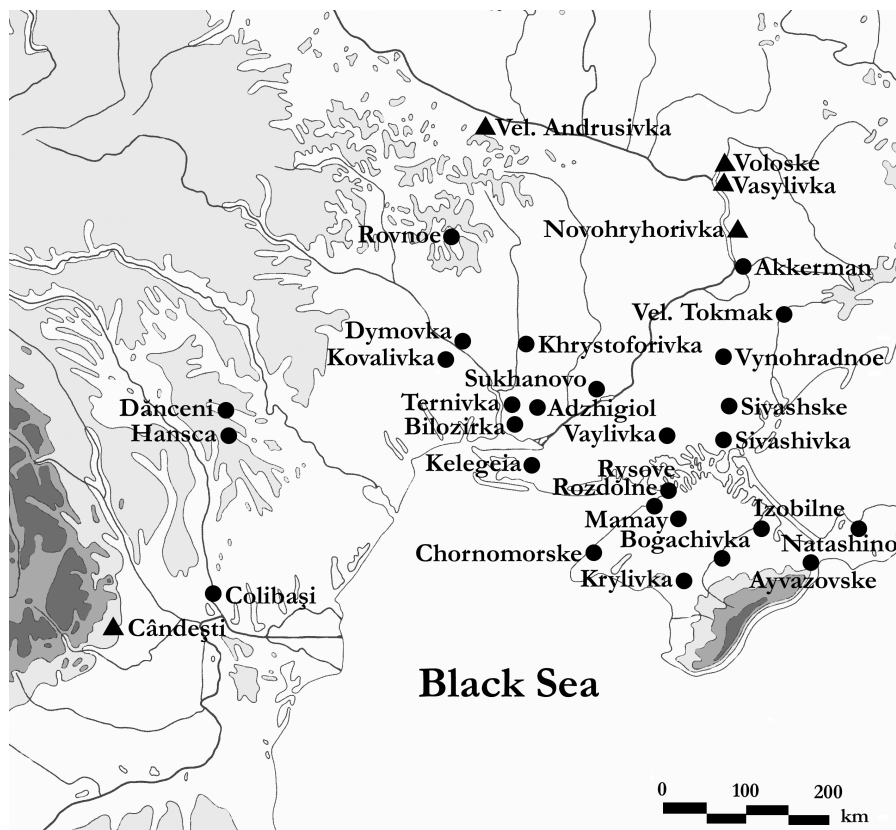


Fig. 1: Location map of the main burial sites mentioned in the text. Lowest contour 200 m, thereafter 500 m and over 1000 m. Triangle = cremation; circle = inhumation.

right-hand tributary of the Dnieper, have brought to light a cemetery of 43 burials, some of which were urn, others pit cremations. The different forms of cremation had sharply different distributions within the cemetery. The absence of any datable artefacts makes it very difficult to decide whether pit and urn cremations coincided in time. Equally undated remains another group of urn cremations found on a sand dune on the left bank of the Tiasmin river. By contrast, one of four urn cremations found on another sand dune on that same bank produced a copper-alloy B-shaped buckle with incised ornament. Such buckles are typical for the early 500s and often appear in association with crossbow fibulae.¹⁶ A late 6th- or early 7th-century date

¹⁶ Berezovets 1969, 66, fig. 2.2. For this class of buckles, see Bazhan and Kargapol'tsev 1989. Such buckles were produced in a workshop identified in the south-western quarter of the early Byzantine city excavated in Caričin Grad (possibly Iustiniana Prima). See Bavant 1990, 221-22 and pl. 38.208.

may be assigned to the silver bow fibula of the so-called Dnieper class from the fourth burial site in Velika Andrusivka.¹⁷ Analogies for that fibula have been found in association with eagle-headed buckles and fibulae of Werner's classes II B and II D in Luchistoe and Suuk Su.¹⁸ Two, at least, of the cemeteries found in Velika Andrusivka may thus be dated to the 6th century. The same date could be assigned to the cremation burial accidentally found in Vasylivka, near the Kyzlevo island on the Dnieper river, if the two copper-alloy artefacts purportedly found there were indeed grave-goods.¹⁹ No datable artefacts are known from the cremations excavated in Voloske, Novohrihorevka and Căndești.²⁰ Their tentative dating is based primarily on pottery classification.

In place of largely unfurnished and standardised cremations, there are only inhumations in the Black Sea lowlands. The region has not produced so far any late 5th-century materials. Finds of the following period (6th-7th centuries) fall into one of A.K. Ambroz's groups IV, V and VI. Group IV, which Ambroz viewed as representing the 'lower class', the 'commoners' of steppe society, consists of burials with no weapons, but with buckles, mounts and strap ends with openwork ornament, which could be dated to the late 6th and early 7th century. By contrast, group V includes only extraordinarily rich burials, such as Kelegeia. In group VI, Ambroz included burials such as Sivashske and Kovalivka, in which a human skeleton (often a male) was commonly associated with that of a horse or with parts of a horse skeleton (skull and legs).²¹ Ambroz's tripartite scheme, a somewhat simplistic model for the description of nomadic society, has not been adopted by more recent studies. Instead, the emphasis shifted from social hierarchy to ethnic attribution.²² R. Rashev defined the so-called 'Sivashivka group' on the basis of three elements viewed as typical for most, if not all burials: interment in prehistoric barrows; a north-east to south-west orientation; and burial with whole horse skeletons (as opposed to body parts). On this basis, Rashev attributed the Sivashivka group to the Bulgars (including Cutrigurs and Utigurs), but thought that the corresponding settlements remain to be discovered.²³ Others rightly pointed out the discrepancy between the Sivashivka-type burials and Ambroz's group V, which has also been at-

¹⁷ Berezovets 1969, 66, fig. 2.4.

¹⁸ Khairedinova 2000, 128, fig. 14; Repnikov 1907, 148, figs. 131, 133; 1906, pl. 6.5. For the Dnieper class of bow fibulae, see Ambroz 1993.

¹⁹ Berezovets 1963, 199. One of the two artefacts is a copper-alloy, trapeze-shaped pendant, the other is a bell-shaped pendant.

²⁰ Prikhodniuk 1998, 156; Rashev 2000, 45; Bobi 1981, 106.

²¹ Ambroz 1981; Orlov 1985; Baran and Kozlovskii 1991, 235. The continuity of the steppe 'Hunnish culture' of the early 5th-century well into the 6th century has been recently advocated by Bogachev (1996), but the evidence cited is far from conclusive.

²² Rashev 1998.

²³ Rashev 2000, 41-43.

tributed to the Bulgars. According to such views, Sivashivka-type burials should be dated to the middle and second half of the 7th century and as such attributed to a group of Turkic-speaking population moving into the steppe under Khazar rule.²⁴ Meanwhile, some Hungarian archaeologists working on Avar materials noticed a number of remarkable parallels between the Sivashivka-type graves and Early Avar burials with tunnel-pits in eastern Hungary.²⁵ Besides the custom of digging tunnel-shaped shafts, these graves produced very similar artefacts, such as belt buckles, mounts and strap ends with openwork decoration, the so-called 'Martynivka mounts', which were quickly interpreted as evidence for the migration into Hungary, together with the Avars, of a group of nomads from the north-western region of the Black Sea.²⁶

A simple seriation of 27 burial assemblages that have so far been published in sufficient detail suggests a very different interpretation (Fig. 2). To be sure, there is no distinction between assemblages belonging to Ambroz's three groups, such as Veliki Tokmak, Kelegeia and Kovalivka, respectively. Can this then be a single group of burial assemblages more or less of the same date, arguably Rashev's Sivashivka group? Although most burials were dug into prehistoric barrows, the seriation lumped together assemblages with very different orientations, with whole horse skeletons, as well as horse skulls and legs. Using correspondence analysis, a technique recently introduced to archaeology, the relationships between burial assemblages, between artefact-types, and between artefact-types and burial assemblages may all be analysed together and represented in the same scattergram or series of scattergrams produced by the plotting of pairs or orthogonal axes.²⁷ What catches the eye at first on the scattergram showing the relationships between assemblages (Fig. 3) is that instead of a classical parabola-shaped cluster of points, which is expected when a specific artefact has a unimodal distribution with respect to another, the scattergram in fact shows a 'cloud' of assemblages not far from the intersection of axes. The outliers (Vasylivka, Bilozirka, Mamay and Ayvazovske) are neither earlier nor later. To be sure, the scattergram showing both assemblages and artefact-types indicates that Vasylivka and Bilozirka share features that do not appear with other assemblages (Fig. 4). Indeed, both assemblages produced gold

²⁴ Prihodniuk 2001, 39-40.

²⁵ Early Avar is a technical term referring to the chronology of archaeological assemblages dated between the late 6th and the early 9th century. Responsible for that chronology, and for its division into Early (*ca.* 570-620/50), Middle (620/50-700) and Late (700-800/20) Avar periods, is the Hungarian archaeologist Ilona Kovrig's excavation and analysis of the Alattyán cemetery (Kovrig 1963).

²⁶ Somogyi 1984-85; Lőrinczy 2001. See also Straub 2001.

²⁷ For the correspondence analysis, see Shennan 1990, 283-86; Bølviken *et al.* 1982. For an exemplary application to the analysis of burial assemblages, see Nieveler and Siegmund 1999.

Cimitire3

Input Correlation: 0.1215 Output Correlation: 0.6943 % Variance:
11.7208

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BBNPENBBBGBPTKBAMHPSSMSNSFSBACABMMUHBMEMSM
UEWOAEUUUUOUNAWEOITWOH-TLTRRLROOD-OUO-OTO
CA-TR-CCCLCTNIRLDAROUESRIRIRIRWUERCWURU
KDS -SKKKDK-NFR ASNARNE ANIDOPO-NN SKN NAN
-SE PW---M-WEEO LEKPDTP PTKLW-WPTT E-T TPT
B- Y 031TSHL W - - - EE-1-L-- -9- ---
OG R U HE 2 O S 1 9 1 OP 1 A AGG
L E P W P 9 600
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Ayuazous'ke
Mamay, grave 6
Akkerman, grave 2
Kryliuka, grave 3
Natashino, grave 1
Chornomors'ke
Veliki Tokmak, , grave 1
Rysove, grave 10
Kelegeia
Adzhigiol, grave 1F
Bogachiuka, grave 2
Terniuka
Khrystoforiuka, grave 8
Kovalikua, grave 11
Sukhanovo, grave 2
Izobil'noe
Rozdol'ne, grave 5
Uynohradnoe, grave 2
Sivashiuka, grave 2
Rysove, grave 12
Khrystoforiuka, grave 7
Sivashs'ke, grave 2
Khrystoforiuka, grave 12
Dymouka, grave 14
Uynohradnoe, grave 1
Vasyliuka
Bilozirka

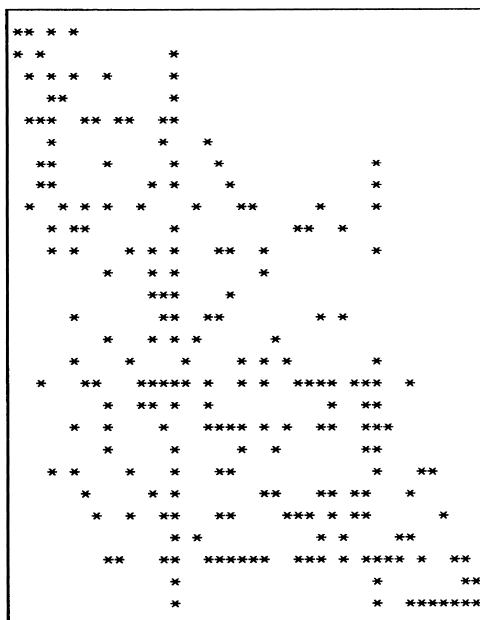


Fig. 2: Seriation of 27 6th- to 7th-century burial assemblages from the north-western region of the Black Sea. Abbreviations of artefact types: ARROW-1 – arrow head, type 1; ARROW-9 – arrow head, three-edged, Ruttkey's class IX; AWL – awl, bone or antler; BARROW – inhumation in prehistoric barrow; BEAD-GL – beads, glass; BOW-PL – bow reinforcement plates, bone; BRIDLE – bridle bit; BUCK-1 – buckle, bronze, Sucidava class; BUCK-3 – buckle, rectangular ring and plate; BUCK-9 – buckle, rectangular plate; BUCK-BO – buckle, bone; BUCK-OV – buckle, no plate, oval ring; BUCK-SH – buckle, silver, shoe laces; CLIP-1 – bronze clip; E-W – east-west grave orientation; EAR-PYR – earring, gold, pyramid-shaped pendant; FLINT – flint flake; GOLDMT – gold mount, cabochon; HORSE-1 – deposition of horse skull and legs; HORSE-2 – deposition of horse skeleton; KNIFE – knife; MEDAL – medallion; MOUNT-A6 – belt mount, Somogyi's class A6; MOUNT-A9 – belt mount, Somogyi's class A9; MOUNT-GO – belt mount, gold; MOUNT-OP – belt mount, open-work; MOUNT-P – attachment mount, sword sheath, P-shaped; MOUNT-SW – mount, sword sheath; N-S – north-south grave orientation; NE-SW – north-east to south-west orientation; NW-SE – north-west to south-east grave orientation; PLANK – wooden plank on top or under the skeleton; POT – ceramic pot, hand-made; POT-WHEE – wheel-made pottery fragment; SHEEP – deposition of sheep skull and legs; STRAP-1 – strap end, silver; STRAP-GO – strap end, gold; STRAP-OP – strap end, open-work; STRIKE – strike-a-light; SWORD – sword, single-edged, wooden sheath; TUNNEL – grave pit with tunnel-like shaft; W-E – west-east grave orientation.

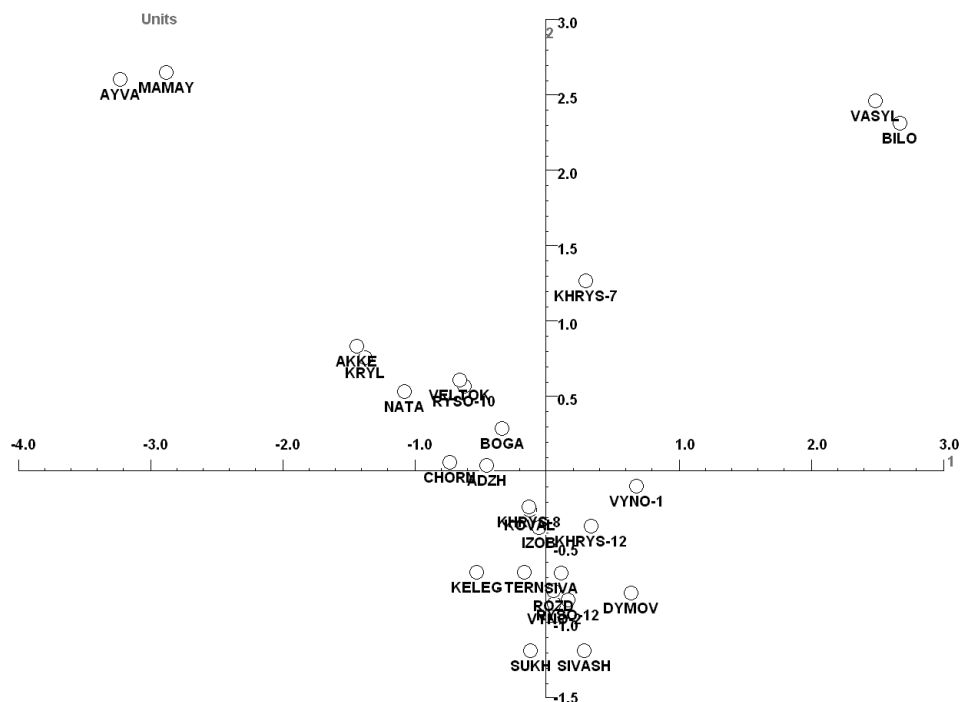


Fig. 3: Plot of the correspondence analysis of 27 6th- to 7th-century burial assemblages from the north-western region of the Black Sea. Abbreviated site names: ADZH – Adzhigiol, grave 1F; AKKE – Akkerman, grave 2; AYVA – Ayvazovske; BILO – Bilozirka; BOGA – Bogachivka, grave 2; CHERN – Chernomorske; DYMOV – Dymovka, grave 14; IZOB – Izobilnoe; KELEG – Kelegeia; KHRYS-12 – Khrystoforivka, grave 12; KHRYS-7 – Khrystoforivka, grave 7; KHRYS-8 – Khrystoforivka, grave 8; KOVAL – Kovalivka, grave 11; KRYLIV – Krylivka, grave 3; MAMAY – Mamay, grave 6; ROZD – Rozdolnoe, grave 5; RYSO-10 – Rysove, grave 10; RYSO-12 – Rysove, grave 12; SIVA – Sivashivka, grave 2; SIVASH – Sivashske, grave 2; SUKH – Sukhanovo, grave 2; TERN – Ternivka; VASYL – Vasylivka; VELTOK – Veliki Tokmak, grave 1; VYNO-1 – Vynohradnoe, grave 1; VYNO-2 – Vynohradnoe, grave 2.

mounts and strap ends with filigree decoration.²⁸ But they have also produced ‘Martynivka mounts’ of Somogyi’s classes A7 and A9, which have analogies in assemblages from the ‘cloud’.²⁹ Two other assemblages, Mamay and Ayvazovske are iso-

²⁸ The strap end from Vasylivka is in fact made of silver with golden inserts and filigree decoration. See Rolle *et al.* 1991, 242. A silver gilded strap end with filigree decoration also appears in grave 1 from Vynohradnoe (Orlov and Rassamakin 1996, 106, fig. 3.13). Its analogies from Artsybashevo (Mongait 1951, 128, fig. 45.2-3) and Zsámbok (Garam 1983, 147, fig. 5.1) can be dated to the late 6th or early 7th century because of the associated sword with P-shaped scabbard mounts and a buckle of the Sucidava-Beroe II class, respectively. For the chronology of gold or gilded mounts and strap ends with filigree decoration, see Fiedler 1997.

²⁹ The best analogy for the silver T-shaped mount with openwork decoration (Somogyi’s class A7) from Vasylivka (Rashev 2000, 123, fig. 17.15) is that from Bogachivka (Rashev 2000, 121, fig. 15.8). Another such mount was found in grave 56 from Suuk Su in association with two coins struck for

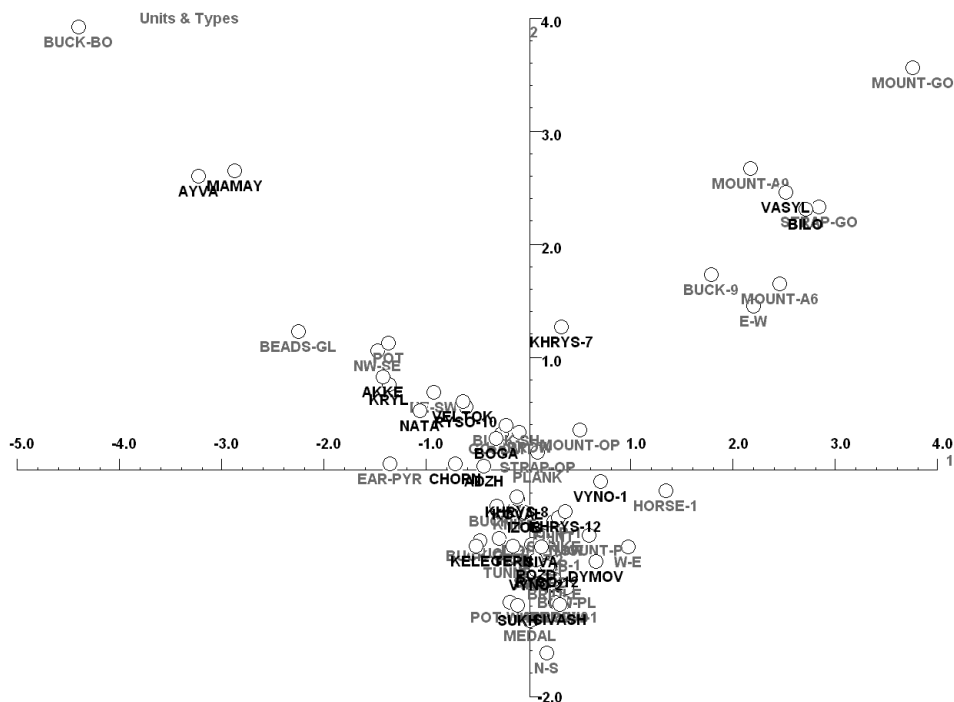


Fig. 4: Plot of the correspondence analysis of 27 6th- to 7th-century burial assemblages from the north-western region of the Black Sea, with 42 associated artefact-types. For artefact-type abbreviations, see Fig. 2. For site name abbreviations, see Fig. 3.

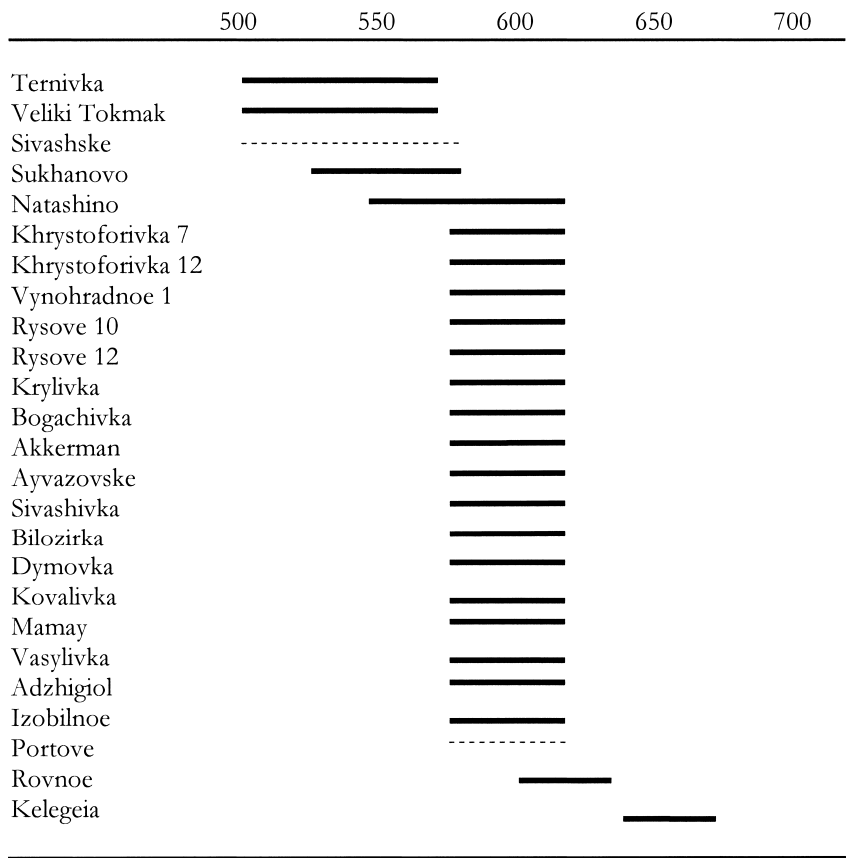
lated from that cloud because of unusual artefact-types, such as bone buckles.³⁰ However, such buckles are known from Early Avar assemblages in Hungary, such as grave 1 in Szegvár and grave 44 in Ellőszállas, which could not be dated later than the early 7th century.³¹ The pendant in the form of a phallic figurine found in Ayvazovske is a specimen of a series known as 'Hunnic amulets', which may be dated to the same period.³² There is therefore no substantial chronological differ-

Justin I and Justinian, respectively (Repnikov 1906, pl. 5.9, 19). Analogies for the Martynivka mount from Bilozirka (Somogyi's class A9) were found in Skalistoe in association with buckles of the Syracuse (burial chamber 331; Veimarn and Aibabin 1993, 75, fig. 50.22, 27-28) and Bologna classes (burial chamber 381; Veimarn and Aibabin 1993, 87, fig. 60.20). Such mounts may have been used to decorate shoe laces (Bálint 1992, 357-58). For the classification of 'Martynivka mounts', see Somogyi 1987.

³⁰ Rashev 2000, 17, fig. 11.16; 134, fig. 28.

³¹ Lőrinczy 1992, 85, fig. 3.8; Marosi and Fettich 1936, 31, fig. 9.9. The Szegvár buckle was associated with a golden earring with pyramid-shaped pendant similar to that from Krylivka. For the chronology of earrings with pyramid-shaped pendants, see Ormándy 1995.

³² Rashev 2000, 17, fig. 11.17. For datable analogies in Mokraia Balka, see Runich 1977, 251, fig. 3.3. Another similar 'Hunnic amulet' was found in the Kamenovo hoard, together with four 'Slavic' fibulae of Werner's classes I C and I F (Pisaroova 1997, 394, fig. 1.1-4). Many 'Hunnic amu-



Bold line: firm date range
Interrupted line: range possible, but uncertain

Fig. 5: Chronology of 6th- to 7th-century burials in the north-western Black Sea.

ence between outliers and the ‘cloud’ of assemblages of the Sivashivka group. On the other hand, assemblages that are undoubtedly of a later date produced artefacts that are also typical for that group. For example, the latest coin found in Kelegeia is a solidus struck for the emperor Constans II dated between 641 and 646.³³ But the assemblage also contains some clearly 6th-century artefacts, such as a fragment of a Martynivka mount of Somogyi’s class A7, a buckle of the Sucidava-Beroe II class and a pectoral cross of Maltese type.³⁴

lets’ have been found in the region north of the Caucasus Mountains, where they cannot be dated later than 700 or earlier than 600 (see Kovalevskaya 1995, 141-42).

³³ For the Kelegeia coins, see Semenov 1991.

³⁴ Prikhodniuk and Chardaev 2001, 594, fig. 4.3, 6; 599, fig. 7. Analogies for the buckle of the Sucidava-Beroe II were found in association with another buckle of the Sucidava III-Beroe III class

Most artefacts associated with assemblages of the Sivashivka group can therefore be dated to the 6th and the early 7th century. There are a few indications of an earlier date, but in all such cases, the burials themselves seem to be of a later date. For example, a good analogy for the strap end with open work decoration from grave 10 from Rysove was found together with a drachm struck for the Sasanian king, Peroz (457-484), in a grave of the Agafonovo cemetery in the Kama region.³⁵ But the grave also produced two belt mounts with openwork ornament (Somogyi's class A6), which can be dated to the late 6th or early 7th century on the basis of the association of such mounts with earrings with pyramid-shaped pendants or strap ends with openwork decoration, both artefact-types typical for the middle and second half of the 6th century.³⁶ The same is true for the artefacts associated with grave 7 in Khrystoforivka. The belt mount of Somogyi's class C has good analogies in assemblages of the second burial phase of the Mokraia Balka cemetery, which produced coins struck for the Sasanid king, Kavād I (488-531).³⁷ But a good analogy for another belt mount with openwork ornamentation was found in a female burial in Szegvár together with a golden earring with pyramid-shaped pendant, an artefact-type common for the Early Avar period (*ca.* 570-620/50).³⁸ In both Rysove and Khrystoforivka, the latest artefacts are therefore of the second half of the 6th century. Most other assemblages may also be dated to the mid-500s or the second third of the 6th century. Two coins struck for the emperor Justinian and dated 539/40 and 542/43, respectively, have been found with inhumations in Colibaşi, but nothing else is known about those burials.³⁹ The buckle of the Sucidava class found in Sukhanovo is a dress accessory most typical for Balkan military sites of the Justinianic age and as such cannot be dated after 600.⁴⁰ Buckles of the Sucidava-Beroe I B class such as found in Ternivka and Veliki Tokmak were found in associa-

(Petre 1987, 68 and pl. 122 bis fig. 190b), with silver earrings with polyhedral pendant (Aibabin and Khairidinova 2000, 77, fig. 10.5), golden earrings with pyramid-shaped pendant (Lőrinczy 1992, 87, fig. 5.5, 12), and coins struck for the emperor Justinian (Lazaridis 1965, 327-34 and pl. 394). For the chronology and distribution of pectoral crosses of Maltese type, see Curta 2005a, 185, 213, fig. 8.5; 216, fig. 8.8.

³⁵ Rashev 2000, 138, fig. 32.5; Goldina *et al.* 1980, 162, pl. 21.9. Such strap ends were found together with Martynivka mounts in Constanţa (Bucovaia and Paşa 1992, pl. 11) and Zinovievka (Rashev 2000, 123, fig. 17.28).

³⁶ Rashev 2000, 128, fig. 32.3, 6. Association with earrings with pyramid-shaped pendants: Skalistoe, burial chamber 447 (Veimarn and Aibabin 1993, 110, fig. 79.23). Association with strap ends with openwork decoration: Constanţa, grave 21 (Bucovaia and Paşa 1992, pl. 11).

³⁷ Prikhodniuk and Fomenko 2003, 109, fig. 1.12; Afanasev 1979, 47.

³⁸ Prikhodniuk and Fomenko 2003, 109, fig. 1.11; Lőrinczy 1992, 88, fig. 6.3.

³⁹ Nudelman 1976, 87; Butnariu 1983-85, 224. For the burials, see Nudelman 1974a, 208.

⁴⁰ Prikhodniuk *et al.* 2001, 79, fig. 2.3, 6. For buckles of the Sucidava class, see Vinski 1967, 37-38; Werner 1989-90, 594; Varsik 1992, 80; Uenze 1992, 186; Fiedler 1992, 73.

tion with such typically 6th-century artefact-types as S-shaped or Hahnheim-type fibulae.⁴¹ A buckle with shield-shaped plate (Sucidava-Beroe II class) similar to those from Rysove, Sivashivka and Akkerman was found in Nea Anchialos together with a coin struck for the emperor Justinian.⁴² The four strap ends found in Adzhigiol have good analogies in grave 81 in Agafonovo, where they were associated with four drachms struck for the Sasanian kings Kavad I and Khosro I, the latest of them in 570.⁴³ A belt mount with circular rivet head (Somogyi's class A8) similar to the pair found in Natashino was associated with a fragment of a Baldenheim-class helmet in a burial of the 6th-century cemetery in Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok.⁴⁴ The two copper-alloy belt mounts with openwork decoration found in grave 1 from Vynohradnoe have good analogies dated by means of associated coins struck for Justin I and Justinian, as well as fibulae of the Udine-Planis class.⁴⁵ The same date may be advanced for the two strap ends with openwork ornamentation from Bogachivka, analogies of which were also found in association with fibulae of the Udine-Planis class, earrings with polyhedral pendants and fibulae of J. Werner's class II A.⁴⁶ The grave also produced a belt mount with openwork decoration (Somogyi's class A7) of the same date.⁴⁷ The copper-alloy buckle with B-shaped loop found on the abdomen of the male buried in Kovalivka has good analogies found together with such 6th-century artefact-types as fibulae of the Hahnheim and Aquileia classes, fibulae with bent stems, or bird-shaped fibulae (*Vogelfibeln*).⁴⁸ But the burial also produced four copper-alloy clips, similar to those from Dymovka and Adzhigiol, as well as to that found in an Early Avar burial in Sânpetru German together with a perforated solidus struck for Heraclius (615-625).⁴⁹ The best analogy for the strap end with openwork decoration in the filling

⁴¹ Rashev 2000, 134, fig. 28.1; Csallány 1961, pls. 188.2, 213.13.

⁴² Rashev 2000, 138, fig. 32.9; 116, fig. 10.14; 118, fig. 12.4; Lazaridis 1965, pl. 394.

⁴³ Ebert 1913, 24, fig. 23; Goldina *et al.* 1980, 156, pl. 15.4.

⁴⁴ Rashev 2000, 135, fig. 29.18-19; Bóna and Nagy 2002, 299, pl. 29.96.6. For the chronology of the Baldenheim class of helmets, see Curta 2001, 198-99 with n. 13.

⁴⁵ Orlov and Rassamakin 1996, 106, fig. 3.8, 11; Repnikov 1906, 15-17; Zsatskaya 1997, 475, pl. 19.

⁴⁶ Rashev 2000, 121, fig. 15.2-4; Zsatskaya 1997, 475, pl. 19.19-21; Korzukhina 1996, 649, fig. 59.18; Gavritukhin and Oblomskii 1996, 205, fig. 30.2-3.

⁴⁷ Rashev 2000, 121, fig. 15.8. For datable analogies, see Repnikov 1906, pl. 5.9, 19; Zsatskaya 1997, 475, pl. 19.11-18. Specimens of Somogyi's class A7 were also found in Izobilnoe and Sivashivka together with mounts of Somogyi's classes A3 and A6, which must also be dated to the same period. See Rashev 2000, 116, fig. 10.7, 10, 13; Aibabin 1999, 99, fig. 35.5; Kazanski 1996, 330; Veimarn and Aibabin 1993, 110, fig. 79.23.

⁴⁸ Kovpanenko *et al.* 1978, 54, fig. 28.12; Csallány 1961, pls. 73.2, 68.1, 134.1; Bóna and Nagy 2002, 315, pl. 41.91.1; Lovász 1984-85, pl. 4.1.

⁴⁹ Aibabin 1985, 198, fig. 8.11; Ebert 1913, 24, fig. 23; Dörner 1960, fig. 4.3. For the identification of the coin, see now Somogyi 1997, 77.

of grave 12 in Khrystoforivka is the specimen from Artsybashevo found in association with a sword with P-shaped scabbard mounts and a golden earring with pyramid-shaped pendant, both artefact-types most typical for Early Avar assemblages in Hungary. Swords with P-shaped scabbard mounts have been also found in Rysove, Sivashivka and Vynohradnoe.⁵⁰ The chronology of such swords has been established on the basis of specimens found in association with Byzantine coins of the late 6th and the early 7th century.⁵¹ Of that same date is also the gold earring with pyramid-shaped pendant from Krylivka.⁵²

What immediately follows from this analysis is that most burial assemblages in the north-western region of the Black Sea came into existence around year 600, though some of them may be dated to the 6th century (Fig. 5). The interpretation of the Sivashivka group as the archaeological remains of a Turkic-speaking group moving into the steppe under Khazar rule cannot therefore be accepted, as it relies on a faulty chronology. But Rashev's alternative is not without problems either. First, by 600, the Cutrigurs had ceased to exist as an independent group, as most nomadic tribes in the steppe north of the Black Sea had been forced into submission by the Avars.⁵³ While it may have been theoretically possible for ethnic identity to be used as a form of resistance to Avar rule through mortuary displays, the many parallels that can be established between the Sivashivka group and Early Avar burial assemblages in eastern Hungary suggest commonality, not difference. Whatever identity the people burying their dead in prehistoric mounds in the steppe wanted to shape for themselves, they certainly employed many cultural elements of Avar origin to create that identity. Whether or not we should view such parallels as an indication of a migration from the steppe north of the Black Sea into the eastern regions of the Avar qaganate, the very fact of similarity invites interpretation of the Sivashivka group of burials in terms similar to those applied to Early Avar burials in Hungary. How then must be interpreted the polarity represented on the correspondence analysis scattergram? It is perhaps no accident that some of the best analogies for the strap ends from Vasylivka and Bilozirka have been found in a

⁵⁰ Rashev 2000, 138, fig. 32.8; 116, fig. 10.4; Orlov and Rassamakin 1996, 109, fig. 5.1, 3, 6, 9.

⁵¹ Garam 1992, 157. If the sword supposedly found with a male skeleton in Rovnoe had P-shaped scabbard mounts, then that burial assemblage would substantiate the chronology, since it also produced a perforated solidus struck for the emperor Heraclius between 629 and 631. See Semenov 1988, 102-03; Stoliarik 1992, 141.

⁵² Rashev 2000, 23; Bálint 1993, 218.

⁵³ Menander the Guardsman, fr. 5.3 (Blockley 1985, 51). The last mention of the Cutrigurs is a reference to one of their raids into Dalmatia *at the orders* of the qagan of the Avars. See Menander the Guardsman, fr. 12.5 (Blockley 1985, 137). For Avar rule in the steppes north of the Black Sea, see Szádeczky-Kardoss 1975; 1994.

burial dug into a prehistoric mound in Madara (Bulgaria).⁵⁴ This was an exceptionally rich burial, which may have well been that of a chieftain. Nevertheless, its date and proximity to an early Byzantine fort, which was certainly still in operation at the time of the burial, raises significant questions regarding the social rank of the deceased.⁵⁵ No other contemporary graves have been found in Madara. Grave 5 was an isolated burial placed on the northern side of a prehistoric barrow. Its isolation strongly suggests that the deceased was an important person and the associated horse skeleton and grave goods do not contradict such an interpretation. True, the Madara skeleton was never properly sexed and no weapons have been found. Nevertheless, the presence in the assemblage of a flint steel, a tool more often associated with male than with female burials, suggest that the deceased was a man of high status. This is further substantiated by the associated 5 strap ends and 13 belt mounts of different shapes and decoration, which all belonged to a belt with multiple straps, a major symbol of social status and perhaps military rank in both Byzantine and Avar society during the late 6th and early 7th century.⁵⁶ Exactly the same numbers of golden strap ends and belt mounts, respectively, have been found with an equally unsexed skeleton in Vasylivka, which strongly suggests a similar symbolism of the belt and, as a consequence, a similar interpretation.⁵⁷ It would therefore be possible to view Bilozirka and Vasylivka as particularly rich burials of high-status individuals, the late 6th- or early 7th-century equivalent of Ambroz's group V. But it would be a mistake to view the other pair of isolated burials (Ayvazovske and Mamay) as the equivalent of his group IV, the 'commoners' of the steppe society. Both burials are isolated, much like the rest of the Sivashivka group. The associated bone buckles are evidently less likely to be interpreted as symbols of high rank, but they may still have marked social status. The closest analogy was found in grave 1 in Szegvár together with the skeleton of a 16- to 18-year-old female.⁵⁸ The Ayvazovske buckle was found with the skeleton of a child.⁵⁹ Ayvazovske is in fact the only assemblage in the north-western region of the Black Sea not associated

⁵⁴ Mikov 1934, 432-36; Fiedler 1992, 319-20, 321, fig. 113. Like several other burials of the Sivashivka group, the Madara burial contained a human and a horse skeleton. Besides gold strap ends and mounts, the assemblage also produced mounts with cabochon decoration of the so-called Hajdúszoboszló class (Garam 1991, 169-73), very similar to those from Vasylivka.

⁵⁵ For 6th- and early 7th-century coin finds from the fort, see Mushmov 1934, 446-47. For the date of the burial, see Fiedler 1997, 132-33 (wrong dating in Curta 2001, 211).

⁵⁶ For the Byzantine belt with multiple straps, see Werner 1974, 132; Martini and Steckner 1993, 134-36; Schmauder 2000; Bálint 2000. For a remarkable example of a 6th-century belt set belonging to a high-ranking Roman officer, see Kiss 1998. For the Avar belt, see Csallány 1962; László 1981.

⁵⁷ Rolle *et al.* 1991, 242.

⁵⁸ Lőrinczy 1992, 81.

⁵⁹ Rashev 2000, 17.

with the skeleton of a male adult. Burials of the Sivashivka group, for which skeletons have been properly sexed, all turned out to be graves of men.⁶⁰ The only female inhumation known from the entire north-western Black Sea region is an isolated burial found outside the Black Sea lowlands, in Dănceni. Among the associated grave goods was a pair of 'Slavic' bow fibulae of Werner's class II C dated to the late 6th century, analogies for which are known from burials of females of high status⁶¹ and hoards of bronze and silver in Left Bank Ukraine.⁶² The Dănceni grave stands alone among all burial assemblages in the north-western Black Sea, a category by itself, much like the isolated grave with a single skull found on the neighbouring site at Hansca.⁶³ Why were there no more female burials in the steppe? If the Sivashivka group is to be attributed to the Cutrigurs or the 'Huns' roaming in the steppe lands between the Dnieper and the Danube, where were their women and children so clearly mentioned in written sources? If burials were located next to camp sites, where are the settlements of the nomads?

Settlements

In the absence of any reliable information from written sources, one needs to turn again to archaeology for answers to these questions. 6th- to early 7th-century settlements appear only at the interface of the Black Sea lowlands with the Bârlad, Cogâlnic and Podolian uplands, especially on the middle and upper courses of local rivers and of their tributaries (Fig. 6). Only a few of these settlements have been systematically excavated. Trial excavations in Oreavu produced only one sunken-featured buildings with a hearth, but no artefacts of higher chronological resolution.⁶⁴ The same is true for the trial excavations in Logănești, which produced a sunken-featured building and an open-air oven, and for the settlement in Velika Andrusivka, with two excavated sunken-featured buildings.⁶⁵ At Kalnyk, no datable artefacts have been found in any of the eight settlement features excavated on the site.⁶⁶ The Stetsivka settlement had a dozen houses, one of which (house 8) was a yurt-like structure with no fireplace. As in Logănești, Velika Andrusivka and

⁶⁰ And not females, as wrongly assumed in Curta 2001, 210. This is true even for cases of multiple 6th- to 7th-century burials within one and the same prehistoric mound. For example, both grave pits dug into Mound 2 in Khrystoforivka contained male skeletons (Prikhodniuk and Fomenko 2003, 113-14).

⁶¹ Balaklyia: Bobrinskii 1901, 148-49 and pl. 1.9. Mokhnach: Aksenov and Babenko 1998, 113-14, fig. 3.1-2.

⁶² Korzukhina 1996, 418, 689, pl. 99.1-3, 690, pl. 100.1-2 (Koloskove); 397, 637, pl. 47.1 (Koziivka); 403, 651, pl. 61.2-3 (Nizhniaia); 395, 634, pl. 44.1-3, 635, pl. 45.1-3 (Nova Odessa).

⁶³ Rafalovich 1973, 148-50.

⁶⁴ I. Mitrea 1978, 45-46.

⁶⁵ Chebotarenko and Telnov 1980, 38; Berezovets 1963, 192.

⁶⁶ Prikhodniuk 1975, 101.

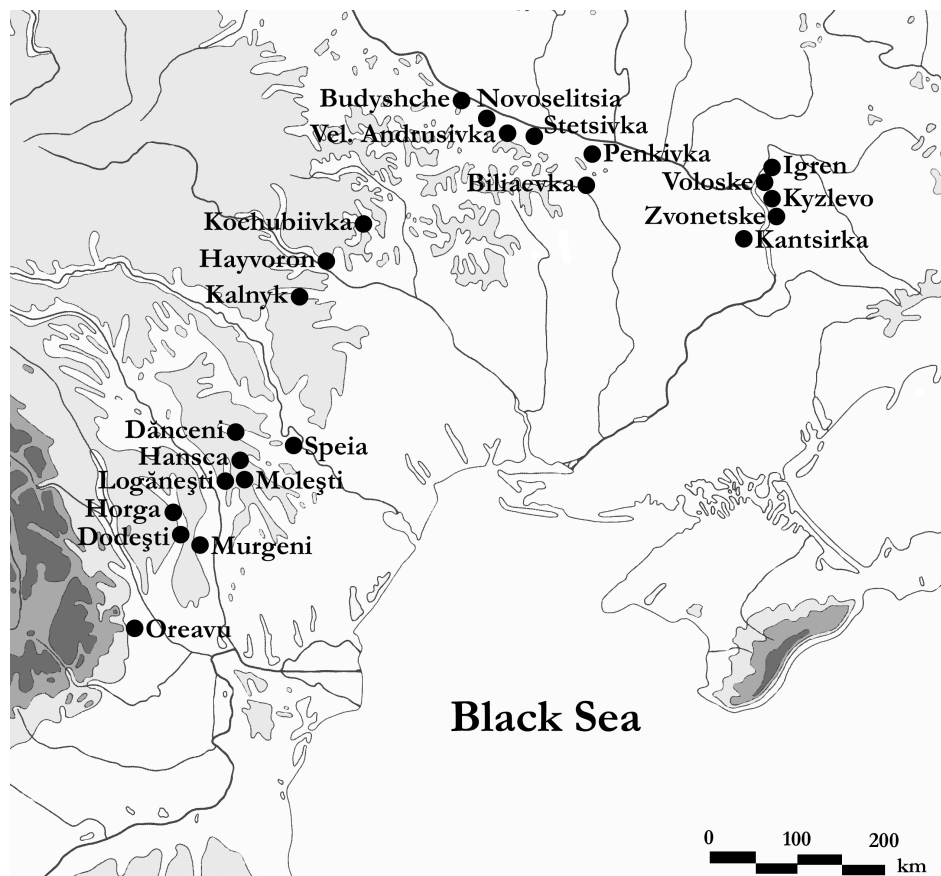


Fig. 6: Location map of the main settlement sites mentioned in the text. Lowest contour 200 m, thereafter 500 m and over 1000 m.

Kalnyk, no datable artefacts are known from this site.⁶⁷ Equally poor in datable artefacts are the settlements discovered at Kochubiivka and Biliaevka. At Kochubiivka, trial excavations produced eight houses, eight refuse pits and three open-air hearths.⁶⁸ At Biliaevka, one season of excavations in 1982 produced just two sunken-featured buildings and a refuse pit.⁶⁹ By contrast, with only one refuse pit known from Igren, the site produced a fibula with bent stem and two strap ends with openwork decoration, all of which could be dated to the middle and second

⁶⁷ Petrov 1963. This did not prevent attempts at sorting out the ceramic assemblages and obtaining a relative chronology of the site (see Rutkovskaya 1974).

⁶⁸ Prikhodniuk 1990, 89.

⁶⁹ Prikhodniuk 1990, 86.

half of the 6th century.⁷⁰ A similar date may be advanced for some of the stray finds from the Kyzlevo island, especially for the copper-alloy strap end with engraved decoration.⁷¹ A copper-alloy belt buckle of the Sucidava-Beroe II class; a 'Martynivka mount' of Somogyi's class A 4; a fragment of a 'Slavic' bow fibula of Werner's class II C; and a cast fibula with bent stem, all from Voloske may also be dated to the late 6th century or shortly after 600.⁷² Another fragment of a 'Slavic' bow fibula of Werner's class II C; a strap end with openwork decoration; a fibula with bent stem; and a cast fibula with bent stem, all from the settlement excavated at Zvonetske may be dated to the same period.⁷³

The site at Budyshche on the right bank of the Dnieper was excavated systematically since 1979, but only one sunken-featured building was published, which produced a silver earring of unknown type.⁷⁴ Trial excavations on the neighbouring site at Novoselitsia led to the discovery of a sunken-featured building and several refuse pits, but no datable finds are known.⁷⁵ A field survey in Murgeni produced handmade pottery with incised cross decoration, for which good analogies exist on several 6th- and early 7th-century sites in Romania, Moldova and the Ukraine.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Berezovets 1963, 195-97; Smilenko 1969, 163-64; Prikhodniuk 1998, 157. A fibula with bent stem very similar to that from Igren was found in Bucharest (Sgîbea-Turcu 1963, 140, fig. 71.2). For the dating of this class of fibulae, see Curta 2001, 243-44. Mid- and late 6th-century analogies for the two strap ends were found in association with a copper-alloy buckles with attachments (Sinitsyn 1960, 105, fig. 39.14), earrings with polyhedral pendant (Korzukhina 1996, 649, pl. 59.18), bow fibulae of the Kerch (Zasetskaya 1997, 475, pl. 19.19-21), and 'Martynivka mounts' (Veimarn and Aibabin 1993, 43, fig. 19.2; Gavritukhin and Oblomskii 1996, 205, fig. 30.2-3).

⁷¹ Bodianskii 1960, 276-77, fig. 4.8. Analogies for the strap end were associated with sherds of Late Roman 2 amphorae (Dolinescu-Ferche and Constantiniu 1981, 322, fig. 18.12), a sword and a fragment of a damascened belt mount (Roska 1934, 127, fig. 4A1), and a silver bowl with stamps of the emperor Justin II (Pekarskaja and Kidd 1994, pls. 5.2, 31.1, 32. 2-4, 6).

⁷² For the Voloske settlement, see Berezovets 1963, 197; Smilenko 1969, 162; Prikhodniuk 1998, 156. For the 'Slavic' bow fibula and the cast fibula with bent stem, see Korzukhina 1996, 698, pl. 108.5; Prikhodniuk 1998, 142, fig. 74.9. For the buckle of the Sucidava-Beroe II (Smilenko 1969, 164, fig. 2.4), see above n. 35. The analogies for the 'Martynivka mount' of Somogyi's class A4 (Smilenko 1969, 164, fig. 2.2) have been found in association with coins struck for the emperor Justinian in burial chamber 34 in Chufut Kale (Kropotkin 1958, 215, fig. 52) and burial chamber 56 in Suuk Su (skeleton 1; Repnikov 1906, 15-17, pl. 5.19). Also pointing to a date *ca.* 1600 is the 'Slavic' bow fibula of Werner's class II D found in house 1 in association with a copper-alloy bell-shaped pendant, similar to that from Dănceni (Rutkovskaya 1974, 38, 35, fig. 4.6-7).

⁷³ For the Zvonetske settlement, which produced two houses, see Bodianskii 1960, 274-75; Prikhodniuk 1998, 157. For the finds, see Bodianskii 1960, 273, fig. 1.1-2, 7; Prikhodniuk 1998, 142, fig. 74.10.

⁷⁴ Prikhodniuk 1990, 87-88.

⁷⁵ Prikhodniuk 1998, 153.

⁷⁶ Coman 1971, 481, fig. 2.5. For crosses and other signs incised on 6th- and 7th-century handmade pottery, see Curta 2001, 294; E. Teodor 2005, 239-43. A potsherd with a similar decoration was also found during a brief trial excavation in Horga, which produced a sunken-featured building (Coman 1971, 482, 486, 481, fig. 2.4).

Rescue excavations in Moleşti revealed two sunken-featured buildings and two refuse pits. The site has been tentatively dated on the basis of a crossbow brooch of the Viminacium class, which is however an isolated find not associated with any feature.⁷⁷ Similarly, rescue excavations in Speia revealed a sunken-featured building with a rich ceramic assemblage. Mention is made of a fragment of red slip, perhaps African Red Slip ware, and several amphora sherds, but none is illustrated for verification and narrower identification.⁷⁸ At Dănceni, a sunken-featured building, an open-air hearth, 93 pits and 4 kilns were found during excavations of the settlement located near the confluence of two creeks. Unfortunately, no plan of the settlement and only a few artefacts have been so far published.⁷⁹ Most interesting among them are a fragment of a bow fibula and a copper-alloy bell-shaped pendant, both dated to the late 6th century.⁸⁰ At Dodeşti the settlement was excavated methodically, but only after landslides destroyed a good portion of the site.⁸¹ The excavations produced six sunken-featured buildings, all with hearths, and three pits. The chronology of the site was established on the basis of the artefacts found in house 1 together with a buckle with triangular plate of Schulze-Dörrlamm's class B 18 (Histria-Beroe III), dated to the second half of the 6th century.⁸² In addition, wheel-made pottery was found in houses 2 and 6, while house 4 produced sherds of what appears to be a Late Roman 1 amphora.⁸³ The site at Hansca had 31 sunken-featured buildings, an open-air oven, 4 open-air hearths and 32 pits.⁸⁴ Only 8 houses, 6 pits and a 'workshop' have been published so far together with a large number of artefacts, which however cannot be attributed to any feature.⁸⁵ Most important among them are a 5th-century bronze mirror and a cast fibula with bent stem, which could be dated

⁷⁷ Tentiuc 1998, 207, fig. 4.1. For the Viminacium class of crossbow brooches, see Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, 606-08; Kharalambieva and Atanasov 1991, 44-45. The closest analogy for the Moleşti brooch is the fibula from the Lug II settlement near Penkivka (Ukraine) discussed below (see Berezovets 1963, fig. 18.4).

⁷⁸ Postică 1996, 265-66.

⁷⁹ Rafalovich and Goltseva 1981, 125-26; Dergachev *et al.* 1983, 126-30.

⁸⁰ Rafalovich and Goltseva 1981, 130, fig. 5.12-13. The terminal lobe may belong to a fibula of Werner's class II C (for which see Curta 2001, 264-68). The sunken-featured building produced a stone mould (Dergachev *et al.* 1983, 129-30, fig. 8.9).

⁸¹ D. Teodor 1984, 22-23.

⁸² D. Teodor 1984, 31, fig. 8. 1; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2002, 78. The Dodeşti buckle has a good analogy in grave 96 in Aradac, where it was associated with 'Martynivka mounts' (Nagy 1978, M 96). For an earlier dating to the late 5th or early 6th century of this type of buckle, see Komar 2004, 179-81.

⁸³ D. Teodor 1984, 40, fig. 14.3-4, 6. For LR 1 amphorae on 6th- and early 7th-century sites in the Lower Danube region, see Curta 2001, 242-43.

⁸⁴ Postică 1994, 8-10; Corman 1998, 139.

⁸⁵ Rafalovich 1968.

to the late 6th century.⁸⁶ A 'Slavic' fibula of Werner's class I D was found in house 14 together with amphora sherds, as well as fragments of clay pans.⁸⁷ The fibula may be dated to the late 6th century or shortly after 600.⁸⁸ No less than three separate settlements have been excavated in Penkivka. Only one dwelling was found in one of them, but that site produced a bow fibula of the so-called 'Dnieper class' with animal decoration, which could be dated to the first half of the 7th century at the latest.⁸⁹ Lug I is the largest of all settlements found in Penkivka, with no less than 32 dwellings, all sunken-featured buildings, except house 18 which is a yurt-like structure not unlike that from Stetsivka.⁹⁰ Lug II produced 18 sunken-featured buildings, but also a crossbow fibula of the Viminacium class, very similar to that from Moleşti. However, the ceramic assemblages from Lug II, and especially the presence of Grey Ware, point to a later date within the second half of the 7th century.⁹¹ Even later may be the three settlements excavated at Kantsirka, all of which produced kilns and a large quantity of Grey Ware, including amphora-like jugs.⁹² The presence of Grey Ware jugs and of an earring with star-shaped pendant may indicate a similar date for the settlement excavated on an island in the middle of the River Bug, not far from Hayvoron. However, both pottery and earring seem to be isolated finds. The excavations unearthed 25 smelting furnaces, but none of them produced any material relevant for the dating of the site.⁹³

At least two clusters of settlements may have been in existence in the late 6th and early 7th century, one in the Bârlad uplands, the other on the Lower Dnieper (Fig. 6). Stray finds from both regions seem to substantiate this conclusion: a cast fibula with bent stem, as well as 'Slavic' bow fibulae of Werner's classes I H, II C

⁸⁶ Rafalovich 1973, 153, fig. 10.1-2. The bronze mirror is of the Chmi-Brigetio class (for which see Werner 1956, 18). Cast fibulae with bent stem could be dated to the reign of Justin II on the basis of two specimens associated with hoards of copper concluding with coins issued for that emperor. See Curta 2001, 245.

⁸⁷ Rafalovich 1972, 32, 66-67, 196-97; 33, fig. 1; 38, fig. 8.8. Since there were two heating facilities in that house, a stone oven in the north-eastern corner and a hearth in the middle of the southern wall, the building may have had two habitation phases. If so, then the artefacts found inside the house may not all be of the same date.

⁸⁸ Curta 2001, 255, 257-60; 2006.

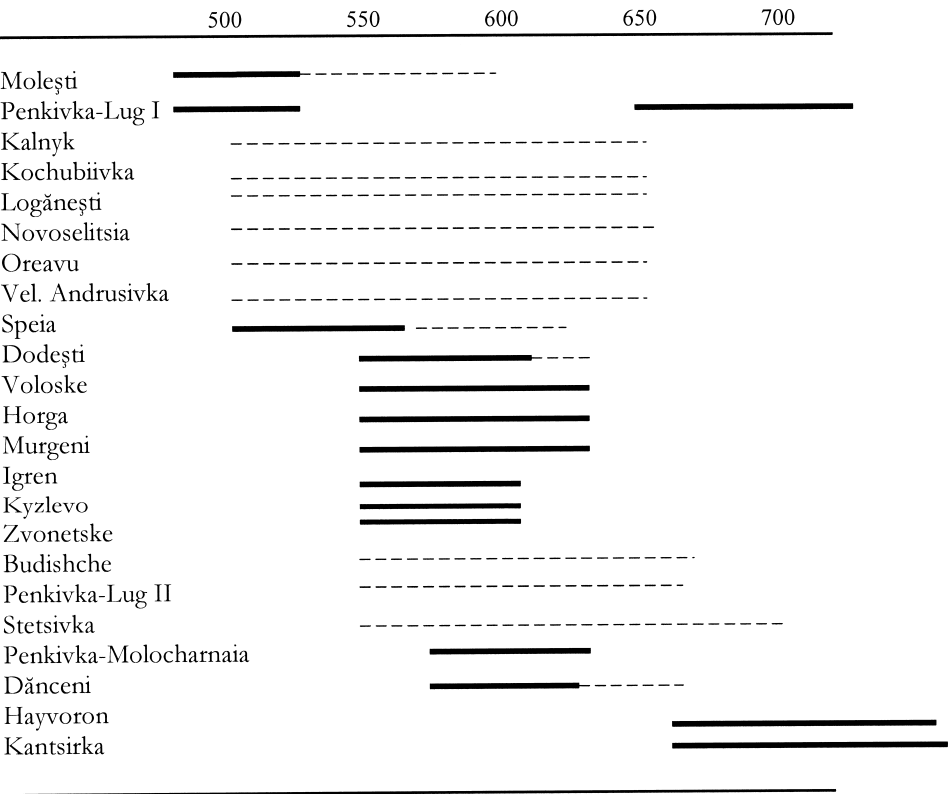
⁸⁹ Berezovets 1963, 154. For the fibula, see Berezovets 1959, 39, fig. 2.

⁹⁰ Berezovets 1959, 39-40; 1963, 157, 166-67, fig. 12.8.

⁹¹ Berezovets 1963, fig. 18.4. For the Grey Ware and its dating, see Flerov 1990.

⁹² Smilenko 1975, 119, 122, 124. For the Grey Ware produced at Kantsirka in the late 7th and early 8th century, see Smilenko 1990.

⁹³ Bidzilia 1963, 123, 125, 138-40, 138, pl. 4.1 (for the earring). See also Prikhodniuk 1975, 109-10.



Bold line: firm date range
Interrupted line: range possible, but uncertain

Fig. 7: Chronology of 6th- to 7th-century settlements in the north-western Black Sea.

and II D.⁹⁴ Some settlements (Hansca, Molești and Penkivka-Lug I) produced evidence of a much earlier date in the 5th century, such as bronze mirrors and cross-bow fibulae (Fig. 7).⁹⁵ However, at least in the case of Penkivka-Lug I, there were most likely two distinct occupation phases on the site, the later of which cannot be dated earlier than the mid-7th century. The beginnings of the Hayvoron and Kantsirka settlements can be dated to the second half of the 7th century. Since both came into existence apparently as craft centres (Hayvoron for smelting iron,

⁹⁴ Coman 1969, 309, fig. 16.4 (Bărlălești); Korzukhina 1996, 595, pl. 3.1, 699, pl. 109.3 (Babichi and Verkholat); D. Teodor 1973, 206, fig. 3.8 (Vutcani). For the chronology of Werner's class I H, see Curta 2004.

⁹⁵ Artefacts indicating a similar date are also known from the Middle and Lower Dnieper area, for example the crossbow fibula of the Prague class from Mikhailivka (Kazanski 1992, 140 and fig. 1. 22) or the bow fibula of the Kerch class from Igren (Korzukhina 1996, 698, pl. 108.6)

Kantsirka for pottery production), they may have been part of the network of new economic centres associated with the rise of the Khazar qaganate.⁹⁶

A peculiar feature of the distribution of 6th- and early 7th-century sites in the north-western region of the Black Sea is the absence of any settlements in the steppe lands close to the sea shore. This is in sharp contrast to the situation during the first centuries AD, when settlements mushroomed in the Black Sea lowlands, especially around the Kahul, Yalpukh and Katlabukh lakes.⁹⁷ Third- and early 4th-century settlements in the region between the Bug and the Dnieper rivers produced both sunken-floor features and large stone buildings, the architecture of which imitated Roman aristocratic houses.⁹⁸ Similarly, some fifty 10th-century sites have so far been found in the Budzhak steppe between the Prut and the Dniester rivers, especially around the Kahul, Yalpukh and Katlabukh lakes.⁹⁹ Occupation on many of them had begun in the ninth and continued into the 11th century. Other settlements appeared during the 900s and were abandoned only in the mid-11th century. Given that that was precisely the period during which the steppe lands were controlled by the Pechenegs, such a distribution of sites is remarkable.

In sharp contrast to the 4th- and 10th-century distributions of sites, no settlements of any kind are known so far from the steppe lands, which could be dated to the 6th or early 7th century. The region was the object of several systematic studies regarding the material correlates of nomadism for various periods in history, from the Bronze Age to the late Middle Ages, but no 6th- or 7th-century camp site has so far been identified anywhere in the north-western part of the Black Sea. This starkly contrasts with the relatively large number of camp sites identified around the Tahanrih Bay and in the north-eastern region of the Sea of Azov. Several such sites were found along the Northern Donets and its main tributaries, especially the Kalitva. A great number of them, however, were located directly on the sea shore. Even though none has been so far systematically excavated, extensive field surveys on the northern shore of the Tahanrih Bay produced an abundant ceramic material including pot and amphora sherds dated to the 6th and 7th centuries.¹⁰⁰

A 200 km-wide steppe belt separated settlements in the north-western region of the Black Sea from the nearest points on the early Byzantine frontier on the Lower Danube or in the Crimea. In both cases, the distance may have something to do with the fortification of that frontier during the mid- and late 6th-century: 6th- to

⁹⁶ Noonan 1994.

⁹⁷ Fokeev 1987.

⁹⁸ For stone buildings, see Popa 2001. For the distribution of settlements of the so-called Sântana de Mureş-Chernyakhov culture, see Magomedov 2001, 22-24, 205, fig. 2.

⁹⁹ Kozlov 1978; Smilenko and Kozlovskii 2000.

¹⁰⁰ Pletneva 1964, 7. For research problems and difficulties involved in the study of camp sites of nomadic pastoralists, see Chang and Koster 1986.

7th-century fortifications existed north of the Crimean mountains and on the upper courses of the rivers emptying into the Black Sea on the western coast of the peninsula. While several forts (Tiritaka, Ilurat and Zenonov Khersones) have been excavated also in the hinterland of Kerch, on the southern shore of the Sea of Azov, no fortifications apparently existed north of the Alma river in the western Crimea or to the west from the Kazantyp Bay on the northern coast of the Kerch Peninsula. At Mangup, the first fortifications appeared in the 6th century, while the church produced a dedicatory inscription mentioning the emperor Justinian.¹⁰¹ The forts at Eski Kermen and Chufut kale may also be dated to the late 500s, while Bakla has been dated on the basis of pottery finds to the second third of the 6th century.¹⁰² Similarly, most old forts on the Lower Danube frontier in northern Dobrudja remained in existence throughout the 500s.¹⁰³ At Garvăn (Dinogetia), the three-aisled basilica built at some point during the 4th or 5th century near the fort's southern tower was restored first under Anastasius, then again under Justinian. Recent excavations confirmed that after a destruction, coin-dated to 559, occupation of the fort ceased, though traces of a non-military occupation were found, which were dated sometime during the second half of the 6th century.¹⁰⁴ Little is known about 6th-century Isaccea (Noviodunum), but salvage excavations revealed a basilica built next to the city's northern wall. Both coin and seal finds (including three seals of the emperor Justinian) bespeak the strategic significance of this fortification guarding the most important ford across the Lower Danube.¹⁰⁵ Coin finds also suggest a late 6th- and early 7th century occupation of the fort in Tulcea (Aegyssus), although little is known about its organisation.¹⁰⁶ In the early 500s, the fort at Murighiol (Halmyris) was entirely restored, only to be destroyed in the mid-6th century and restored again.¹⁰⁷

The 6th-century fortification of both Dobrudja and the Crimea suggests that in both cases the Roman provinces were under some serious threat from the steppe. At least in the case of Dobrudja, scholars have therefore explained this concern

¹⁰¹ Kazanski and Soupault 2000, 271; Gertsen 2001. For 6th-century finds from the fort's cemetery, see Sidorenko 1984.

¹⁰² For the Eski Kermen fort, see Kharitonov 2004. For late 6th- and early 7th-century finds from the cemetery on the southern and south-eastern slopes of the hill on which the fort is perched, see Werner 1999, 148-49. For the Chufut Kale fort, see Mogarichev 1991; Gertsen and Mogarichev 1992. For the Chufut kale cemetery, see Kropotkin 1965. For Bakla, see Sazanov 1993.

¹⁰³ For a general discussion, see Aricescu 1976.

¹⁰⁴ A. Barnea 1986, 448; 1984, 344. See also I. Barnea 1966; 1980; B. Mitrea 1974.

¹⁰⁵ I. Barnea and Vulpe 1968, 425, 427. For coin and seal finds, see I. Barnea 1990; Poenaru-Bordea *et al.* 1995.

¹⁰⁶ A. Opaiț *et al.* 1980.

¹⁰⁷ There is as yet no synthesis of studies on the 6th-century fort. For coin finds, see C. Opaiț 1991. For pottery, see Topoleanu 2000. For small finds, see Madgearu 2003.

with erecting fortresses in reference to numerous attacks, raids and invasions from across the Lower Danube.¹⁰⁸ Comparatively less attention has been paid so far to the effects of that fortification upon the settlement network north of the Danube frontier. It has recently been suggested that the emperor Justinian's grandiose programme of fortification in the Balkans may have had a considerable economic and social impact on communities north of the Danube frontier, but unlike the Black Sea lowlands, most 6th- to 7th-century settlements excavated in Wallachia were located close to the Danube.¹⁰⁹ By contrast, settlements in the north-west of the Black Sea were not just across the Danube, but also across a relatively wide steppe zone. Some have explained that distribution in reference to the same threat that led to the fortification of the Roman provinces, namely the need for protection against nomadic attacks from the steppe.¹¹⁰ The mutually exclusive distributions of settlement and burial sites in the north-western region of the Black Sea may seem to support the argument (Figs. 1 and 6). But the fact that settlements mushroomed in the steppe lands around the Tahanrih Bay, far away from any Roman fortifications, suggests a different interpretation. Although commonly depicted as under siege by barbarian hordes, Roman troops often crossed the Danube frontier of the Empire to wage war on barbarians in their own lands. In 369, the emperor Valens crossed the Danube at Noviodunum (Isaccea) and attacked the Tervingi through the Budzhak steppe north of the Danube delta. The Roman army encountered and defeated the Tervingian forces at some distance from the Danube frontier.¹¹¹ There is evidence to suggest that Roman armies were just as actively campaigning north of that river in the 6th century. At least some of the attacks across that frontier led in the 530s by Roman armies under the *magister militum per Thraciam*, Chilbudius, may have been launched from Dobrudja (Procopius *Wars* 7. 14. 4-6). In 545, when allying himself with the Antes, the emperor Justinian promised to allow them to move into a deserted city named Turris, which was 'situated north of the river Ister', provided that they would block the way against the Huns, 'when these wished to overrun the Roman domain' (Procopius *Wars* 7. 14. 21; 7. 14, 32-33).¹¹² In 578, the Roman Danubian fleet transported a great number of Avar horsemen, who landed in Dobrudja to attack Sclavene villages on the left bank, not

¹⁰⁸ I. Barnea 1966; 1990; Poulter 1981; Madgearu 2001.

¹⁰⁹ Curta 2001, 276, 338-44.

¹¹⁰ For example Corman 1998, 78.

¹¹¹ Wolfram 1988, 66-68; Curta 2005b, 180.

¹¹² It would make sense to locate Turris in or next to the Budzhak steppe (for example at Barboși, near Galați), a region that could have blocked the access of steppe nomads to the Danube frontier. Procopius's description is however very vague and he does not seem to have had a clear idea of the geography of the region. On the other hand, any land offered for settlement through a *foedus* had to be less populated, have no major cities, and be strategically isolated and controllable. See Chrysos 1989, 17. For Turris, see Bolșacov-Ghimpu 1969; Madgearu 1992.

far from the river, perhaps in eastern Wallachia or southern Moldavia (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 21).¹¹³ Inhabitants of the north-western Black Sea had therefore much more to fear from raids of the Roman armies or their proxies than from invasions of steppe nomads.

That the Budzhak steppe was a region of contact with the Romans is also demonstrated by the distribution of 6th- to early 7th-century coins in the north-western region of the Black Sea (Fig. 8). Most isolated finds of early Byzantine coins cluster around the confluence of the Prut and Danube rivers, in the Cogâlnic uplands, and at the mouth of the Dniester.¹¹⁴ Gold coins appear sporadically during the 6th and early 7th century,¹¹⁵ but the majority of coins from that period found in the region are folles or fractions of the follis. It has been noted that all coins struck for the emperor Anastasius found in southern Moldavia, on both sides of the Prut, as well as in the Budzhak steppe, are late issues, either after 508 or, in some cases, even after 512.¹¹⁶ The only earlier issues are those from the Cudalbi hoard, in which accumulation ended at some point during Justin I's reign.¹¹⁷ Similarly, with few exceptions, most coins issued in the emperor Justinian's name are earlier issues from 527 to 543, especially from 538 to 543.¹¹⁸ More than a decade thus separates the coins struck for Justinian from those struck for his successor Justin II.¹¹⁹ There are comparatively fewer coins struck for Maurice, Phocas and Heraclius, and no copper coins whatsoever that could be dated between 630 and 700.¹²⁰ The numis-

¹¹³ See also Nestor 1965, 148; Chiriac 1980, 225; 1993, 198-99; Curta 2001, 92.

¹¹⁴ Stoliarik 1992, 132-41.

¹¹⁵ Solidi struck for Justinian: Butnariu 1983-85, 219; Stoliarik 1992, 138. The other isolated finds of gold coins are two tremisses and a solidus struck for Heraclius (Stoliarik 1992, 141; Oberländer-Târnoveanu 1999-2000, 320). More solidi issued in Heraclius' name are known from Kelegeia (Semenov 1991) and Maistrov (Kropotkin 1962, 31-32).

¹¹⁶ Oberländer-Târnoveanu 1999-2000, 316. For coins of Anastasius in the north-western Black Sea, see Karyshkovskii 1971, 80; Nudelman 1974b, 194; 1976, 85-86; Stoliarik 1987, 94-95; 1992, 133.

¹¹⁷ Butnariu 1983-85, 228; Curta 1996, 95, 118.

¹¹⁸ Oberländer-Târnoveanu 1999-2000, 318. Only two coins of Justinian's later regnal years are known, a follis struck in Antioch in 553/4 (Nudelman 1976, 85) and a dekanummion struck in Nicomedia in 556/7 (D. Teodor 1970, 121, fig. 9.4). For coins of Justinian in the north-western Black Sea, see Kropotkin 1962, 35; Karyshkovskii 1971, 81-82, 84; Preda 1972, 409; Nudelman 1974b, 194 and 208; 1976, 85, 87; 1985, 175; Butnariu 1983-85, 219-20; Stoliarik 1992, 137.

¹¹⁹ Out of nine coins issued in Justin II's name, four can be dated to his last regnal years. For coins of Justin II in the north-western Black Sea, see Karyshkovskii 1971, 80; Nudelman 1974b, 208; 1976, 85; 1985, 175; Coman 1979, 93; Butnariu 1983-85, 220; Stoliarik 1992, 138-39.

¹²⁰ The only other copper coin found in the area that could be dated before 900 is a follis struck for Tiberius III (for which see Preda 1972, 396). The hexagram found in Marazlievka (Stoliarik 1992, 141) is most likely a specimen of one of Heraclius' first series (MIB III 138 or 140) dated between 615 and 625. The same is true for the three hexagrams struck for Heraclius found in the Galați hoard, the coin series of which concludes with hexagrams of Constantine IV (Butnariu 1983-85, 230). For coins of Maurice, Phocas and Heraclius in the north-western Black Sea, see Kropotkin 1962, 172;

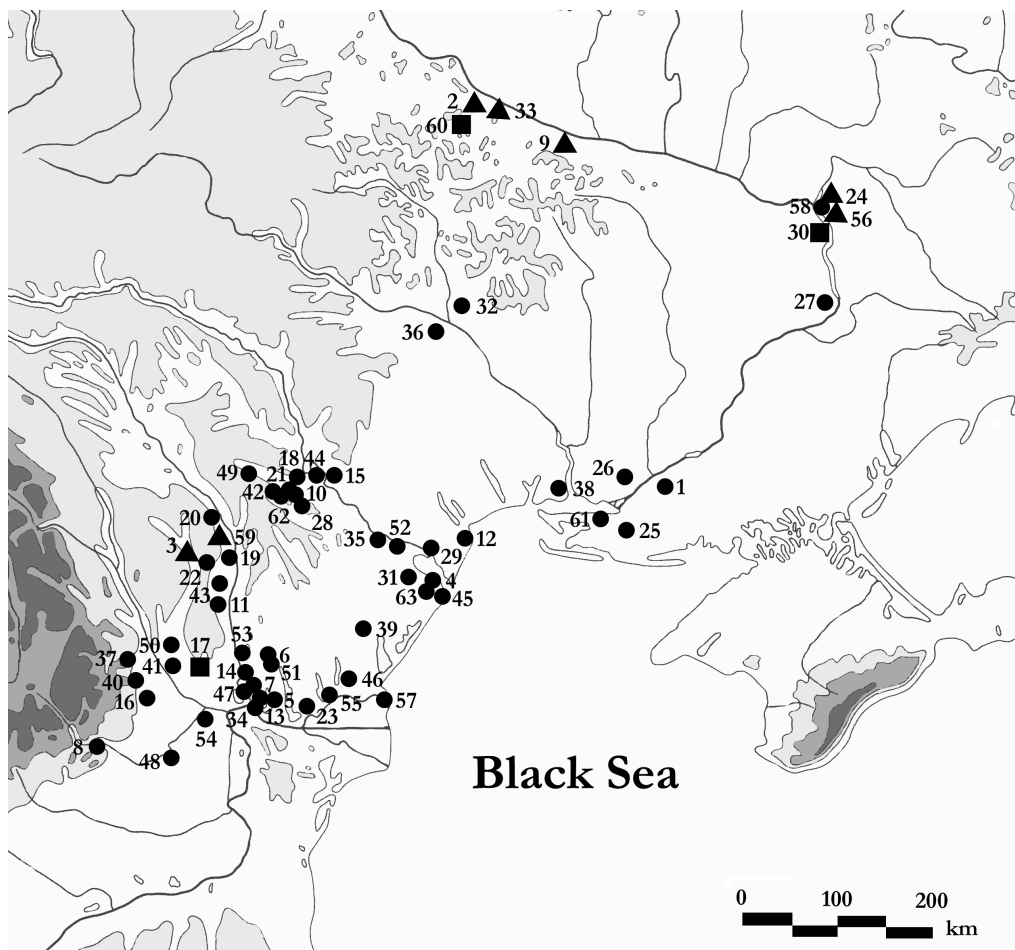


Fig. 8: The distribution of stray (circle) and hoard (square) finds of Byzantine coins, as well as of stray finds of brooches (triangle) in the northern and north-western Black Sea region: 1 – Aleshkinskie Khutory; 2 – Babichi; 3 – Bârlălești; 4 – Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy; 5 – Bolhrad; 6 – Budăi; 7 – Burlăcelu; 8 – Buzău; 9 – Buzhin; 10 – Câmpeni; 11 – Cârja; 12 – Chernomorka; 13 – Cișmichioi; 14 – Colibași; 15 – Corotna; 16 – Cotești; 17 – Cudalbi; 18 – Delacău; 19 – Fălciu; 20 – Grumezoia; 21 – Hagimus; 22 – Horga; 23 – Izmail; 24 – Igren; 25 – Kelegeia; 26 – Kherson; 27 – Kichkas; 28 – Leontina; 29 – Maiaky; 30 – Maistrov; 31 – Marazlievka; 32 – Migia; 33 – Mikhailivka; 34 – Novoselskoe; 35 – Olănești; 36 – Olviopol; 37 – Panciu; 38 – Parutyne; 39 – Pavlovka; 40 – Putna; 41 – Salcia; 42 – Sălcuța; 43 – Sărățeni; 44 – Șerpeni; 45 – Shabo; 46 – Shevchenkovo; 47 – Slobozia Mare; 48 – Șuțești; 49 – Țâpala; 50 – Tecuci; 51 – Trubaevka; 52 – Tudora; 53 – Vadu lui Isac; 54 – Vameșu; 55 – Vasylivka; 56 – Verkholat; 57 – Vilko; 58 – Voloske; 59 – Vutcani; 60 – Vylkhovchik; 61 – Vynohradnoe; 62 – Zaim; 63 – Zatoka.

matic evidence thus suggests that contacts between the population of the north-west of the Black Sea and the Roman empire were particularly strong during the first half of the 6th century, though they continued with interruptions until the first decades of the following century. This is hardly surprising, given that the first half of the 6th century witnessed a remarkable increase in monetary circulation in the neighbouring province of Scythia Minor, with the period 538-542 as the peak of monetary value in existence on the local markets.¹²¹ While the north-western region of the Black Sea may well have been an extension of the trade networks and monetary economy of the nearby province, it is important to note nevertheless that such economic contacts were established at a time when only a few, if any, settlements or burials existed in the area. As comparatively fewer Roman coins were found at some distance from the Danube than closer to the river, it is quite possible that such coins were obtained through direct contact with the markets in Dobrudja. Some may have ended in graves, as indicated by finds from Colibaşi, but the majority of stray finds may well be associated with settlements or camp sites that have yet to be identified archaeologically.¹²² If so, then these cannot be the settlements of the nomads supposedly buried in graves of the Sivashivka group, which have a very different distribution and chronology.

Conclusion

The seasonal mobility of the nomads resulted from the demands of the pastoral economy within the boundaries of specific grazing territories. The Altziagiri used the steppe as pasture land for their cattle. Agathias' 'Huns' had their abodes somewhere in the northern territories, from which they moved to the south in winter, perhaps in search for a milder climate and food for their herds. Very little in the archaeological evidence supports this picture of an economy based on cattle-breeding. A few burial assemblages of the Sivashivka group (Sivashivka, Bogachivka and Sivashske) produced sheep, but not cattle bones. Faunal remains are mentioned for a number of settlements in the north-western region of the Black Sea, but unfortunately no analysis has been so far carried for any of them.¹²³ With no arguments for a pastoral economy or contemporary camp sites, it is therefore very hard to make

Karyshkovskii 1971, 81-3; 1985, 181; Nudelman 1976, 86; Butnariu 1983-85, 219, 222; Stoliarik 1992, 140-41.

¹²¹ Gândilă 2003-05, 113, 115, 122. Only two coins struck in Chersonesus (Karyshkovskii 1971, 82-84) may indicate economic contacts with markets in Crimea. On the other hand, such coins also appear in Dobrudja (Gândilă 2003-05, 123 with table. 4).

¹²² It is important to note that several coins have been found on sites for which other stray finds or field surveys indicate the existence of 6th-century settlements (for example Horga and Voloske).

¹²³ Undifferentiated faunal remains are mentioned as finds in one pit at Moleşti, the 'workshop' at Hansca, four houses and four pits at Kochubiivka, five houses in Stetsivka, eight in Penkivka-Lug I and six in Penkivka-Lug II.

the case for the Sivashivka group being the burial grounds of nomadic communities in the 6th-century steppe north of the Black Sea. Equally hard is to draw a distinction between 'nomads' in the steppe and agriculturists in the uplands. In fact, there are more indications of commonality than difference. Belt buckles of the Sucidava-Beroe II class, Martynivka mounts and strap ends with openwork ornament appear on both burial and settlement sites.¹²⁴ A hoard of silver mounts and strap ends with open work ornament was found within a 6th- to early 7th-century settlement in Vylkhovchik.¹²⁵ Three-edged arrow heads have been found in burial assemblages such as Rozdolne, Sivashske or Sivashivka, as well as on settlement sites such as Voloske, Kyzlevo or Igren. Bridle bits are known from Kovalivka, Dymovka and Rozdolne, but also from Hansca. But the most important link between burial and settlement sites is pottery. All handmade pots found in burial assemblages in the north-western region of the Black Sea belong to T. Vida's class IIID 1, several specimens of which are typically decorated with finger impressions on the lip.¹²⁶ Such pots have been found primarily in the north-western Black Sea and in the Crimea, although they also appear in the Left Bank Ukraine, as well as on the Lower Volga and Ural rivers. Ever since I. Bóna identified this category in Early Avar ceramic assemblages, Hungarian scholars have regarded the pottery with finger impressions on the lip as an index fossil for the migration of the nomads from the steppe north of the Black Sea.¹²⁷ As a consequence, the issue of where and how this pottery was produced was rarely, if ever, tackled. Although there is so far no direct evidence, it is very likely that this pottery was produced at settlements in the north-western part of the Black Sea. While only provenance studies may lead to serious research in that direction, it is important to note for the moment a number of striking morphological parallels between pots found on burial and settlement sites. Pots with relatively long necks and out-flaring rims with no decoration, similar to those found in Adzhigiol, Ayvazovske, Chornomorske, Krylivka and Rysove are known from Penkivka-Lug I, Penkivka-Lug II and Stetsivka.¹²⁸ Pottery with finger impres-

¹²⁴ Compare for example the belt buckles from Voloske to those from Akkerman, Rysove and Sivashivka, or the strap ends with openwork ornament from Igren and Bogachivka.

¹²⁵ Prikhodniuk 1979, 90; 1980, 129. To be sure, there is no exact match between any of the Vylkhovchik mounts and those found in burial assemblages of the Sivashivka group. Strap ends with open work decoration (Prikhodniuk 1979, 91, fig. 6.23) have good analogies in hoards of silver and bronze in the Left Bank Ukraine, such as Khatsky (Bobrinskii 1901, pl. 14.13) and Gaponovo (Gavitukhin and Oblomskii 1996, 205, fig. 30.2-3). Similarly, some belt mounts with openwork ornament (Prikhodniuk 1979, 91, fig. 6.24) have analogies in the Koziiivka hoard (Korzukhina 1996, 645, pl. 55.2-7, 9-12, 14), while others are known from burial assemblages in the Crimea (Repnikov 1907, pl. 15.6).

¹²⁶ Vida 1999, 138-43.

¹²⁷ Bóna 1973, 77-78.

¹²⁸ Rashev 2000, 27; 117, fig. 11.10, 14; 132, fig. 26.13; 138, fig. 32.4; Berezovets 1963, figs. 9.3, 16.4; Petrov 1963, 223, fig. 8.2.

sions on the lip, such as found in Bogachivka, Khrystoforivka and Natashino, appears in ceramic assemblages from Hansca and Stetsivka.¹²⁹ Finally, pottery with vertical combed decoration, such as found in Veliki Tokmak, is known from two sunken-featured buildings in Dodești.¹³⁰

The archaeological evidence thus suggests that the 6th- and early 7th-century burials in the Black Sea lowlands were not of nomads coming from afar, but of members of the communities that occupied the settlements at the interface between the steppe and the steppe-forest belts. While upon death most inhabitants of such settlements – men, women and children – were buried in neighbouring cremation cemeteries, as in Velika Andrusivka or Voloske, a few selected men were given a special treatment, with isolated inhumations in prehistoric barrows, sometimes accompanied by horses and exquisite grave goods. Whether or not these men died during seasonal migrations to the sea shore presumably required by their mode of life, their burials were not graves of pastoralists, but monuments for the commemoration of power and prestige. The fact that they all cluster in the Crimean lowlands and the steppe between the River Bug and the western shore of the Sea of Azov strongly suggests that such monuments were also markers of territory and influence. The choice of this particular segment of the steppe corridor in the north-western region of the Black Sea is particularly striking when compared with the distribution of later ‘nomadic’ burials. 10th- to 13th-century burial mounds cluster in the Budzhak steppe north of the Danube delta, but appear also in the Wallachian plain, between the Olt and Siret rivers.¹³¹ By contrast, there are no burials in mounds in Wallachia that could be dated to the 6th or early 7th century. While in the north-eastern Balkans, chieftains possibly in Roman service may have been occasionally buried next to military sites, as in Madara, all burials of the Sivashivka group have been found at a considerable distance from the Danube and the area within reach by Romans or their proxies. In the Crimea, no burials have been found on the upper course of the Salhyr or south of the Alma river, the southern bank of which received massive fortification in the mid-500s.

In Procopius’ days, it may have appeared that vast numbers of barbarians holding the entire north-western region of the Black Sea dwelt along its shores. In reality, the shores and the lowlands behind them were guarded by burials of prominent men, while the settlements of the barbarians lay farther up to the north.

¹²⁹ Rashev 2000, 121, fig. 15.12; 135, fig. 29.4; Prikhodniuk and Fomenko 2003, 109, fig. 1.4; Chebotarenko and Telnov 1983, 94, fig. 4.4; Telnov and Riaboi 1985, 116, fig. 6.1; Prikhodniuk 1980, 57, fig. 34.1. It is important to note that such pottery also appears on early Byzantine military sites in northern Dobrudja (Comşa 1970, 324, fig. 1.9).

¹³⁰ Rashev 2000, 122, fig. 16.7; D. Teodor 1984, 47 fig. 19.1-3, 5-6.

¹³¹ Spinei 1985, 119, 177, fig. 5.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

- AM *Arheologia Moldovei*.
 MAIET *Materialy po arheologii, istorii i etnografii Tavrii*.
 MFME *Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve*.
 SCIV *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche*.

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THE IRANIAN IRON III CHRONOLOGY AT MUWEILAH IN THE EMIRATE OF SHARJAH*

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Abstract

The site of Muweilah in Sharjah, United Arab Emirates, has been published by its excavator Peter Magee over a number of years as having flourished during the Iron II period of the UAE/Oman, Arabian chronological system, *ca.* 1100/1000-600 BC. He has further asserted that within this long period, Muweilah's existence can be dated to the time of the north-western Iranian Iron II period, which terminated *ca.* 800 BC, dating his site specifically to *ca.* 920-770 BC. Evidence used to affirm the Iranian Iron II chronology includes Iranian and local architecture and pottery parallels, and C 14 data. I rejected the viability and relevance of these parallels in print in 2003, to which Magee responded, reaffirming his 10th-early 8th-century BC chronology. Here I respond to the excavator's ongoing defence, and argue for a considerably later north-western Iranian Iron III date for Muweilah.

The Background

Reacting to two of Peter Magee's articles (of 1997 and 2001) about his site Muweilah in Sharjah, United Arab Emirates, I challenged the chronology he presented, claiming it was too high, and disagreed with his cultural/historical conclusions relating to the nature and date of the pottery and architecture recovered.¹ Magee responded to my challenge,² vigorously defending (appropriately) his position. Here I offer my response to his 2005 defence: I have not changed my mind regarding his dating of Muweilah and present my arguments for rejection here. Beginning with his first reports Magee has continuously reported that Muweilah came into existence during the UAE/Oman, Arabian Iron II period, which he dates from *ca.* 1100/1000 to 600 BC.³ The reader must understand from the beginning of the

* I want to thank Ernie Haerinck and Dan Potts for making suggestions, suggesting bibliography, and sharing their views with me. And Peter Magee for graciously allowing me to publish photographs from his publications.

¹ Muscarella 2003, 249-50, n. 102. My critique was presented briefly in a footnote in an article rejecting a new C 14 date recently proclaimed by the excavators of Gordion in Anatolia, arguing that it was too high. The footnote was presented to give another example of a C 14 date that I believed to be incorrect. I first encountered Muweilah at a Bryn Mawr lecture by Peter Magee in October 2002, where I first expressed (verbally) my disagreements about the chronology he assigned to Muweilah's pottery and architecture.

² Magee 2005a.

³ Magee 1996a, 208; 1996b, 246, 249; 1997, 96; 1999, 44; 2002, 161; 2004, 32; 2005a, 161; 2005b, 96.

discussion that this chronological period, Iron II, is alleged to have lasted for 500 years; and that in Iran this same 500-year time-span encompasses two separate and distinct cultural and chronological periods, Iron II and Iron III – crucial issues not articulated by Magee. Within that broad Arabian Iron II time frame he specifically situates Muweilah's construction and existence contemporary with the chronology of the Iranian Iron II period, with Hasanlu Period IV, which terminated *ca.* 800 BC (i.e. 200 years earlier than the apparent termination of the Iron II period in Arabian terminology).⁴

The Ceramics

One significant component of the collective evidence he presents is that Muweilah has vessels with 'bridged spouts' (bridged describes the unit that connects the spout to the rim), which to him are forms typical of the Iranian Iron II period (Fig. 1).⁵ However, vessels with a bridged *horizontal* spout are a classic characteristic form of the Iranian Iron II period (Fig. 3). And although many of the spouts of the published Muweilah examples are broken-away, some are intact and reveal, not a horizontal but an upright, *vertical* spout – a characteristic not of the Iranian Iron II period, but of Iron III. He states that some Muweilah examples have a short bridge, others have no bridge. But Muweilah has no typical *Iranian* Iron II-form horizontal spouts.

Magee also presents references and drawings of vessels from Rumeilah, a nearby site, as relevant comparanda for his asserted UAE and Iranian Iron II chronology there also.⁶ *None* has a bridged horizontal spout, and the examples presented are painted (as at Muweilah⁷ – Fig. 2), which decoration is a manifest post-Hasanlu IV/Iranian Iron II characteristic (below); and formal parallels for the spout form of E, joined to and level with the vessel rim, are from Luristan in the Luristan Iron III period.⁸

Sialk B (a cemetery) has *painted* bridged horizontal spout vessels, which were cited by Magee as Iranian Iron II chronological parallels for Rumeilah, and later

⁴ I am not a scholar of Arabian archaeology and I found it confusing that the very same terminology used in Iranian archaeology, Iron I, II, III, is employed in Arabia. For a discussion of the Iranian/Hasanlu Iron Age terminology and problems, see Muscarella 2006.

⁵ Magee 1996a, 203, 205-06, figs. 16-17; 1999, 45, figs. 5-6; 2001, 121, 123, fig. 12; 2002, 164-65, fig. 2; 2005a, 165, fig. 1, right (compare the Hasanlu vessel at the right); 2005b, 99, 112, figs. 5 (Fig. 1 in this paper), 20; Magee *et al.* 2002, 141, fig. 13.

⁶ Magee 1996a, 208; 1996b, 246-48, fig. 7.B, C, E, G; 1997, 93-95, fig. 2; 2005a, 165, fig. 1, centre; see also Boucharlat and Lombard 2001, 218, fig. 11.

⁷ Magee 1999, 45, fig. 5; 2005b, 100, fig. 6.

⁸ Overlaet 2005, pls. 8.2, 9, 11.3-4. Further, the drawing of B (in n. 5 above) seems to be a restoration.

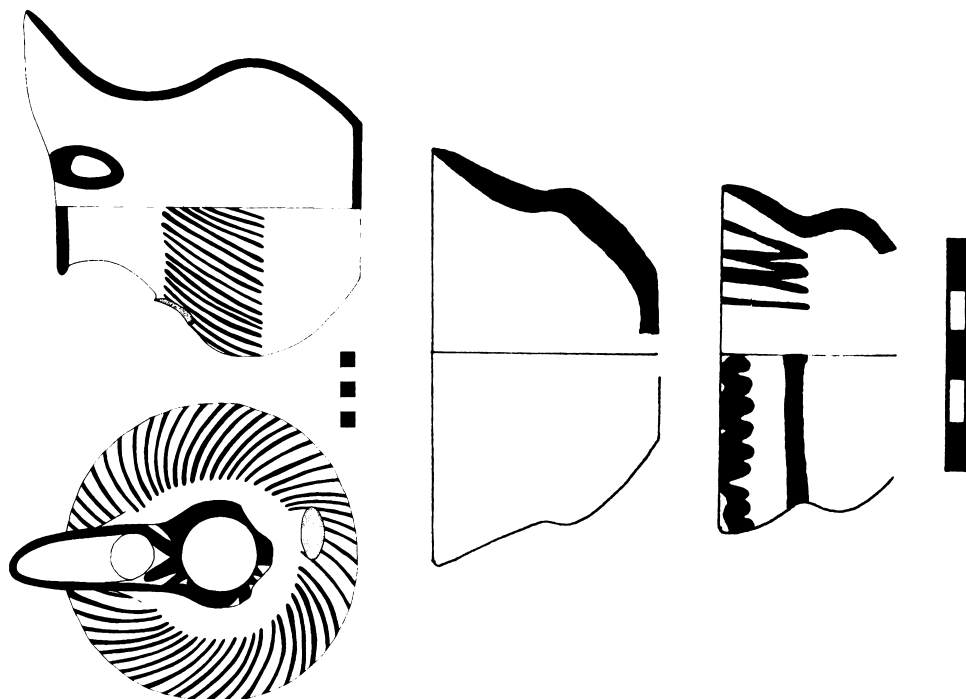


Fig. 2: Assorted vessels from Muweilah.

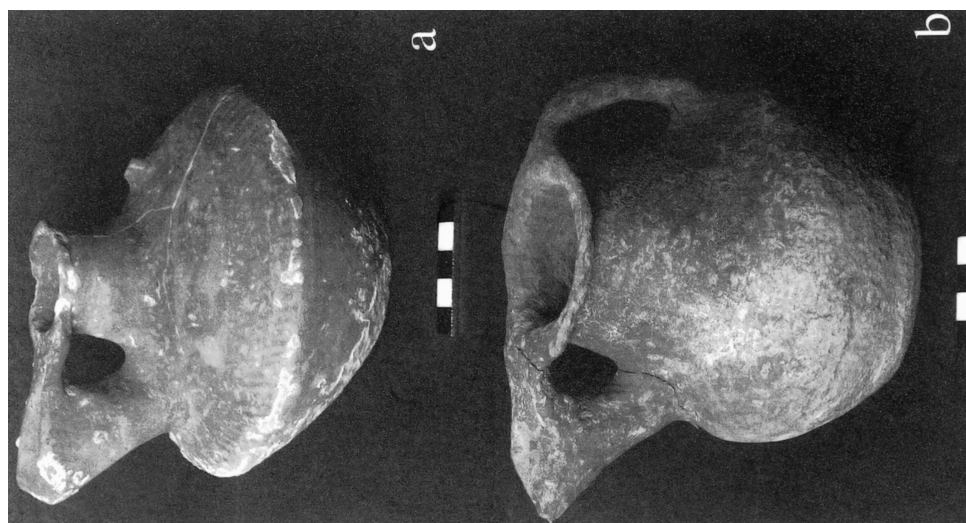


Fig. 1: Spouted vessels from Muweilah.



Fig. 3: Bridged horizontal spouted vessel from Hasanlu IV
(Metropolitan Museum of Art 65.163.72).

also cited as evidence supporting his early Muweilah chronology.⁹ He quotes Dyson, who, discussing the spout-painted juxtaposition there, claimed: ‘The main occupation of Sialk B would then belong to the eighth century...’ overlapping ‘the end of Hasanlu IVB and the beginning of IIIB.’¹⁰ The problem here is that Dyson made a significant error: painted pottery in fact does *not* appear in Hasanlu IV or in the following period Hasanlu III B, the Urartian period, but *after* the latter’s destruction, in Period III A, which came into existence not earlier than the late 7th or early 6th century BC.¹¹

I too would agree with Magee that ‘it is too early to make definitive statements concerning the date of Iron Age Sialk’,¹² which is a complicated subject. But I would add, that based on the Sialk pottery, one cannot date Rumeilah (or, indeed, Muweilah) within the *Iranian* Iron II chronology as established in north-western Iran. Magee himself admits (but then ignores it) that the Arabian ‘decorative pat-

⁹ Magee 1997, 94, 96, fig. 2; 1999, 45; 2005a, 162; 2005b, 93-94.

¹⁰ Dyson 1965, 208. On this also, see Young 1965, 76-80, figs. 13-14.

¹¹ This reality has been known for decades: *viz.* Haerinck 1978, 85. For details and bibliography, see Muscarella 2006, 15, 17-20.

¹² Magee 2005a, 163

terns' are 'unlike the examples found in Iran during this period', i.e. in the context here, Iron II.¹³

Magee continuously uses the terms 'bridged' or 'bridged-spouted' to describe the Muweilah spout form, but inexplicably does not inform us whether the bridged spouts are positioned vertically or horizontally. The position of the spout determined how the liquid was poured out into another container, and although Magee mentions this process, he does not inform us how far the Muweilah people had to tip their spouts.¹⁴ Spouted vessel forms from the Iranian Iron III period exist, *viz.* at Hasanlu, Ziwiyeh and Yanik Tepe.¹⁵

In response to my 2003 brief comments on this significant matter, Magee replies¹⁶ it is 'difficult to know' how Muscarella can be certain that they are 'horizontally or vertically spouted'. My answer is that lacking textual information, I looked at his published photographs, which do not portray horizontal bridged spouts; and how and why does Magee *know* that they are *horizontally* spouted: which *must* be the case to qualify for his Iron II attribution? But nowhere has he addressed this, recognised its significance in his discussions of parallels and chronology. He subtly adds two ambiguous modifications to his previously published claims.¹⁷ One is 'that not all the Muweilah examples are comparable to the more elongated horizontal bridge-spouted examples from north-western Iran'. If by 'more elongated' he is now stating that the (some?) spouts at Muweilah are bridged horizontally, but are short, why not say it straightforward? Note that in this 2005 article the 'horizontal' word for the Muweilah vessels is mentioned for the first time, again ignoring its chronological importance.¹⁸ He also claims that he is not able to see how any of the Muweilah examples are '*significantly* [his emphasis] different from Iranian Iron Age II bridge-spouted vessels *in general* [my emphasis]'. In another venue published the same year¹⁹ he also stated, obliquely and casually, that 'there are many differences between the Arabian...and west and northwest Iranian examples. The east Arabian examples contain a more open spout that differs from the very elongated horizontal [*sic*] spout found on some [*sic*] northwest and central Iranian examples' (no profile drawings are published). The vertical spout position remains unmentioned here, concealed from us, although the vertical word is used when informing us that verti-

¹³ Magee 2005b, 99.

¹⁴ Magee 2005b, 108-09. For the spout pouring position by the Iranian Iron II population, see Stein 1940, pl. XXX, 8.

¹⁵ Hasanlu: Young 1965, 56, fig. 2.1 (the spout is incorrectly restored; it is vertical, as recognised by Haerinck 1987, 87); Ziwiyeh: Young 1965 60, fig. 4.5; Yanik Tepe: Haerinck 1978, 84, 87, fig. 7.

¹⁶ Magee 2005a, 163-64.

¹⁷ Magee 2005a, 164.

¹⁸ Magee 2005a, 164.

¹⁹ Magee 2005b, 99.

cal spouts of a different form exist at Sialk. Here also he generalises about a long life for bridge-spouted vessels down to the 8th century BC.²⁰

I suggest that Magee's 2005 defence *contra* Muscarella 2003 is an attempt to modify *all* his previously published, and strongly stated, pottery parallel claims. Here is the core of the issue under review: I see only bridged vertical spouted vessels among those published from Muweilah (Figs. 1-2), a form in Iran that is stratigraphically distinguished as occurring *later* than the Iron II horizontal spout examples. In 1996 Magee asserted an indefinite generalisation, 'Bridge-vessels are *leitfossils* for the Iron II period in western Iran',²¹ but omitted the qualifying 'horizontal', a term essential in any characterisation of Iranian Iron II *leitfossil* spouted vessels. For excellent published Hasanlu Period IV examples see Stein; for the record, there are examples of bridged horizontal spout vessels in post-Iron II Iran.²² Magee²³ also cites examples of 'bridged spouted vessels' at Godin and Baba Jan, and which (again) is meaningless, and in the context a misleading use of 'bridged' (why omit the crucial position of the spout?). In fact, all the vessels from these sites are dated to the Iranian Iron III period – and all the cited vessels have *vertical* spouts; also, Baba Jan has much painted pottery:²⁴ which as such should have been employed to date Muweilah (and Rumeilah, as below) to the Iranian Iron III period.

Magee claims²⁵ it was '*not* [his emphasis] bridge-spouted vessels' that were the sole basis for his dating of Muweilah, it was the C 14 evidence (see below). Indeed he unquestionably (and vitally; see below) depends on the carbon dates. But, notwithstanding his disclaimer, no reader of Magee's publications can be unaware that his Iranian Iron II pottery-parallel assertions are a *major* component of his arguments concerning the specific cultural, geographical source and chronology at his site.²⁶ Note also his statement that 'absolute chronology of the Iron II period is available from both C 14 data *and* [my emphasis] foreign parallels for Iron II

²⁰ Magee 2005b, 94.

²¹ Magee 1996b, 248.

²² Stein 1940, pls. XXIV, XXX, no. 8; compare the Iron III examples there, pl. XVII, and the drawing in pl. XXVIII, 17. An excavated example from Ziwiye has hanging triangles and incised chequerboard decoration (Dyson 1965, 206, fig. 11): it has a parallel at Muweilah (Magee 2005b, 113, n. 28); Nush-I Jan (Stronach 1969, 18, fig. 7); War Kabud in Luristan (Overlaet 2005, pl. 11.1), which may possibly be dated in Luristan chronology to Iron IIB, 8th century BC or later.

²³ Magee 2005b, 94.

²⁴ Magee (2005a, 94, n. 9) cites Goff 1985 as a Baba Jan reference. This is an error, repeated in the bibliography: the journal reference should be Goff 1978, and the issue is *Iran* 16, pp. 29-66 (for a painted vessel with vertical spout, see pl. 11a). Nn. 6 and 7 also have wrong references. The Manor house at Baba Jan does not seem to have a columned hall; it has three columns, probably for a colonnade. For the post-9th century dating of Baba Jan, see Muscarella 1988, 140, n. 1, 209, n. 4 (*contra* Boucharlat and Lombard 2001, 222, n. 9).

²⁵ Magee 2005a, 163.

²⁶ See Magee 1996a, 208; 1997, 93-95 (Rumeilah); 2001, 123; 2002, 164.

pottery'.²⁷ Also claimed here is that: 'The most *chronologically diagnostic evidence* [my emphasis] for foreign inspiration in the Iron II period is found in painted and unpainted bridge-spouted vessels.'²⁸ True. But there are no painted vessels in Iron II Hasanlu, or Dinkha Tepe, or at any other manifest Iron II sites in north-western Iran (above).

Also unrecognised by Magee is that there is more ceramic evidence available at Muweilah to support a post-Iron II occupation there, and by centuries. First is a distinct vessel form called a *Trichterrandschale*, characterised by a relatively long flaring rim joining a bulging body (Fig. 2, centre and lower).²⁹ There are no known Iranian Iron II parallels; they occur in Iron III contexts, and later, in the Achaemenid period: see the long list of post Iranian Iron II sites where they occur given by Kroll.³⁰

Then there are fragments of two terracotta vessels identified by him as incense burners that are 'decorated in typical Iron Age II fashion: swirling lines around the holes'.³¹ The example illustrated has two isolated holes, and does not appear to be a censor; furthermore, he gives no parallels to support the 'typical' Iron II attribution. Also recovered is a domed, fully perforated manifest ceramic incense burner cover crowned by a figure of a bull (Fig. 4).³² Magee informs us that this censor fits



Fig. 4: Ceramic censor cover from Muweilah.

²⁷ Magee 1996b, 247.

²⁸ Magee 1996b, 247.

²⁹ Magee 2005b, fig. 7, centre.

³⁰ Kroll 1976, 115; see also Young 1965, 58, fig. 3.6, 11, fig. 4.6.

³¹ Magee 2004, 27-28, fig. 4 for one example.

³² Magee 2001, 123-24, fig. 14; 2005b, 112-13, fig. 21.

‘within the repertoire of Iron II ceramics’, and says parallels occur at three Arabian sites; Magee is here employing Iron II only in its UAE/Arabian Iron II terminology (*ca.* 1100/1000–600 BC, see above). But the censor cover most certainly *cannot* be used as evidence to support a 9th-century BC Iranian Iron II date for Muweilah: because there are no Iranian Iron II parallels, there are *only* post Iranian Iron II parallels. B. Goldman has conveniently brought most known censors together (Arabian examples are not mentioned).³³ Censors on stands begin in the 2nd millennium BC, but rounded, removable domed covers are rare, only that depicted on a Hittite scene (Goldman – CC), and it is not perforated. The next rounded cover example known is from the 7th century BC. Ashurbanipal garden relief (Goldman – LL), also unperforated. Only those from the Achaemenid period have all the characteristics of the Muweilah censor cover: form, multi-perforations and, sometimes, figured handles (Goldman – A, B, F, G, I).³⁴ Some are domed, others pyramid shaped and stepped, for which also see the Achaemenid examples from Uşak.³⁵ One can argue that the Achaemenid-form censor derives from a late phase at Muweilah, the time prior to its destruction, but then indeed this could also obtain for the vertically spouted vessels as well: which were recovered in the destruction level there.³⁶ The archaeological evidence indicates that the Muweilah censor cover cannot be employed to date the site’s destruction to ‘a fire sometime after 770 BC but before c. 600 BC’.³⁷ Its presence contradicts this asserted chronology: and brings into the discussion an Achaemenid period at Muweilah (whether it can be argued that such censors existed earlier in Arabia, I leave to the specialists); Magee plays down involvement with Fars.³⁸

The Architecture

Architecture is another major component of Magee’s Iranian Iron II chronological evaluation. The vital argument here is that Muweilah’s columned hall plan is crucial evidence for comprehending a date for the site. Because Magee consistently perceives this plan as distinctly related to Burnt Building II (BB II) at Hasanlu, Period IV (Fig. 5), it thus signifies contemporary existence, a chronological parallel and dependence; and inasmuch as BB II is ‘earlier than those at Muweilah...one *must assume* [my emphasis], therefore, that influence was exerted from Iran to south-

³³ Goldman 1991.

³⁴ Goldman 1991, pl. XVII.

³⁵ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 114–19, nos. 71–73.

³⁶ Magee 2005b, 98.

³⁷ Magee 2001, 115; see also below.

³⁸ Magee 2005b, 107, 112.

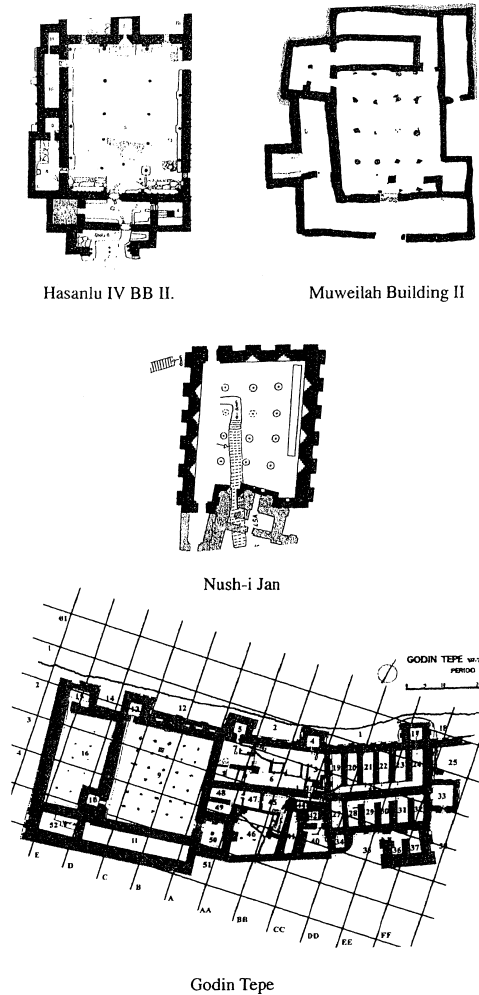


Fig. 5: Columned Hall plans of Hasanlu, Muweilah, Nush-i Jan and Godin.

eastern Arabia at this time³⁹ (10th-9th centuries BC; see below). The architectural parallels further signify to him that there must have been direct and complex social contacts between the two widely distant sites.⁴⁰ Such assumptions have no empirical archaeological or historical support in Arabia or north-western Iran.

Muweilah's columned hall is best described as an apadana (whether with stone or wood columns is irrelevant), and has closer formal parallels at geographically

³⁹ Magee 2002, 162-63; see Magee 2001, 117, fig. 2; 2002, 165; 2005a, 167, fig. 4; Magee *et al.* 2002, 138, fig. 6.

⁴⁰ Magee 2001, 128; 2005a, 164.

closer sites in western Iran. The hall has 'twenty columns bases arranged in a five by four pattern with one row against the wall' that fill the interior space.⁴¹ Hasanlu BB II has eight central columns, four each in two rows, with space all around them, and a series of smaller columns situated against the walls; other buildings at Hasanlu have eight or four central columns.⁴² The two sites have different column numbers and internal dispositions.

Although Magee does mention the columned halls at the late 8th-7th century BC sites at Nush-i Jan and Godin Tepe (also Persepolis and Pasargadae),⁴³ which I had cited as appropriate parallels (Fig. 5), closer in plan to Muweilah, and that the sites are geographically closer than Hasanlu, they are dropped from further investigation (until 2005): because, I suggest, Hasanlu BB II had been accepted as the Muweilah parallel. In 2005 my judgment that Hasanlu BB II is not a suitable parallel for Muweilah, which parallel is more meaningfully recognised at the later-dated sites, was rejected.⁴⁴ I readily reaffirm it. Nush-i Jan has a twelve-columned hall, three rows of four each; Godin has a central hall with thirty columns, five rows of six each, and two flanking narrower halls with a smaller number of columns (10, 16; partly reconstructed). Magee leaves it to the reader to decide, but is immediately compelled to add that the Hasanlu-Muweilah parallels 'seem to me stronger than those from' Nush-i Jan and Godin. I reject the urgency of this claim. To me the Muweilah building is paralleled by the apadana plans, which are kindred in their column number, placements and concept. BB II's plan cannot be architecturally and formally privileged over those from Iranian Iron III Nush-i Jan and Godin.⁴⁵ Boucharlat and Lombard⁴⁶ also discuss these two sites, accepting their 'filiation' with Rumeilah (they do not mention Muweilah!) as not inconceivable, and accept them all being contemporary. Note also that a possible columned hall has been partly excavated in Iran, at Ziwiye: a room with sixteen columns in two rows was uncovered, but this may be a colonnade.

Although a columned hall was excavated at Rumeilah,⁴⁷ it gets but a mere mention by Magee.⁴⁸ Rumeilah's hall has three columns in three rows; an underlying structure seems also to have had columns, although it is possible here we have a

⁴¹ Magee 2002, 162.

⁴² Dyson 1965, pl. XXXIV; for a full plan of the Period IV columned hall structures, see Muscarella 2006, 9, fig. 3.

⁴³ Magee 2002, 163.

⁴⁴ Magee 2005a, 164

⁴⁵ The juxtaposition of the building plans under review is conveniently displayed in Magee 2005a, fig. 4 – here Fig. 5.

⁴⁶ Boucharlat and Lombard 2001, 221-22.

⁴⁷ Boucharlat and Lombard 2001, 205-18, figs. 3, 7.

⁴⁸ Magee 2005b, 109.

partially covered area.⁴⁹ Boucharlat and Lombard date Rumeilah within the Arabian Iron II period, but *nota bene*, they place its chronological phase at the latest to the late 8th-7th century BC.⁵⁰ This is reasonable, indeed, and must form the beginning discussion of the chronology of Muweilah.

A relevant academic issue is worth raising: if indeed Muweilah's apadana was constructed in the Iranian Iron II period, then, in this scheme, may not one ponder if the Median examples in Iran could have been derived from South Arabia, and not from an indigenous northern Iranian background? For, if Muweilah had contact with far-away Hasanlu in the 10th-9th centuries BC, why not consider a continuous contact with the mainland, with the closer Median area, whose buildings were built after those at Muweilah? Magee doesn't confront this view, but seems to obliquely reject it.⁵¹ While casually accepting Magee's chronology (Muweilah 'apparently [*sic*] dates from before 800 BC'), Curtis and Razmijou⁵² correctly reject Arabia as the source for the Median and Achaemenian apadanas. But they also believe that the architecture in both areas experienced inspiration from 'the same tradition,' which, independently obtained, they argue, derived from Hasanlu. Thus they support Magee's chronological and cultural conclusions – north-western Iranian influence and contact with Arabia in the Iranian Iron II period – which my present paper again rejects.

Carbon-14 Data

From the earliest reports Magee cited C 14 data as evidence to situate Muweilah chronologically in the Iranian Iron II Period: in 1999 the buildings 'were in existence by the ninth century BC.... destroyed sometime after 770 BC';⁵³ in 2001 'the buildings... came into existence sometime after ca. 920 BC.... destroyed by fire sometime after 770 BC but before c. 600 BC';⁵⁴ in 2002 the initial construction date is lowered to ca. 900 BC;⁵⁵ in 2003 it is after 920 BC and with 'an upper limit of 800 BC' for the site's destruction (wood and date seeds).⁵⁶ In 2004 the construction date for the site is now the 'end of the ninth century BC', based on dates and date seeds samples.⁵⁷ The following year Magee emphasised the C 14 evidence from dates and burnt beams for the chronology, repeating that the 'main buildings'

⁴⁹ Boucharlat and Lombard 2001, 215, fig. 6.

⁵⁰ Boucharlat and Lombard 2001, 221, n. 9.

⁵¹ Magee 2002, 163.

⁵² Curtis and Razmijou 2005, 50.

⁵³ Magee 1999, 46-47.

⁵⁴ Magee 2001, 115.

⁵⁵ Magee *et al.* 2002, 153-54.

⁵⁶ Magee 2003, 2-3, 7.

⁵⁷ Magee 2004, 32.

were 'constructed after *ca.* 920 BC and destroyed sometime after *ca.* 800 BC but before *ca.* 600 BC'.⁵⁸ And 'bridge' spouted vessels were 'in use, therefore, sometime after 920 B.C.', perhaps even 'from c. 1000 B.C. onwards', and 'exhibit *some form* of influence from Iran' [my emphasis].⁵⁹ In the final analysis, C 14 evidence is the core of the issue at hand. Surely it was the C 14 dates that firmed his chronological claims, his associated dating of the pottery and architecture. All three are presented as if they naturally form a closed, self-created triangle of mutually supporting evidence.

The C 14 dates given in Magee 2004, along with data given in table 1 there, do not manifestly prove the Iranian Iron II chronology argued. Here I stick my neck out, for I see a problem with the C 14 analysis; and I must leave a close analysis to C 14 statistical experts to debate (as they will also with my 2003 article that disagrees with another C 14 determination).

One more issue, an important conclusion of Magee's, should be addressed. Magee believes that Arabian letters inscribed on a vessel fragment excavated at Muweilah manifest that the South Arabian script existed in south-eastern Arabia, and thus, based on his chronology, indicates that 'serious cultural interaction with Yemen began 300 to 400 years earlier than previously thought'.⁶⁰ If I am correct in my disagreements with Magee's Muweilah's chronology, this cultural assertion is erroneous, but warrants independent discussion by the experts.

Conclusions

Based then on the pottery, the censor and formal architectural parallels, and a challenge of the C 14 date, I argue that Muweilah came into existence in the post-Iranian Iron II period, probably in the 7th century BC (or later?), whatever UAE/Arabian terminology is employed (late Iron II?). When Magee states that there is an 'absence of iron III material culture' at Muweilah,⁶¹ he can only be referring to Arabian terminology. And Muscarella never committed the 'fundamental error' of only equating 'this pottery and thus this site'.⁶² (One may aptly use the same phrase to describe Magee's equating Hasanlu with Muweilah.) What I said and repeat, is that no ceramic or architectural evidence present at Muweilah, or Rumeilah, supports an *Iranian* Iron II date there. The issue is not, and never was, whether there was Iranian influence and trade with Arabia,⁶³ but when it commenced.

⁵⁸ Magee 2005a, 163; see also 2005b, 97-98.

⁵⁹ Magee 2005b, 98-99.

⁶⁰ Magee 1999, 43-45, fig. 3, 47-49.

⁶¹ Magee 2004, 33; also 2003, 1.

⁶² Magee 2005a, 161.

⁶³ Magee 2005b, 95-96.

Addendum

In the latest issue of *BASOR* (No. 347 [2007], 83-105; it appeared at the Metropolitan Museum of Art on 20th September 2007) Peter Magee has a long article on Arabian sites ('Beyond the Desert and the Sown...'), including Muweilah. Here in a long discussion on chronology he dates Muweilah (along with other sites) generally within the Arabian Iron II period, with a broad 500 year range date of 1100-600 BC. But not once here does he mention that in his many (and repetitious) earlier writings he has consistently dated Muweilah to the 9th century BC, vigorously asserting alleged Hasanlu IV B, 9th-century BC ceramic and architectural parallels. These articles, eleven in all—and of which a total of five are omitted/ignored in his argument and from the bibliography—are discussed and critiqued by me in the above, in the present article. There is more. Nowhere in the *BASOR* article does he mention or include in his bibliography my original challenge to his 9th-century BC dating of Muweilah that appeared in *AWE* 2.2 (2003), n. 102. And nowhere does he include a reference to *his* long article in *AWE* 4.1 (2005) *contra* my 2003 note, wherein he challenged my late dating (hundreds of years later than his dating), and vigorously defended the 9th-century date for Muweilah that he has touted for a long time. Furthermore, he does not mention that he had read *with my permission* (upon the request of *AWE*'s Editor-in-Chief) in August 2006 the then unpublished article submitted to *AWE* – the present article – rebutting *his* 2005 *AWE* paper!

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PERCEPTIONS ON THE MORPHOLOGY AND STYLE OF ARTEFACTS VS THE CARBON CYCLE: A RESPONSE TO O.W. MUSCARELLA'S DATING OF MUWEILAH

Peter MAGEE

Abstract

In a paper in this issue of *Ancient West & East*, O.W. Muscarella suggests an alternative chronology for the Iron Age site of Muweilah in the United Arab Emirates. In this paper we explore the basis for this reappraisal and conclude that not only is it not based on an analysis of relevant archaeological data but that it takes no account of the numerous C 14 dates from Muweilah and other Iron Age II sites in south-eastern Arabia.

Introduction¹

In an article published in this issue of *AWE*, O.W. Muscarella argues that the Iron Age settlement of Muweilah in the United Arab Emirates was founded no earlier than 700 BC. His conclusion is founded on neither a detailed examination of the artefactual evidence nor an in-depth understanding of current chronometric methods. Rather, his argument is loosely constructed around a misreading of several papers published over the last few years concerning the south-east Arabian Iron Age.²

One example suffices to illustrate how Muscarella has misunderstood the Muweilah publications. In his paper he writes '[Magee] has further asserted that within this long period, Muweilah's existence can be dated to the time of the north-western Iranian Iron II period, which terminated *ca.* 800 BC, dating his site specifically to *ca.* 920-770 BC.' First of all, when it has been noted that Muweilah dates to the Iron Age II period it is explicitly referring to the *south-east Arabian* Iron

¹ I first explained to Muscarella at a meeting at Bryn Mawr College in October 2002 that the chronology employed in south-eastern Arabia was *not* the same as that employed in Iran as I suspected that his objection to the Muweilah chronology was based on this misunderstanding. In 2006, the editor of this journal kindly forwarded me his paper and upon reading it, I e-mailed him on 27th July 2006 explaining once again the basis for the chronology of the south-east Arabian Iron Age and revealing to him the new data from several sites that reaffirms the local Iron Age chronology. He persisted in publishing his paper and so I formulated this response. Unless new and radically important information appears in the coming years that substantially undermines the chronology of Muweilah and other Iron Age II settlements in south-eastern Arabia, it would be superfluous to respond to any further papers by Muscarella that deal with this issue.

² Magee 1996a-b; 1997; 2001; 2003; 2004; 2005b-c; Magee *et al.* 2002.

Age sequence established in 1996 and accepted by all who work in the field, not the Iranian sequence.³ This misunderstanding seems to be at the root cause of Muscarella's confusion and it is revisited several times in this paper. Furthermore, it has been noted in many publications that within the Iron Age II timeframe Muweilah is occupied *sometime* after 920 BC and destroyed *sometime* after 800 BC but before 600 BC. The key issue here is the use of the word 'sometime', which was deliberately used to acknowledge the fact that the duration of the settlement is uncertain. That Muscarella is aware of this is apparent from the fact that he quotes the relevant sections of a publication later: 'The following year [2005] Magee emphasised the C 14 evidence from dates and burnt beams for the chronology, repeating that the "main buildings" were "constructed after *ca.* 920 BC and destroyed sometime after *ca.* 800 BC but before *ca.* 600 BC".' So, it has never been argued that Muweilah was occupied from 920 to 770 BC and Muscarella seems to understand this.

The substantive aspects of Muscarella's argument are worthy of closer scholarly scrutiny as they highlight several basic methodological flaws. In the following discussion these will be broken into stylistic and C 14 issues.

Stylistic Issues

a. Bridge-Spouted Vessels

Muscarella offers a detailed analysis of a few published examples of the dozens of bridge-spouted vessels from Muweilah in an attempt to show that the settlement dates to after 700 BC. There is no question that this is an important ceramic form and that I have drawn parallels to Iranian examples in the past.⁴ However, bridge-spouted vessels have never been relied upon to date Muweilah to any specific timeframe. From the outset of the excavation of that site, C 14 dates have been used as they are more a valid, scientific and objective dataset than perceived stylistic similarities across thousands of kilometres.

Of prime importance in this regard is the origin of the south-east Arabian examples of this vessel. This has been investigated by a programme of geochemical analysis using Inductively Coupled Plasma-Mass Spectrometry/Optical Emission Spectroscopy and the resultant publication is noted by Muscarella.⁵ Two important conclusions were reached in that study. Firstly, it was shown that one of the fabrics in which a small number of bridge-spouted vessels were made was probably not local. An Iranian origin was tentatively suggested and since the formal differences

³ Magee 1996a-b.

⁴ Magee 1997.

⁵ Magee 2005c.

between east Arabian and west Iranian examples was noted, a origin further south in Iran, perhaps in Fars, was hypothesised.⁶ This remains to be tested with further sampling. The other important conclusion was that the vast majority of bridge-spouted vessels from south-eastern Arabia were locally made. Not only are they the products of local ceramic workshops but morphologically and decoratively many of them exhibit local styles of decorations, even if they ultimately reflect Iranian influence.

In short, while it has always been acknowledged that the south-east Arabian bridge-spouted vessels show Iranian influence and must date to after 1100 BC,⁷ the local production of this form and the observation that some might be imported from Fars in southern Iran means it is rash to precisely date south-eastern Arabian sites on the basis of north-western Iranian bridge-spouted vessels.

b. Incense Burners

Muscarella extends his stylistic analysis to several other vessels from Muweilah. Special attention is given to an incense burner or censor upon which Muscarella comments 'But the censor cover most certainly *cannot* be used as evidence to support a pre-9th century BC Iranian Iron II date for Muweilah: because there are no Iranian Iron II parallels, there are *only* post Iranian Iron II parallels.' Once again: Muweilah is not dated according to the Iranian Iron Age sequence, it is dating according to the south-east Arabian terminology.⁸ Therefore, it has never been argued that Muweilah is not occupied after 800 BC since the south-east Arabian Iron Age II period extends from 1100/1000 to 600 BC.

In addition to this basic misunderstanding, Muscarella's arguments on the incense burner from Muweilah are, in any case, dubious. Relying on the work of Goldman,⁹ who studied incense burners in Mesopotamia and Iran, he raises the possibility that Muweilah is, in fact, an Achaemenid period (538-332 BC) settlement. However, his reliance on this out-dated work, which, by his own account does not mention Arabian examples, reflects a serious defect in Muscarella's research: namely his willingness to engage in debate without first fully researching the evidence. Even the most cursory investigation of Arabian archaeology would have informed Muscarella that incense burners such as those found at Muweilah are known from *ca.* 1200 to 800 BC (Fig. 1). The best examples of these are found in the Sabr culture of Yemen, which is tightly dated by 26 C 14 dates.¹⁰ Since

⁶ Magee 2005c, 111-14.

⁷ Magee 1997.

⁸ Magee 1996a-b; 1997; 2001; 2003; 2004; 2005b-c; Magee *et al.* 2002.

⁹ Goldman 1991.

¹⁰ Vogt *et al.* 2002.



Fig. 1: Incense burners or censors from the Sabr culture, Yemen (reproduced with the kind permission of Dr St John Simpson [The British Museum] and Prof. Dr Burkhard Vogt [KAVA, and Director of the Sabr excavations]).

Muscarella seems to be unaware of this existence of this culture, the C 14 samples that have been used by scholars to date this culture are presented here (Table 1). Fenestrated or ‘holed’ incense burners – or censors – like the example from Muweilah, have been found in the type site for the Sabr culture and we take the opportunity to present two such examples as published recently in the catalogue for the Queen of Sheba exhibition held at the British Museum and other major European museums (Fig. 1).¹¹ The Sabr culture itself has been known for many years and the most cursory investigation of recent work in Yemen would have provided the conscientious scholar with much relevant information.

c. The Columned Hall

Muscarella once again embarks on a review of the parallels between the columned hall discovered at Muweilah and those of western Iran to argue that the entire set-

¹¹ I would like to thank Prof. Dr Burkhard Vogt (KAVA, and Director of the Sabr excavations) and Dr St John Simpson (The British Museum) for permission to reproduce this image.

Lab Code	C14 Age	2 sigma probability method	Relative contribution to probabilities
BlN-4630	2820±60	1189-1180BC 1157-1145BC 1130-830BC	.01 .01 .98
BlN-4631	2845±40	1128-903BC	1.00
BlN-4632	2911±40	1260-998BC	1.00
BlN-4633	3029±49	1410-1129BC	1.00
BlN-4883	2767±36	1001-832BC	1.00
BlN-4884	2732±34	971-960BC 934-810BC	.02 .98
BlN-4885	2834±36	1114-907BC	1.00
BlN-4886	2840±30	1113-1099BC 1089-916BC	.02 .98
BlN-4887	2877±33	1192-1173BC 1164-1143BC 1132-970BC 961-933BC	.02 .03 .89 .04
JIE-4940	3040±40	1413-1193BC 1171-1171BC 1142-1133BC	.98 .00 .01
JIE-4941	2520±100	827-400BC	1.00
BlN-4727	2774±41	1013-827BC	1.00
BlN-4728	2883±33 □	1194-1142BC 1133-973BC 958-938BC	.08 .88 .02
BlN-4729	2775±38	1009-832BC	1.00
BlN-4730	2838±36	1115-911BC	1.00
BlN-4731	2696±39	914-800BC	1.00
BlN-4888	2963±31	1297-1110BC 1103-1072BC 1068-1056BC	.94 .04 .01
BlN-4889	2784±37	1014-835BC	1.00
BlN-4890	2816±38	1112-1101BC 1087-1063BC 1058-893BC 875-849BC	.00 .02 .94 .03
BlN-4891	2762±35	997-831BC	1.00
BlN-5093	2907±32	1252-1240BC 1213-1005BC	.01 .98
BlN-4892	2838±31	1113-1099BC 1089-914BC	.02 .98

Bln-4893	2833±30	1111-1102BC	.01
		1086-1063BC	.03
		1057-908BC	.96
Bln-4894	2965±34	1304-1055BC	1.00
Bln-4895	2886±37	1209-1138BC	.14
		1135-973BC	.84
		958-938BC	.04
Bln-4896	2976±38	1371-1345BC	.03
		1316-1110BC	.92
		1103-1072BC	.04
		1068-1056BC	.01

Table 1: C 14 dates from the Sabr culture, Yemen. Calibrated with INTCAL04 (Reimer *et al.* 2004) (after Vogt *et al.* 2002).

tlement of Muweilah is much later than the evidence suggests. It has been noted numerous times that the columned hall at Muweilah is only part of a settlement that expanded, changed and was reconfigured throughout its existence.¹² It has clear Iranian influence in its design and we believe that the closest *known* parallel exists at Hasanlu. As we noted in our initial response to Muscarella, we are at a loss to explain this parallel and we do not rely on it to date the settlement of Muweilah. Rather we suspect that other and less-studied areas of Iran (Fars?) may hold the key to understanding the chronology and cultural ramifications of this parallel. This was made explicit in the paper to which Muscarella is responding.¹³

Carbon-14 Data

The most curious aspect of Muscarella’s paper is the section dealing with C 14 dates. After quoting some of these from Muweilah, Muscarella writes:

The C 14 dates given in Magee 2004, along with data given in table 1, do not manifestly prove the Iranian Iron II chronology argued. Here I stick my neck out, for I see a problem with the C 14 analysis; and I must leave a close analysis to C 14 statistical experts to debate (as they will also with my 2003 article that disagrees with another C 14 determination).

His appraisal is flawed in two essential regards.

First, and once again: Muweilah is not dated according to the Iranian Iron Age sequence, it is dating according to the south-east Arabian terminology.¹⁴ Therefore,

¹² Magee 2001; 2004.

¹³ Magee 2005b, 165-68. As noted in that paper the genesis of this idea rests with Prof. David Stronach who communicated this idea to me and noted it in a publication in 2003 (Stronach 2003).

¹⁴ Magee 1996a-b; 1997; 2001; 2003; 2004; 2005b-c; Magee *et al.* 2002.

it has never been argued that Muweilah is not occupied after 800 BC since the south-east Arabian Iron Age II period extends from 1100/1000 to 600 BC.

Secondly, Muscarella's comment that he sees a problem with C 14 analysis is perplexing. To make such a statement, to suggest, in essence, that he sees a problem with the manner in which nearly all biologists, geologists, chemists, atmospheric scientists and archaeologists measure an isotope of carbon and determine radiocarbon age, really requires a fuller explanation. Could it be that Muscarella is hinting at a problem with the counting methods employed by the laboratory that produced the Muweilah dates? Such an argument is not supported by the evidence: the Muweilah dates have come from three different world-class facilities in the USA, Australia and New Zealand and no inter-laboratory error has ever been noted for these dates. Might it be that Muscarella is making a reference to the issue of regional variation in C 14 concentrations in the troposphere?¹⁵ It is entirely true that

Muweilah Code Number	Lab Code	Locus	Material	C14 Age	2 sigma probability method	Relative contribution to probabilities
1	OZB802	Locus 2112	Date seed	2406±134	812-194BC	1.00
2	OZB803	Locus 2112	wood charcoal	2427±78	771-393BC	1.00
3	OZB804	Locus 1505	date seed	2488±67	784-477BC 472-414BC	.88 .12
4	OZB805	Locus 1505	wood charcoal	2943±182	1608-792BC	
5	OZB806	Locus 2307	wood charcoal	2334±116	782-164BC 129-120BC	.99 .01
6	OZB807	Locus 1704	wood charcoal	2885±144	1608-790BC	1.00
7	Beta 116112	97/200-102/200 baulk	wood charcoal	2560±60	829-507BC 459-453BC 439-419BC	.98 .01 .01
8	Beta 116117	13037 – Fire Pit		2680±50	967-964BC 929-786BC	.01 .99
9	Wk9243	50061	Beam	2650±40	898-783BC	1.00
10	Wk9244	50109	Beam	2530±50	803-508BC 458-454BC 439-419BC	.98 .01 .01
11	Wk9506	6051	Charcoal	2863±68	1260-894BC 873-849BC	.98 .02

¹⁵ Kromer *et al.* 2001.

12	Wk9572	12030	Date seed	2568±58	835-510BC 436-426BC	.99 .01
13	Wk11612	84009	Dates with flesh	2562±43	812-724BC 694-541BC	.49 .51
14	Wk11613	12033	Date seed	2489±51	798-537BC 528-524BC	.99 .01
15	Wk11614	12033	Date seed	2535±54	806-506BC 461-451BC 440-418BC	.97 .01 .02
16	Wk12369	84009	Charcoal (wood from date-seed bunch?)	2457±49	761-682BC 671-409BC	.25 .75
17	Wk12370	81042	Charcoal (beneath wall)	2623±50	905-749BC 687-666BC 642-567BC 578-567BC	.89 .04 .04 .02
18	Wk16169	81045	Dates with flesh	2592±41	832-747BC 688-665BC 645-553BC	.76 .09 .14
19	Wk16170	81054	Dates with flesh	2580±43	825-735BC 690-662BC 649-546BC	.63 .13 .24
20	Wk6171	81054	Beam	2592±51	892-878BC 844-724BC 694-541BC	.01 .63 .35
21	Wk16172	84017	Beam	2707±52	975-953BC 945-795BC	.04 .96
STAT1	Nos, 13, 16, 18 and 19			2554±21	799-750BC 639-582BC 19.87-666BC	.74 .17 .09

Table 2: C 14 dates from Muweilah, Area C. Calibrated with INTCAL04 (Reimer *et al.* 2004).

the Muweilah dates are calibrated with the INTCAL04 atmospheric data set that is largely constructed from low latitude dendochronological sequences (Table 3).¹⁶ However, even if we were to take in the correction factors noted for this effect from Gordion it would move the chronology 20 years or so not 300 years later as is implicit in Muscarella's 'critique'.¹⁷

As we are at a loss to understand the exact nature of Muscarella's objection to the Muweilah C 14 dates we will re-present here all of the dates, nearly all of which

¹⁶ Reimer *et al.* 2004.

¹⁷ Manning *et al.* 2001.

have been published before (Table 2). The following discussion is limited to Area C at Muweilah where all of buildings have been excavated. Several other areas, characterised by campsite occupation, have been excavated but these are not germane to this discussion.¹⁸

We want to explore some of these dates and how they have been used to reconstruct Muweilah's chronology. That some of the buildings at Muweilah were constructed before 800 BC can be concluded on the basis of several construction-related samples (for example nos. 4, 6, 8, 9 and 21). What does this actually mean? Let us take sample no. 21 from Building I. The measurement of C 14 in this sample when calibrated against atmospheric calibration curves determined by tree-ring data allow us to conclude that this sample exited the carbon cycle (i.e. was no longer living) at some point between 975 and 795 BC. That means that the tree or branch of a tree was felled either by anthropogenic means (person with an axe, for

Iron Age II Site	Code	Material	C14 age	2 sigma probability method	Relative contribution to probabilities
Husn Awhala	Beta 91469	Charcoal beam	2610±60	906-726BC 694-541 BC	.71 .29
Husn Awhala	Beta 91467	Charcoal beam	2610±60	906-726BC 694-541 BC	.71 .29
Husn Awhala	Beta 91468	Charcoal beam	2670±60	976-951 BC 948-763BC 681-673 BC	.02 .97 .01
Raki 2	Hd18743	Charcoal	2804±53	1114-1097BC 1093-833BC	.02 .98
Raki 2	Hd18790	Charcoal	2764±32	997-983BC 981-833BC	.03 .97
Raki 2	Hd18789	Charcoal	2864±34	1187-1183BC 1153-1148BC 1129-922BC	.00 .00 .99
Raki 2	Hd18742	Charcoal	2787±35	1014-839BC	1.00
Raki 2	Hd18765	Charcoal	2807±39	1067-1066BC 1055-840BC	.00 .99
Hili 17	PA1926	Charcoal	2760±40	1002-825BC	1.00
Thuqaibah	Ly 8939	Charcoal	2640±40	895-773BC	1.00
Thuqaibah	Ly 7762	Charcoal	2435±70	765-678BC 674-399BC	.23 .76
Rumeilah	Ly3076	Charcoal	3110±170	1747-913BC	1.00
Rumeilah	Ly3783	Charcoal	2970±150	1503-831BC	1.00

¹⁸ Magee 1996a: Areas A and B.

Rumeilah	Ly3078	Charcoal	2860±150	1434-777BC	1.00
Rumeilah	Ly3782	Date-seeds	2610±90	969-963BC 931-484BC 465-416BC	.00 .96 .04
Salut	Gx-31550	Charcoal	3130±80	1608-1569BC 1562-1193BC 1142-1133BC	.02 .96 .02
Salut	Gx-31773	Charcoal	2900±50	1260-972BC 959-936BC	.97 .03
Salut	Gx-31547	Charcoal	3110±60	1505-1252BC 1241-1213BC	.97 .03
Salut	Gx-31548	Charcoal	3030±50	1411-1152BC 1148-1129BC	.96 .04
Salut	Gx-31546	Charcoal	2910±50	1265-973BC 958-938BC	.98 .01
Salut	Gx-31771	Charcoal	2760±70	1112-1101BC 1086-1063BC 1058-800BC	.01 .01 .98
Salut	Gx-31770	Charcoal	3060±70	1493-1475BC 1461-1118BC	.01 .99

Table 3: C 14 dates from south-east Arabian Iron Age II sites. Calibrated with INTCAL04 (Reimer *et al.* 2004). Data published in Magee 2003 with the addition of Avanzini *et al.* 2005.

example) or, much less likely, by natural means (a strong wind). At some point after this it was used as a construction beam at Muweilah. It would seem likely that its final use is related to its demise: that is, it was chopped down to be used as a construction beam. This cannot be proven. Furthermore, it cannot be proven that there was not a significant time lag between the sample exiting the carbon cycle and being used in construction. But, this also seems unlikely. There are no buildings that we know of that are pre-Iron Age in date at the site so 're-use' is unlikely. Therefore, it can be stated confidently that the chopped-down tree was used for construction and, thus, the building was constructed sometime between 975 and 795 BC. This is based on the 2-sigma probability distribution of the calibrated date. This distribution incorporates 95.4% of the probability of the calibrated date. In all sciences, this amount of certainty is considered to be significant. A pre-800 BC date for some of the buildings at Muweilah is confirmed by other samples (nos. 4, 6 and 9).

Sample no. 8 is also of importance in this regard. As noted in a previous publication, this sample comes from a pit which was under one of the walls in Building I. Assuming there is a close chronological relationship between when the sample exited the carbon cycle and entered the pit then the pit was in use at some point

between 967 and 786 BC. The probability distribution quoted in Table 2 suggests the most likely interval in this period is between 929 and 786 BC. A wall was stratigraphically above this pit and this led us to conclude that construction occurred 'sometime after 920 BC'. This statement was deliberately phrased to acknowledge that it is impossible to work out exactly when the wall was constructed. However, the other C 14 dates and the artefacts combine to reinforce a chronology for the settlement that includes the 9th century BC.

One further sample, no. 11, is equally important. It comes from a stratigraphic probe against a retaining wall that was constructed to provide a level surface on which to construct an extension of Building I. The retaining wall was obviously in existence before the piece of charcoal was placed against it, therefore, we can conclude that the retaining wall was likely constructed before the lower limit of the calibrated sample (i.e. 840 BC). Since the extension of Building I lay directly above the retaining walls and was functionally coeval with them we can conclude that this extension was constructed likely before 840 BC. Once again, it is possible that the sample is much older than the context in which it was found. While this is possible, it should not take primacy over the alternative, and more likely, explanation that is supported by our observations of the stratigraphy and the other dates from the site.

All the samples discussed thus far relate to construction and use of the settlement. These combine to assert that the settlement at Muweilah was in existence before 800 BC.

That a fire destroyed the entire settlement of Muweilah was noted in several publications. How destruction levels are dated using C 14 is very complex and it must be accepted that it is impossible to ever be 100% confident of the relationship between a C 14 sample and the destruction of a settlement. However, by carefully choosing samples that are believed to have entered the archaeological record shortly before the destruction, this uncertainty can be lessened.

How is that done? Muweilah has produced many carbonised date-seeds and carbonised whole dates from the date palm tree. Most archaeologists would be content with focusing on all these samples to determine when the settlement came to an end since they would argue that such samples are likely to have been deposited shortly before the fire that destroyed settlement. However, since it is possible that date-seeds might have been discarded on a floor for sometime, it is preferable to focus only on the whole carbonised dates and a charcoal fragment found in association with them that might represent a twig from the bunch of dates or some sort of basket (nos. 13, 16, 18 and 19).

These four samples are statistically the same at a 95% confidence interval suggesting that they can conceivably represent a single radiocarbon event such as a

date-harvest. When averaged they have a C 14 age of 2554 ± 21 which is labelled as STAT 1 in Table 2. As we can see from the calibrated range there is a 74% chance that the true date of the averaged four samples is between 799 and 750 BC; a 17% chance that it lies between 687 and 666 BC and a 9% chance that it lies between 639 and 592 BC.

What do these numbers mean in reference to the destruction of Muweilah? Well, if it is accepted that there was a brief interval between when the whole dates were picked and when they were carbonised by the fire that destroyed the settlement then it can be concluded that (a) the destruction took place after 800 BC and there is a 74% likelihood that it occurred before 750 BC; a 17% likelihood that it occurred between 690 and 670 BC and only a 9% likelihood that it occurred between 640 and 600 BC.¹⁹ By taking into account some of the other carbon-14 dates we can modify this conclusion. For example, sample no. 10 is from a piece of charcoal that may be associated with the reconstruction of the eastern gateway. The calibrated ranges of this sample would caution against concluding that the destruction occurred immediately after 800 BC since the upper limit of the calibrated range of that sample is *ca.* 800 BC. This is the same with several other samples from the site (nos. 2 and 5).

There is one final comment that needs to be made, however, and it reflects what might at the core of Muscarella's misunderstandings. Muweilah is not just a columned hall (Building II)! The existence of numerous buildings *all of which are destroyed at the same time* has been noted in several publications.²⁰ However, that they are not all constructed at the same time seems likely. The construction C 14 dates quoted above relate mostly to Building I, which forms the core of the Area C settlement. It has not been possible to position the construction of Building II within the lifespan of the settlement. It must be remembered that Muweilah is not a tell site but rather a series of buildings horizontally spread out over within a walled enclosure, so determining a sequence is very difficult. It might be the case – and this has never been denied nor should it be quoted out of the context that follows – that Building II at Muweilah *might* date to the latter phases of the settlement, i.e. sometime in the 8th century BC – *if the settlement lasted that long*. One would have balance this possibility against the 74% likelihood that the settlement, including Building II, were destroyed before 750 BC. A further problem is that the calibration curve for the period from *ca.* 750 to 500 BC will never permit (a) a dating with absolute confidence of when the settlement was destroyed between 800 and 600 BC – even if at this stage there is a 74% likelihood it was before 750 BC; and

¹⁹ We have rounded these dates to the upper decade. It should be remembered that the atmospheric calibration curve is decadal in nature so accuracy below 10 years is not meaningful.

²⁰ Magee 2001; 2004; Magee *et al.* 2002.

(b) when Building II was constructed – if it was constructed towards the end of the settlement. In future seasons and as resources permit these issues may be tested by further C 14 dating but at the moment it is not a priority for our research since a tight chronology for the settlement has already been achieved.

The C 14 data from Muweilah reaffirms the earlier statements that the settlement existed by the 9th century BC. The new calibration dataset and some new dates permit us to further clarify the destruction of the settlement as coming sometime after 800 BC with a 74% likelihood of occurring before 750 BC and 100% likelihood of occurring before 600 BC.²¹ These are completely in line with all previous conclusions.

Contextual Data

The chronology of the south-east Arabian Iron Age II period in which Muweilah is situated confirms these conclusions. Muscarella glides over this data without ever addressing it but it is important since Muweilah is only one settlement in a much larger economic system that emerges in south-eastern Arabia during the local Iron Age II period. The settlement acts as an important trading entrepôt that engaged in overland trade with other settlements and long-distance trade with regional neighbours. Because of its destruction, it has provided a wide range of artefacts that are widely paralleled at numerous Iron Age II settlements in the United Arab Emirates and Sultanate of Oman.²² From six sites, there are 22 C 14 dates (Table 2) for this period. Seventeen of these dates (77%) fall before 750 BC. Even if we were unable to obtain C 14 data from Muweilah these comparative samples could be confidently used to date the site to before 750 BC.

Conclusion: Muweilah, Iran and the Chronology of the Iron Age

At a deeper level, Muscarella's objections to the chronology of Muweilah are not about Muweilah or the south-east Arabian Iron Age – topics he has never written about before. They are rather about the apparent belief that the chronology of the Iranian Iron Age, constructed at Hasanlu in the 1960s, is unassailable and that all regional chronologies must be defer to it. For two reasons, this is questionable. First, many Iron Age cultures and regional sequences in Iran remain unexplored. This is particularly the case with Fars, Kerman and the Iranian south-east. Kerman, in particular, does not at all adhere to the west Iranian sequence judging by the se-

²¹ Of course, these percentages relate to the amount of variation within the two sigma (95.4%) deviation of the calibrated sample.

²² The dates from Hili 17, Husn Awhala, Rumeilah, al-Thuqaibah and Raki were all published in Magee 2003. To these should be added the carbon-14 dates recently published from Salut by Avanzini *et al.* 2005.

quence from Tepe Yahya.²³ It is ill-considered to assume that the chronology established at Hasanlu in Iranian Azerbaijan in the 1960s somehow relates to these areas and, therefore, to whatever cultural connections might exist further afield (for instance Arabia or south Asia). Secondly, and explored in more depth in another publication, the chronology used to structure the Iranian Iron Age II and III periods is, in any case, fundamentally flawed.²⁴

When such evidence is combined with that emerging from south-eastern Arabia and the recent redating of the Anatolian Iron Age sequence on the basis of the destruction of Gordion, it would seem that Near Eastern Iron Age archaeology is about to experience its own 'radiocarbon revolution' just like so many other periods in prehistory have. This will have profound effects upon the chronology of artefacts such as ceramics and fibulae that were traditionally dated on the basis of stylistic analysis framed within a dubious historical/ethno-linguistic reconstruction. For the moment, it is not too much to say that the south-east Arabian Iron Age – dated entirely on the basis of radiocarbon chronology – is amongst the most accurate and precisely dated Iron Age regional sequence in the area stretching east of the Tigris to the Indus and south from the Caspian Sea to the Indian Ocean.

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²³ Magee 2005.

²⁴ Magee forthcoming.

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A CYPRO-PHOENICIAN OINOCHOE IN ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE

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Abstract

This paper deals with an Attic black-figure oinochoe found in a tomb at Marion but held at Nicosia, Cyprus. It is the opinion of the author that this oinochoe, and the fragments of oinochoai of the same type found on Cyprus, are clearly derived from Cypro-Phoenician jugs, which are themselves very late in a particular tradition of jugs in the Levant. The Marion oinochoe displays an extreme point in that development soon to be superseded by purely Greek forms. The features of this vase conform to the characteristics of Cypro-Phoenician jugs, showing distinct metallising features, but there are no exact parallels in East or West.

Introduction

The repertoire of Attic black-figure shapes is large, encompassing both traditional forms and some adaptations from external sources. Some of the best known 'imported' shapes are those from East Greece and Italy, in particular the later forms of the Ionian cup that became Komast cups, Siana cups and the kylix (including Band and Lip cups) and the well-known shapes from Etruria such as the carinated kantharos and the Nikosthenic amphora. More indirect influences are claimed for Attic lekythoi in their various forms,¹ and pelike and olpai may also owe something of a debt to eastern sack-shaped jugs. The much earlier production of plates has been interpreted as part of a manufacturing drive for a Levantine market.² However, the use of a distinct Levantine shape quite foreign to the Attic tradition and decorated in black-figure is rare. Such a vessel, not only exceptional in the Attic tradition but a chronological oddity in the Levantine sequence, is an oinochoe from the necropolis at Marion in Cyprus and currently held at the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.³

The oinochoe is one among many Attic black-figure vases on display in the Nicosia museum (inv. no C433). It was included in Beazley's *Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters*,⁴ and noted more for the fact that it was decorated with the Ajax and Achilles scene made famous by Exekias. It was attributed to the Euphiletos painter

¹ Culican 1975, *passim*.

² Coldstream 1988, 39-40.

³ My thanks to the Cyprus Museum for permission to publish.

⁴ Beazley 1956, 325.41, 441.2.

by Beazley, who briefly described it and noted its provenance. It has received some notice: the vase was also described by Gjerstad and said to be imitating Cypriot jugs of Type V,⁵ Beazley further called the vase one of several 'Cypro-jugs',⁶ and Robertson commented upon these examples and also suggested modelling on Cypriot shapes.⁷ This vessel, however, is of considerable interest and possesses several characteristics that warrant further investigation. First of all, it is a Levantine shape in Attic black-figure. Secondly, it is one of several of its kind found on Cyprus. Thirdly, this example was discovered in a Graeco-Cypriot cemetery on Cyprus as opposed to those found in 'Phoenician' sites on the island. Fourthly, it is very late in the tradition of the shape in the Levant and displays both strong metallising features and an extreme point in development; even if its features conform to the characteristics of other Levantine vessels, there are no exact parallels in East or West. Finally, the connections of the shape with metal prototypes suggest metal prototypes may have been of importance within the Attic black-figure tradition (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1: The vessel (Nicosia inv. no. C433, with permission of the Museumn).

⁵ Gjerstad 1977, 51.492.

⁶ Beazley 1948, 225.

⁷ Robertson 1981a, 70; 1981b, 33-34. Many other scholars have given the vase cursory attention, but none have strayed from the fundamental belief that the vase is, as Gjerstad, Beazley and Robertson contend, derived from Cypriot prototypes. A Phoenician inspiration is not mentioned (Carpenter *et al.* 1989; Laser 1987, 147, fig. 54).

The Context

There is some confusion about the exact context of this vessel. In the catalogue of the Cyprus Museum this oinochoe, no. 1603, is described as being from tomb 239, Necropolis II, of the 1886 excavations.⁸ However, in the index of the same catalogue the vase is said to be from uncertain tombs.⁹ Moreover, the vessel has been marked on its base with its inventory number and '1935'.

That the vessel is from a tomb at Marion, however, is without doubt. This site of the necropolis in which the oinochoe was found is that of Marion-Arsinoe, now under and around the modern village of Polis Chrysochous on the north-west coast of Cyprus at the mouth of the River Chrysochou (Fig. 2). Some curiosity value may be given to this river 'Flowing with Gold', but there is no evidence for sources of gold in the area, nor that the river itself had any particular significance for the wealth of the settlement. One may reasonably speculate, on the other hand, that sources of copper just 5 km to the north-east of the site were of importance. The copper ore deposits from this area were certainly mined in antiquity and were of such magnitude to warrant mining activity up to 1978.¹⁰

Marion-Arsinoe shows evidence of being inhabited as far back as the Chalcolithic period, but continuous settlement seems to have begun around 800 BC. Foreign contacts are confirmed from the 7th century BC onwards in the shape of

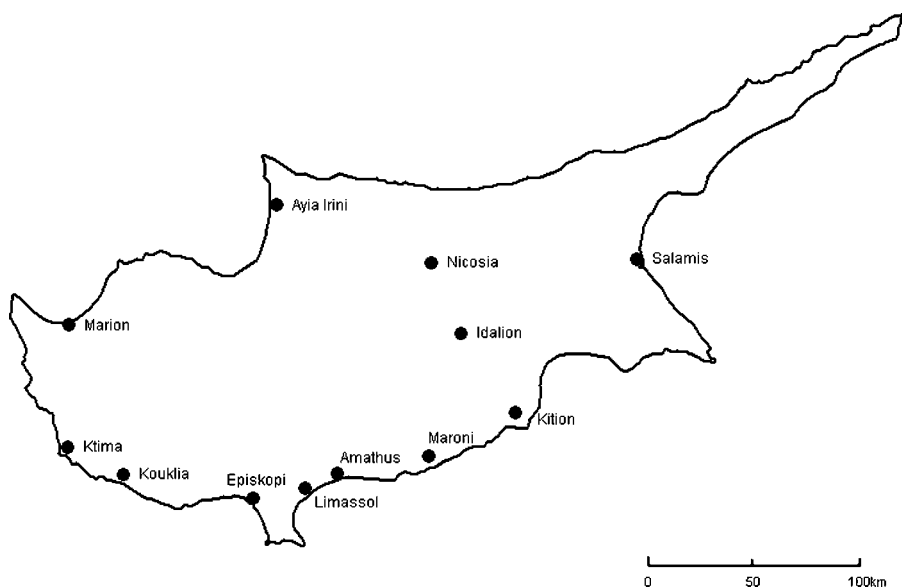


Fig. 2: Map of Cyprus.

⁸ Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, 84-85.

⁹ Beazley 1948, 225; 1956, 325.41, 441.2.

¹⁰ Childs 1988, 121.

Greek pottery, but the volume of imports increases sharply in the 6th century BC witnessed by the wealth of material in the necropoleis in this period. The city of Marion is listed as one of the Archaic kingdoms of Cyprus in the period in question and seems to have been quite prosperous until it became involved in the Ionian revolt in the opening years of the 5th century BC. There is evidence that parts of the Archaic city were damaged at about this time and the eastern half of the city was abandoned. Significantly, the city underwent re-planning in the early 6th century BC on an orthogonal plan, believed to be the oldest known such plan and suggesting a degree of interaction with the Greek world that must have been of some consequence.¹¹

The tombs at Marion-Arsinoe were first excavated in the 19th century by British and German teams, and then by the Swedish Expedition in the 1930s. The large cemetery surrounds the site on the east and south.¹² The Archaic-Classical tombs discovered in these excavations have similar forms: oval chambers entered through *dromoi*, sometimes with stairs.¹³ The content of these tombs does not show appreciable differentiation in wealth. Some tombs contained significantly larger quantities of burial goods, but these were simply used over longer periods in multiple burials. The amount of metal finds was greater, however, in the Cypro-Archaic II period and speculation has grown in recent years that there are aristocratic tombs to be found in the area.¹⁴

The lack of evidence in the necropolis for social stratification nevertheless permits us a view of non-aristocratic use of imports in the area. The proportionately large quantities of imports in this necropolis, particularly Attic, has been noted many times.¹⁵ This trade in Greek wares seems to have begun in the 7th century BC with predominantly Cycladic vessels,¹⁶ followed by Attic in the early 6th century BC. The Attic imports make up the majority of imports until the site's destruction at the end of the 4th century BC. It may be of some significance that Phoenician pottery has not been found in any great quantity at the site. Some objects, such as a *thymiateria*, several juglets and some Egyptianising faience are of Phoenician type, but these are hardly numerous (Fig. 3).¹⁷

It is notable that the number of Attic imports in these graves show a marked increase after the Persian conquest of the island, a phenomenon also observed at

¹¹ Childs 1988, with references.

¹² Herrmann 1888; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893; Munro and Tubbs 1890; Gjerstad 1935.

¹³ Herrmann 1888, 8-11; Gjerstad 1935, 181-83.

¹⁴ Childs 1997, 46.

¹⁵ Childs 1994, 107; 1997, 40; Reyes 1994, 142.

¹⁶ These are thought to be Euboean and Cycladic which when combined with speculation about Sidonian trade in the north of the island supports the idea of Sidonian-Euboean co-operation (Bikai 1987, 70; Fletcher 2004; 2006; Boardman 2001).

¹⁷ Childs 1997.



Fig. 3: Other jugs in Cyprus (after Gjerstad 1948, fig. XLIX).

Xanthos in Lycia.¹⁸ Whether this can be used to indicate cultural ties with Greece is of some interest, but is probably more symptomatic of the expansion of Greek trade during the 6th century BC.

The Vessel

The oinochoe was discovered intact. The figural scene has deteriorated somewhat and much of the paint from the figures has flaked off. No indications or records of restoration are present, and the current state of the vase seems to be original. Assigning a date and origin to the vase poses no difficulty. The style of the Euphiletos painter and the Ajax and Achilles scene places the vessel around 520 BC and it is without a doubt Athenian.

The vessel is approximately 25 cm high and has a ring base, slightly flared. The body is ovoid though rounded, almost spherical. The neck joins the body with a metallising carinated ring and tapers towards a pinched rim. The handle is the twin type, joining both the mouth and the body with metallising features. Below the join of handle and body there is a moulded palmette. The upper part of the neck, the mouth and the handle are black-glazed. Narrow rays cover the middle part of the neck, and on the carinated ring there is a zigzag pattern made up of connected dots. On the upper part of the body immediately below the neck ring is a small section of tongues. On the body, the lower quarter and the rear half are black-glazed, creating a panel on which the figured scene was painted. This scene is a variation upon the Achilles and Ajax playing dice made famous by Exekias on the amphora in the Vatican Collection from Vulci. Achilles and Ajax look down to the gaming board, while on either side of the players bearded warriors retire looking back towards the game. The execution of the scene is not of the highest quality, certainly not like that of the Exekias vase, and is probably derivative. Gjerstad considers the shape to be 'imitating Cypriote jugs of Type V'¹⁹ and there are reasons to

¹⁸ Metzger 1972, 194.

¹⁹ Gjerstad 1977, 51.

believe this on a superficial level; it is certainly supported by Beazley.²⁰ The almost spherical body is one point, and the narrow tapering neck. However, these features are also known in trefoil mouthed 'Phoenician' jugs. Moreover, the handle and its connection both to mouth and body are definitely *not* like Cypriot type V, but do have almost exact parallels in 'Phoenician' jugs.

To pursue this point a little further, let us look at 'Phoenician' jugs in more detail. Gunnar Lehmann, who has produced the definitive work on Syrio-Phoenician pottery in the later Iron Age, identifies eight forms of jug during this period with Levantine origins and germane to the present study.²¹ These forms may, following Patricia Bikai, be roughly classified or simplified into three groups that are relevant to the oinochoe from Marion: the long-necked with inverted pear-shaped body; the pitcher with globular body and slender, conical neck; and the pitcher with slightly globular body and conical neck, but in which the body and neck are less distinct (Fig. 4).²²

Bikai makes a point of stating that the relation between these types is not exactly clear,²³ but both she and Lehmann acknowledge, as should be clear from even a cursory inspection of the forms over time, that they are closely related. There are characteristics that often overlap: the trefoil mouth has a similar variation in all three types; the handle varies similarly though is more often than not a double han-

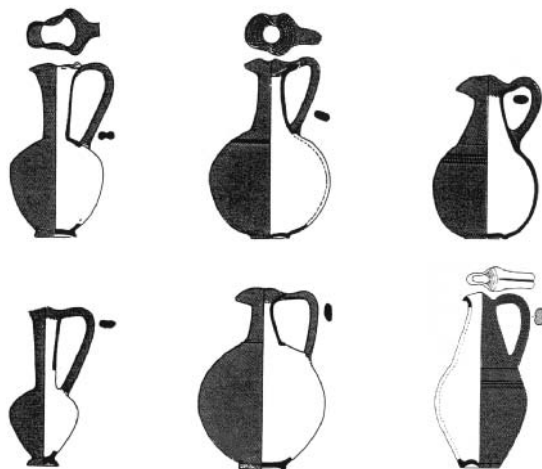


Fig. 4: Three types of Phoenician ceramic jug (after Lehmann 1996, Taf. 49).

²⁰ Beazley 1948.

²¹ Lehmann 1996, Taf. 48-49, Forms 300-307.

²² Bikai 1987, 49-50.

²³ Bikai 1987, 49.

dle and attached almost uniformly to the upper shoulder; and the globular body on the last two types can often make it difficult to classify a particular vessel between the two forms, particularly in 9th- and early 8th-century BC examples.²⁴ Quite obviously, however, it is form 1 and form 2 that show the closest similarities to the Marion vase. Form 1 is of particular interest because many examples of this type show metallising features both in the form of small knobs on the rim at each side of the handle junction and at the join of handle with body. Although Culican pointed this out,²⁵ this very particular feature has not been noted in subsequent typologies. An interesting variation is a number of vessels, mostly unpublished, which very closely resemble the form of the Marion vessel and are exemplified by a vessel from Khirbat Islim Grotte str. 4 (Fig. 5).²⁶

The chronology of the Khirbat Islim form is not well understood, nor is its relation to the usual Levantine oinochoe forms. One will note that it has similarities to all three of Bikai's forms and perhaps also to many Cypriot forms. The Black Slip 'quite different from any Black Slip of Cypriot tradition'²⁷ also makes these vessels stand out. Since it has close correlations with Bikai's form 1 and because the Khirbat Islim vessel was found with 8th-century material BC, these Black-Slipped vessels are assumed also to date to the 8th century. However, the vessels on Cyprus most like the Khirbat Islim vessel are from contexts datable from the 8th through

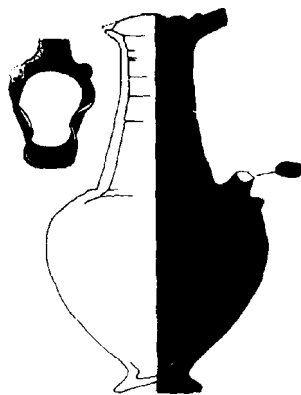


Fig. 5: Khirbat Islim vessel (after Lehmann 1996, Taf. 49).

²⁴ For example, the almost spherical body and narrow neck in Lehmann's 301/1 although it must be called form 2 (Lehmann 1996, Taf. 49 and Bikai 1987, 370), has the incised lines and, albeit very, very slight, carination that one would associate with Bikai's form 3. On the other hand, Bikai 1987, 403 must be classified as form 3, but has an almost spherical body making it very close to form 2.

²⁵ Culican 1982, 64.

²⁶ Culican 1982, 64, Abb. 8h.

²⁷ Culican 1982, 64.

to the 6th century BC.²⁸ It is, in fact, very close to the Marion vase in shape and shows distinct metallising features in the same way. Similar to the Khirbat Islim form are trefoil mouthed jugs from 8th- to 7th-century BC contexts at Akhziv. These jugs are even closer in form to the Marion vase and seem to be a continuation of forms 2 and 3 into a long-necked, globular form. The two shown here (Fig. 6) are from Akhziv tombs XVII (11) and XXXVI (18) and probably date to the 7th century BC.²⁹

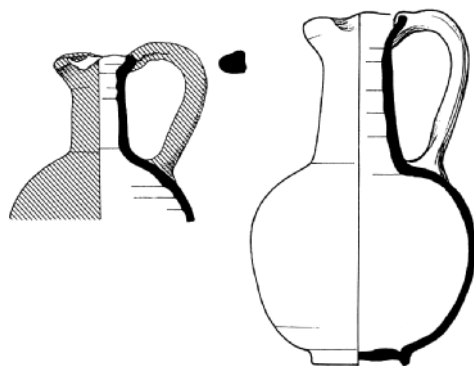


Fig. 6: Akhziv oinochoai, tombs ZR XVII, XXXVI (after Dayagi-Mendels 2002, 125, fig. 5.8.1-2).

Of the conventional forms and their chronology one thing is agreed in regards to Form 1: Lehmann places it in his Assemblage 1 (up to 720 BC), Bikai in her Salamis horizon (roughly 850-750 BC), and Culican also points to a 9th- to 8th-century date.³⁰ Lehmann does not believe that this form continues into the 7th century BC, though the globular form 2 may continue into the 7th century, and form 3, in the biconical variant, perhaps as far as 650 BC.³¹ That these forms should have ceased to be used in Levantine contexts in the 7th century seems peculiar, for three reasons: similar jugs or pitchers continue in Cypriot forms (and the Khirbat Islim form may continue also); form 3 certainly continues in the western Mediterranean in increasing elongated forms (see Fig. 7); and it raises the question of what vessel replaced the Phoenician jug for pouring, since no new pouring forms

²⁸ For example, Gjerstad 1948, type IV and type V wares such as fig. XLIII. Culican believed this type of vessel to be well within the Red slip tradition but not to be placed in Gjerstad's Cypriot type IV, therefore before 650 BC (Culican 1982, 75). However, the Khirbat Islim contexts are not clearly defined and there are many similar type IV vessels that could lead us to place the Khirbat Islim form in the 7th century.

²⁹ Dayagi-Mendels 2002, 67, 92, 124-25.

³⁰ Lehmann 1998, 30; Bikai 1987, 62; Culican 1982, 64.

³¹ Lehmann 1996, form 302.



Fig. 7: Elongated form 3 from Monte Sirai (author's illustration).

seem to have been used from the 7th century BC onwards. Of course, it is possible that these oinochoai simply had no further use, as shapes do disappear and are replaced with other forms. However, the continuity of the three Levantine forms elsewhere, particularly in the western Mediterranean and Cyprus, and the very rare appearance of these in Levantine contexts in the later 7th and the 6th century BC (for example Lamon and Shipton 1939, pl. 3, 86) suggest that Phoenician use of these vessels became much more limited, at least in their ceramic types. In sum, while the three forms of oinochoe are closely related, their chronologies are diverse. They do not appear in ceramics in the Levant after the middle of the 7th century BC, but they do continue in the west and on Cyprus.

A possible explanation for the seeming disappearance of these oinochoai in the Levant may be found in the contexts in which the vast majority of these vessels were found. Oinochoai are found very often in graves and it may be that the tradition of including these vessels as grave goods simply changed.³² It may be of some significance that Culican mentions that the trefoil-mouthed jug is held by votaries

³² Lehmann (1996; 1998) suggests a move towards imports. Also Boardman 1991; Johnston 1991.

carved on Phoenician ivories.³³ The almost ubiquitous presence of such trefoil-mouthed jugs in Levantine tombs in the western Mediterranean may also be significant, and the continuity of the tradition in the west may owe much to the conservative nature of western Phoenician funerary customs.³⁴ This makes one suspect that this type of vessel had a particular ritual and funerary use. Such an application, combined with the evidence that the later versions we have were metallising to a much greater degree than 8th-century BC versions, particularly those with a Black Slip,³⁵ suggests the continued use of the shape in metal versions, perhaps in ritual employ. It is perhaps also of interest that the ceramic and even the metal jug forms that continued in the tradition of the 8th-century types developed in the west into increasingly elongated forms (Fig. 8). This did not happen in the Levant. In fact, there are fewer examples of the biconical form than of earlier forms and the development of this form seems to have arrested at a truly biconical stage (Fig. 9). Metal

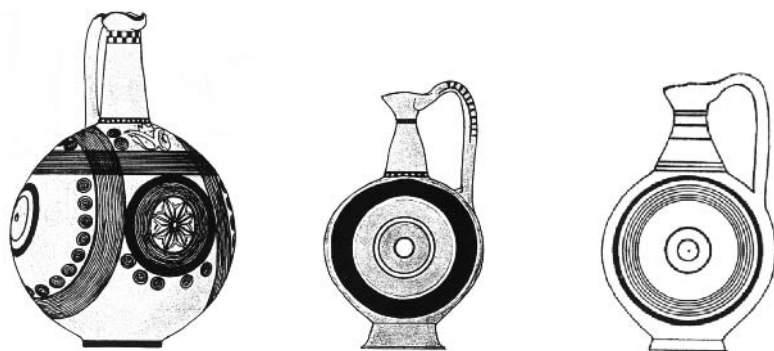


Fig. 8: Cypriot examples of Type V jugs (after Gjerstad 1948, fig. LV).

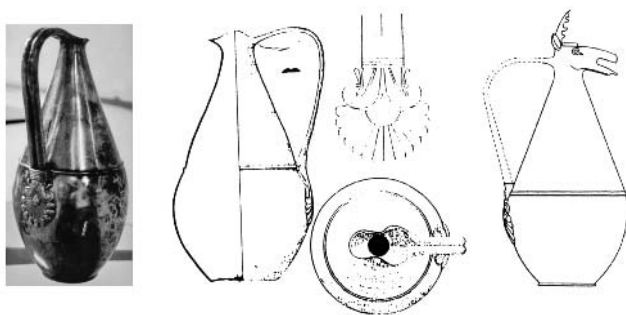


Fig. 9: Metal features from Pontecagnano and Alcalá del Río (after Aubet-Semmler 2002, 235, fig. 4).

³³ Culican 1982, 64; Mallowan 1966, fig. 481.

³⁴ Gras *et al.* 1991.

³⁵ Culican 1982, 64.

examples, probably the latest we have though without context, are in the Cesnola collection and these show a continuation of the globular body, though perhaps with an increasingly elongated neck.³⁶

There are several pieces of evidence that support the argument for metal jugs of this type. The first is the metallising features already mentioned in examples from elongated form 1 and from actual metal examples of form 3 throughout the Mediterranean. This is particularly relevant when one considers the longevity of these forms into at least the 7th century and perhaps later.³⁷ Secondly, the Attic black-figure jug at the centre of this paper itself shows distinct metallising features which are simply *not* to be found in Cypriot pottery examples. Looking at these Cypriot jugs, one sees close parallels to the Attic jug in all features *except* the metallising palmette and handle attachments at mouth and shoulder. It is certainly within the realms of possibility that this metal form of jug had a longer life, perhaps in a ritual function, than the ceramic version.

The possibilities for the inspiration behind the Marion vase may therefore be summarised as follows:

1. That this was an attempt at an archaising Phoenician jug.
2. That the jug is a copy of a Cypriot pottery type of the 6th century BC.
3. That the vessel imitated metal prototypes copied in both Phoenician and Cypriot pottery types, but for which we have few actual examples.

Although there is no reason to dismiss any of these possibilities, we may suspect that the first of these is unlikely. The Phoenician type most similar to our Attic example in shape is Bikai's form 1, which is almost unanimously agreed to come from the 9th and 8th centuries BC. Some vessels may be later, particularly the Black-Slipped examples mentioned by Culican (see above), but those placed in later contexts have often been dated erroneously or belong in different classifications. Two examples amongst many may suffice: a jug from Megiddo said to be dated 620-550 BC is almost certainly not related to form 1; the long-necked jugs of Gjerstad fig. XLIII in his *Red Slip II* (IV) are mixed in with both earlier and later forms (for example the much earlier juglet no. 5 with the later mushroom-lipped jug no. 4) and probably demonstrate contexts in prolonged use (Fig. 8).³⁸ We cannot reject the idea that our vase is an attempt to copy these much older jugs, or that it is a copy of an heirloom, but it is unlikely given the almost 200 year gap.

³⁶ It should be mentioned that Culican long ago noted that the palmette termination at the body is derived from Egyptian models (Culican 1976; 1968)

³⁷ Lehmann 1996, forms 305-307.

³⁸ Lehmann 1996, form 300; Gjerstad 1948, fig. XLIII.

The Marion oinochoe does seem close in form to Cypriot examples of the 6th century BC. We *may* consider the vessels we see in Gjerstad as the most likely source of inspiration for our vase since there are several so close in form to seem almost identical. However, the metallising features of the Marion vase are unique and have *no parallels* in the similar Cypriot jugs. This is not a trivial objection. There is no Attic tradition of adding plastic palmettes at this stage to handle joins; even if we may find the metallising knobs at the mouth in a few examples of Attic black-figure, they are hardly common. These features are, however, ubiquitous in Phoenician metal jugs.

This leads us to the third possibility, the most likely. There can be no doubt that this vessel is foreign to the Attic tradition and that the closest parallels come from a combination of Cypriot and Phoenician forms. The form is close to Cypriot jugs, but the metallising features are from Phoenician jugs which are themselves related to Cypriot vessels. If one looks at Phoenician jugs such as those from Akhziv (Fig. 6) and Khirbat Islim (Fig. 5), one sees that there was a trend towards the Marion oinochoe. Metal vessels approximating this form can be found. The Cesnola jug 4919 (Fig. 10) is an obvious example. One must conclude, on

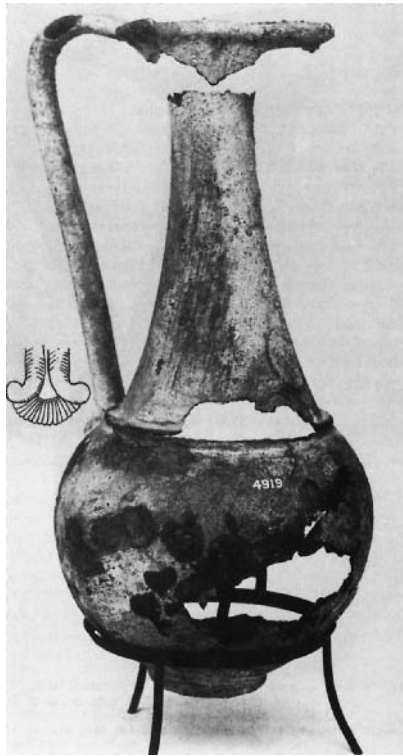


Fig. 10: Cesnola jug (bronze) 4919 (after Culican 1976, fig. 2).

the whole, that an Athenian potter saw a metal jug in this shape and decided to copy it.

Significance

The significance of the oinochoe from Marion is far greater than one may think upon first seeing it. First, it is a *Levantine* shape in Attic black-figure. The influence of Levantine shapes on Greek pottery is largely overlooked.³⁹ The disk lip of the Protocorinthian aryballos is too close to that of the Phoenician mushroom-lipped jug for coincidence, the so-called Samian lekythoi have been shown by Culican to have an origin (most likely) in the Levant, Corinthian lekythoi of the 6th century are obviously inspired by Phoenician prototypes, not to mention the probable inspiration for olpai in Phoenician sack-shaped jugs, Levantine plates in the 7th century BC, and various other jugs in East Greece. We are conditioned to expect foreign influences in the production of black-figure, but these have been thought to be largely western, more specifically Etruscan. Obvious examples are the carinated kantharos, the 'Nikosthenic' amphora and the small and tall kyathoi shapes that would appear to come directly from Etruria.⁴⁰ But Levantine influences in the Attic tradition are on the whole unknown, or unrecognised.⁴¹

This vessel is in fact one of several of a similar kind found on Cyprus. Gjerstad published three other examples of this type of oinochoe, all in Attic black-figure: fragments of two vessels from Marion without context, and one from Amathus.⁴² Robertson while remarking upon these fragments suggested another found also at Marion.⁴³ The fragments from Marion, from three different vessels, were made at about the same time as the oinochoe that is the subject of this paper, or perhaps a little earlier, and those published by Gjerstad show a Dionysian scene and a scene of Heracles with the Nemean lion. The Amathus jug is quite different. It would also appear to date a little earlier, perhaps closer to the middle of the 6th century BC, with a figured scene of uncertain meaning. Although fragmentary, the Amathus oinochoe does however show two interesting features: it has eyes on the rim (a rather rare feature for an Attic oinochoe) and a painted palmette below the handle. The reconstruction of this oinochoe does not permit a clear view of the

³⁹ The subject of a forthcoming paper by the present author.

⁴⁰ Malagardis 1997; Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 94-96; Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 136-37.

⁴¹ Much can be said about the impact of trade with Etruria on Attic vase production, but not much of it would be new. See Spivey 1995.

⁴² Gjerstad 1977, pls. LII, LIII, nos. 493, 494, 490. The fragments from Marion do not have their contexts recorded, though it is reasonable to presume that they came from the excavations from the 1880s and are therefore from the necropolis. The fragmentary oinochoe from Amathus came from tomb 129 of the British excavations.

⁴³ Robertson 1981a, 70; 1981b, 33-34.

join of handle to body, but the rim seems very similar to that of the Marion vase. The eyes on the rim have numerous parallels in Cypriot and Phoenician jugs of various types from the 7th and 6th centuries BC.⁴⁴ The eyes are also strongly reminiscent of animal-headed Phoenician jugs found all over the Mediterranean – particularly those in metal.⁴⁵ We therefore have a total of at least five oinochoe in Attic black-figure dating from about 550-530 BC from contexts in Cyprus: four from Marion and one from Amathus. However, four of these are indeed as Gjerstad and Robertson described them: they are far more reminiscent of Cypriot jugs than Phoenician forms. They have the same spherical bodies, long narrow necks and lack of plastic features that make them typical of Cypriot type V vessels. The Marion oinochoe being studied here, on the other hand, has a form more akin to Phoenician oinochoai, similar handles and trefoil mouth, and has the metallising features more like Phoenician jugs. It is, in fact, quite different from the four Cypriot jugs usually associated with it.

However we may seek to explain the presence of this vase at Marion, one thing is obvious here: the presence of an Attic black-figure oinochoe in a Cypro-Phoenician style shows that consumers in Cyprus were a factor in production in Athens. There was a view for the customer in the East and the influence of Cypro-Phoenician manufacture in Athens well after the Orientalising period. We are conditioned to believe in Etruscan influences on Attic pottery production, but the supply of pottery in indigenous forms from Greek sources has a far longer and more complex history. For example, the sophistication of Corinthian trade can be illustrated by a shape found only in southern Italy: the *boccaletto*. Much like the *brocca* found at Pontecagnano, this is not a Greek shape but related to a shape used extensively in Salento. Many are found at Otranto, dating mainly to the 8th century BC with a few from the early 7th, and are clearly of Corinthian manufacture. So, long before the production of *kantharoi* for the Etruscan market, Corinthian potters were producing a vessel that was solely for export and made to the requirements of a specific consumer group.⁴⁶ This also brings to mind the Euboean export of plates for the eastern market, which do not seem to have been used by Greeks at the time.⁴⁷ There is also the possibility that the Thapsos class was a type of export ware.⁴⁸ The Marion vase is clear evidence that the production of vases in Athens

⁴⁴ For example, Gjerstad 1948, pls. XLI, XLIX; also Fig. 4 above.

⁴⁵ Some examples are a bronze jug from Carthage (Culican 1968, fig. 1), a bronze jug from Zarza de Alange in Spain (Aubert-Semmler 2002, 235), and examples from Etruria which are clear copies of Phoenician prototypes (Culican 1968, pl. XX).

⁴⁶ D'Andria 1997

⁴⁷ Coldstream 1988, 39-40; 1998a; 1998b, 305-07.

⁴⁸ Neeft 1981, with references.

was at least to some extent dictated by consumers, in this case in the eastern Mediterranean.

There is one last point to be made in regards to this oinochoe. The connections of the shape with metal prototypes suggest possibilities within the Attic black-figure tradition. The arguments by Vickers and Gill for metal vessels being the inspiration behind Attic figured vases find some support in the Marion oinochoe.⁴⁹ There can be no doubt that this vessel is a copy of a metal prototype. Metallising features abound on the vessel: on the rim, on the base of the neck, on the join between handle and body. It is worth stressing that the palmette at the join of handle and body (in this type of vessel) is to be found almost exclusively on Phoenician metal jugs and only extremely rarely in pottery reproductions. If we take this hypothesis a little further, one may wonder at the choice of figured scene on this vase. The popularity of the Achilles and Ajax scene has been attributed to the artistic excellence of the Exekias painting of it, but is there any reason why we might not suppose that Exekias – and all the others – were not merely reproducing a scene on a famous vase, a *metal* prototype? The Vickers and Gill thesis would certainly lend credence to the idea, and it is supported by the fact that the whole history of Cypro-Phoenician jugs, from which the Marion oinochoe is derived, was always closely related to metal prototypes.

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⁴⁹ Vickers and Gill 1994.

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KING MIDAS' ASS'S EARS REVISITED

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Abstract

On several occasions the Phrygian King Midas was portrayed with donkey's ears in Greek literature and art. There is no text that offers a plausible explanation of Midas' strange appearance and later commentators provide many competing stories to account for his animal ears. A new interpretation can be offered on the grounds of a pre-Phrygian Anatolian tradition. The revised reading of the Luwian hieroglyphs on the so-called 'Tarkondemos Seal' reveals the donkey as an old Anatolian royal symbol. The Phrygians might possibly have adopted this kind of symbolism which later was lost or misunderstood. Greeks who provided their own interpretations of Midas' ass's ears only reinterpreted the original myth creating several *aitia*. Anatolian and Aegean Bronze Age survivals in Phrygian culture are being discussed as well.

J.D. Hawkins and A. Morpurgo-Davies's reading and interpretation of the Luwian hieroglyphs on the so-called 'Tarkondemos Seal' from the Walters Gallery collection¹ has proved to be of great significance not only for the Anatolian linguistics, but for early Greek and Phrygian studies as well. Drawing on this study, S. Morris resourcefully pointed out to a possible connection between King Midas' donkey's ears in the traditional Greek legend and the use of the donkey as an older Anatolian royal sign and symbol.² The aim of my article is to discuss a few further details of the problems concerning the image of the Phrygian King Midas in the Greek tradition.

King Midas was famous in Greek literature for his incredible wealth. By the mid-7th century BC he had already become proverbial for his riches, judging from a text by Tyrtaios (fr. 12). Although Midas' name has a negative connotation in the verse of the Spartan poet, his ass's ears are not mentioned. Other Greek authors also referred to Midas as a symbol of wealth (Aristophanes *Plutus* 287, Callimachus *Aitia* fr. 75, 47; Cicero *De Divinitate* 36; Plutarch *De nobilitate* 140; Aelian *Varia Historia* 12. 45).³ For the first time Midas appeared with ass's ears in the sarcastic verses of Aristophanes' *Plutus* (286-287). However, no story offers an explanation for this strange change in Midas' appearance. Fifty years or more before *Plutus* was staged (388 BC) the Phrygian king was already depicted with long animal ears on

¹ Hawkins and Morpurgo-Davies 1998; Hawkins 1998, 2-4.

² Morris 2003a, 8; 2003b, 10-12. Some preliminary notes on the same subject appeared in my book: Vassileva 2005, 27-35.

³ Discussed at length by Roller 1983, 302; see also Miller 1997, 846; and Vassileva 2005, 27-29.

Greek vases. He is portrayed in scenes on red-figure vases from Italy in an episode about the captured Silenus.⁴

The capture of Silenus by Midas (or the Phrygians) seems to have been much more popular in antiquity than we may think drawing on the preserved texts. Herodotus (8. 138) mentions

the Gardens of Midas, the son of Gordias, in Macedonia, where roses grow wild – wonderful blooms, with sixty petals apiece, and sweeter smelling than any others in the world. According to Macedonians it was in these gardens that Silenus was caught.⁵

Later texts describe a water source which the Phrygian ruler mixed with wine to catch the drunk Silenus. The spring was located either in Macedonia (Theopompus *FGrHist* 115F75a and b; Bion *FGrHist* 14F3) or Anatolia (Xenophon *Anabasis* 1. 2. 13; Pausanias 1. 4. 5).⁶ Fourth-century BC narratives speak about Silenus disclosing wisdom to King Midas about life and happiness (Aristotle fr. 44 Rose; Plutarch, *Moralia* 115b; Theopompus *FGrHist* 115F75c; Conon *FGrHist* 26F1).⁷

Illustrations of different episodes of Silenus' (or satyr's) capture appear on Greek vases. The earliest representations on Laconian black-figure vases are dated *ca.* 560 BC.⁸ The abovementioned depictions of Midas with ass's ears belong to the same mythological story.

A much later account, given by Ovid, provides an explanation of Midas' donkey's ears. Midas preferred the melody of Pan's pipe over that of Apollo's lyre. That is why Apollo punished him with ass's ears. The Phrygian king covered his animal ears with a purple tiara and only his barber knew his secret (Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11. 146-193). Conon, the Greek mythographer, explained Midas' long ears away with the fact that the king had a lot of eavesdroppers at his disposal (*FGrHist* 26F1). Scholiasts and lexicographers came up with more versions, none of them very plausible (Scholia ad Aristophanem *Plutus* 287a; *Suda s.v.* Midas; Athenaios 12. 516b).⁹

A different, earlier, tradition discusses a competition between Apollo and the Silenus or the satyr Marsyas (Herodotus 7. 26; Xenophon *Anabasis* 1. 2. 8-9). Be-

⁴ Miller 1997, nos. 38-40, Attic red-figure vases from Chiusi, Lentini and Vulci, *ca.* 440 BC; no. 41, a Lucanian red-figure amphora from Agrigento, *ca.* 380-360 BC; Brommer 1970, 56-57; Roller 1983, 305-06.

⁵ Translation by A. Sélincourt.

⁶ Roller 1983, 303; Vassileva 1997, 13; 2005, 17-19.

⁷ Roller 1983, 306-07; Vassileva 1997, 14-15; 2005, 20-23.

⁸ Roller 1983, 303; Miller 1997, nos. 7-8 and several other scenes of uncertain identity on Chiot vases and an Attic red-figure vase (nos. 15-17).

⁹ Modern scholars have also enriched the rationalising variants: Brommer 1970, 56-57, n. 50. For critical remarks on these explanations, see Roller 1983, 308, n. 67.

cause of Marsyas' Phrygian affiliation the story could have later been transferred onto Midas.¹⁰ However, nothing in the vase paintings suggests a musical competition or a punishment of the Phrygian ruler.

Some scholars interpret the presence of Midas' ears as a result of his association with Dionysiac figures.¹¹ In earlier scholarly literature Midas was interpreted as an ancient demon or fertility deity that turned into the first mythological king of Phrygia.¹² According to Philostratus, Midas was *in a way* a kin of the satyrs (*Vita Apollonii* 6, 27). Thus, it has been suggested that the similarity or identity with the Silenus or the satyr can account for the transfer of physical features of the Hellenic mythological figure to the representations of the Phrygian king.¹³ However, is this the only explanation? If the Bacchic elements on 4th-century BC Greek vases and in the satyr plays were the sources of the theriomorphic look of the Phrygian ruler, why do later commentators provide so many competing stories to account for his animal ears?

The answer may lie in a pre-Phrygian Anatolian tradition. One has to turn to the latest progress of Anatolian linguistic studies. The recently emended reading of the Hittite 'Rosetta Stone', that is, the silver seal of the king of Mira, might offer Anatolian perceptions of the donkey's ears attached to King Midas. Hawkins and Morpurgo-Davis suggested a reading of *TARKASNA-wa/i* (a logogram plus a syllabogram on the seal) for the king's name, the basic word *TARKASNA* meaning 'donkey or mule', and *-wa/i* – 'provided, equipped with'; in this way the name can be translated as 'rich in donkeys or mules'.¹⁴ It can be compared with Targasnalli, a king of Hapalla, one of the kingdoms created when Arzawa was split by Mursili II (1321-1295 BC),¹⁵ the other two being Mira and the Seha River Land. The 1st-millennium BC hieroglyphic inscriptions record the presence of a substantivised adjective in *-iya*, 'the donkey-like', 'the donkey's descendant'.¹⁶

In elucidating the difference and the connection between the two hieroglyphic signs *100 and *101, the authors admit that it is hard to differentiate between a donkey and a mule in the hieroglyphic representations (and consequently, in the exact meaning of the words). Such a distinction is also difficult to perceive on

¹⁰ See Griffin 1997, 92, who suggests that the music contest between Pan and Apollo may be Ovid's invention.

¹¹ This idea might find some justification in the other figures and scenes depicted on the Italian vases where Midas first appears with ass's ears: Dionysiac scenes on no. 41 and Thracian affinities in the clothes of the guards on no. 38 (Miller 1997, 849; cf. Marazov 2002, who considers the association of donkeys with the Cabylac mysteries).

¹² Eitrem 1931, 1526-28.

¹³ Roller 1983, 308.

¹⁴ Hawkins and Morpurgo-Davies 1998, 247-49.

¹⁵ Hawkins 1998, 10; Bryce 1998, 213-14.

¹⁶ Hawkins and Morpurgo-Davies 1998, 254.

many ancient Near Eastern pictorial representations.¹⁷ This difficulty could have possibly been reflected in the Greek word *hemionos*, 'semi-donkey'.¹⁸

A recent study of a number of Mesopotamian and Near Eastern examples has demonstrated that donkeys and mules were considered royal animals (mainly in the Semitic tradition). In the examples from the 1st-millennium BC Luwian texts alone, quoted for linguistic reasons by Hawkins and Morpurgo-Davies, it is clear that mules were considered a prestige (and royal) gift. One of the passages refers to Warpalawa, the king of Tyana, illustrated on the well-known rock-cut relief at Ivriz, where he wears a Phrygian fibula.¹⁹ The political activity of King Mita (Midas) in south-eastern Anatolia has also been considered at length.²⁰ It is worth reminding ourselves that Priam used mules, a princely gifts from the Mysians (Homer *Iliad* 24. 265-280), to bring the ransom for his son's body. Thus, for example, Jesus' entry into Jerusalem mounted on a donkey was not a sign of his imminent humiliation and then sufferings but a royal symbol.²¹

The ritual significance of the donkey is well attested in Anatolian written and archaeological records. The donkey is one of the substitutes in Hittite royal magic rituals.²² It is also a sacrificial animal in Luwian magic rituals.²³ One of the most often quoted Hittite mythological texts relates the story of the queen of Nesas (Kaneš) who had given birth to 30 sons and 30 daughters.²⁴ The donkey is attested in this narrative (I discuss this further below). At the same time, the sacrifices of donkeys were not common in Greece. It was only the Hyperboreans who sacrificed donkeys to Apollo (Pindar *Pythian* 10. 27-46). It is said that once a man decided to perform those same sacrifices at Babylon, but the god forbade him to do so and later punished him for his disobeying (Antoninus Liberalis 20).²⁵

The Greek visual and literary tradition of Midas and his ass's ears reflects none of this. In the light of the Anatolian evidence Morris is right in pointing out that the donkey's ears of the Phrygian ruler may echo an older Anatolian royal symbol,

¹⁷ On the different breeds of wild ass, onager and the different areas of their habitat, see most recently Lafont 2000, 208-10; Levinskaya 2004.

¹⁸ Levinskaya (2004) suggests that *hemionos* actually meant 'onager' and not 'mule', and that the epic and the visual images of the animal were Near Eastern borrowings in Greek culture.

¹⁹ Muscarella 1967a, 83-84; 1967b, 19-20; 1988, 422, n. 5; Boehmer 1973, 151-52; Berges 1998, 186, n. 27; Aro 1998, 221-22. Against the Phrygian origin of Warpalawa's fibula: Börker-Klähn 2004, 168.

²⁰ Hawkins 1993-97; 2000a, 42; 2000b, 427-28.

²¹ Lafont 2000, 218-20.

²² Named both *tarpalli-/tarpašša-* and *nakušši-* (Haas 1994, 897). On the eventual development of Luw. *tarpalli-* towards *imani-*, Hitt. *himma-* and the Phrygian *iman*, cf. Bayun 1992, 135.

²³ Haas 1994, 647.

²⁴ *KBo* XXII 2, 9-10.

²⁵ Cook 1894, 88; 1925, 463-65; Hoffmann 1983, 63-64 (see below).

Hellenised in Greek myth.²⁶ The Phrygians could have adopted this donkey symbolism both in western and in south-eastern Anatolia. While involved in the late 8th-century BC political events in Tyana, Tabal and other neighbouring areas, the Phrygians could have become acquainted with the donkey/mule hieroglyphic sign and its royal symbolism. We cannot prove this, since we do not have any visual or written evidence of donkeys/mules in the Phrygian domestic record. Therefore, it was probably the Greeks who first made the association between the Anatolian symbol and the Phrygian king, although we cannot definitely exclude the Phrygians making use of the same symbolism. Rather it might have been Phrygian political intervention in south-eastern Anatolia that contributed to the Greek inability to distinguish between 'Phrygian' and 'Tabalian', for example.²⁷

We should also remember that it was on the western and south-western Anatolian coasts where the Mycenaean and early Greek world came into contact with the Near East. Phrygian epigraphy furnishes further evidence for these contacts. The Mycenaean titles *wanax* and *lawagetas* survived in Old-Phrygian. An inscription on one of the most imposing Phrygian rock-cut façades, the so-called 'Midas Monument' in 'Midas City' is a dedication from Ates to Midas who is named *lavagtaei vanaktei* (Dat.).²⁸ It is surely no coincidence that survivals of both Aegean and Anatolian royal signs are being found or associated with Phrygia.

The name of *TARKASNA*-wa, king of Mira, that appeared on the silver seal mentioned above, was found in the Karabel rock-cut hieroglyphic inscription as well.²⁹ This inscription could possibly have marked the border between Mira and Milawanda-Miletos.³⁰ The most recent Luwian hieroglyphic inscription discovered in western Anatolia, at Latmos, also shows the donkey-sign.³¹ The text itself refers to the Great Prince, probably Kupanta-Kuruntiya, the nephew of Mursilis II and adopted son of the king of Mira. The inscription is damaged and the context of the donkey-sign remains obscure.

²⁶ Morris 2003a; 2003b. The idea about a visual pun on the grounds of the Luwian hieroglyphs is worth considering. The Greek response to a 2nd-millennium BC Anatolian symbol can be considered in the context of other Oriental motifs in Greek art and myth that turned 'the Orientalizing period into a long-lived phenomenon' as discussed by S. Morris (1997, 62-63, 68).

²⁷ Cf. Aro 1998, 222, who claims that it is hard to distinguish Phrygian from Tabal metal objects and in many other classes of objects as well.

²⁸ Brixhe and Lejeune 1984, M-01a.

²⁹ Hawkins 1998, 1-10. The text accompanies a relief, situated in a pass across the Tmolos Mountain between Ephesos and Sardis.

³⁰ Hawkins 1998, 23-24; Peschlow-Bindokat and Herbordt 2001, 366; Hawkins 2002, 150.

³¹ Peschlow-Bindokat and Herbordt 2001, 370, Abb. 5; Peschlow-Bindokat 2002, Abb. 8-10.

Recently, the interest in the Achhiyawa-question has increased.³² At present almost nobody doubts the identification between Achhiyawa–Mycenae and Milawanda–Miletos.³³ The Luwian inscriptions mentioned above from Karabel and Latmos contribute to the picture of cultural interactions in western Anatolia. King Midas' ass's ears could be considered among the survivals of the Bronze Age Anatolian–Mycenaean cultural exchange. This is strongly suggested by Midas' titles cut on the façade at 'Midas City'. Previously scholars suggested that these Mycenaean titles were borrowed by the Phrygians while still in the Balkans.³⁴ But it is also possible that the Phrygians adopted these titles after their immigration into Anatolia.

Another possible connection between the Phrygian King Midas and the donkey or ass lies in the realm of religious practice. In Greek literary tradition, the association of Midas with Dionysiac religion is mentioned in several texts. Ovid says that he was initiated in the mysteries by Orpheus and Eumolpos and immediately recognised the captured Silenus as his companion (Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11. 92–94). According to Hesychius, '*onos agei mysteria*' (*s.v. onos*): the Eleusinians performed the sacred rites with the help of donkeys (Aristophanes *Ranae* 159).³⁵ According to a late mythographic version it was the donkey that brought the child Dionysos to the Nysa Mount (Oppian *Cynegetica* 4. 242–250).³⁶ In a damaged and obscure passage from the Gurûb papyrus (3rd century BC), a donkey is mentioned next to *boukolos*.³⁷ The syntactical connection between *onos* and *boukolos* here is unclear but that the ass stands for a *mystes*/initiate is generally accepted.³⁸ Donkeys seemingly played a role in the Orphic–Dionysiac mysteries and their symbolism.³⁹ As I have argued elsewhere, the similarities between Phrygian and Thracian rites, noticed by the Greeks (Strabo 10. 3. 13–16), could have accounted for the Phrygian migration story and for Midas' Macedonian affiliation in Greek narrative (Herodotus 7. 73; 8. 138).⁴⁰

³² The bibliography is copious, see, for example, Latacz 2001, 54–57; 2004, 120–28; Hawkins 2002, 151; Bryce 2003a; 2003b, 199–212; Genz 2004; Niemeier 2002; 2005.

³³ Bryce 1998, 59–63, 342–44; Hawkins 1998, 30–31; Latacz 2004, 122.

³⁴ Huxley 1959, 97–98, who also considers Aeolis; Brixhe 1993, 340.

³⁵ Mylonas 1974, 252; sceptical remarks by Keuls 1997, 48, n. 30.

³⁶ Cf. Keuls's remarks (1997, 44) that there is no iconographic evidence about this myth.

³⁷ West 1983, 171.

³⁸ Hordern 2000, 134, 139.

³⁹ However, it is hardly only the symbol of toil and suffering that the ass retained from the Orphic rites as Keuls thinks (1997). On Midas being associated with the Orphic rites, see Roller 1983, 309–10.

⁴⁰ Vassileva 2005, 19–26, 34–35, 50, 56–57, *passim*. The donkey in Dionysiac and Orphic contexts might have been a mark of initiation rites in which sacred marriage was performed, see further below. There is a visual representation of a (royal/aristocratic) couple in an act of copulation from Thrace, on one of the 4th-century BC Letnitsa silver-gilt appliqué: Marazov 1998, no. 92.

This connection of Midas with Dionysiac cult offers a further association of the Phrygian king with ass's ears. Silenoi and satyrs were represented mounted on donkeys and mules throughout antiquity.⁴¹ Dionysos and Hephaistos were the mythological figures most often depicted riding donkeys on Greek vases. The earliest image, however, is that of Hephaistos on an ithyphallic donkey on the 'François Vase'. After the mid-6th-century BC depictions of Dionysos riding an ithyphallic donkey became more common. An oinochoe, a flute box or a human figure hanging on the donkey's phallus were represented.⁴² Or, in other words, the ithyphallic status became associated with the flute tune (respectively, with the rites in which this musical instrument was played).

In literature of Hellenistic and Roman times the donkey is well projected as a symbol of extreme sexuality, of lust and adultery: one should only look at Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* or *The Golden Ass* for the best of examples. Donkeys were sacrificed to Priapos at Lampsakos: the myth explained that their bray stopped the advances of Silenoi (or satyrs) at nymphs (Ovid *Fasti* 1. 391; 6. 345). According to W. Burkert, the ritual castration of the animal was performed just at the moment of its sacrifice where the sexual symbolism had a special value.⁴³

The sexual symbolism of the donkey has most recently been considered in an Indo-European context by C. Watkins: he compared the Ásvamedha ritual, the story about the queen of Nesas, the Greek myth about the 50 daughters of Danaus, and the origin of the dynasty at Argos. The queen of Nesas gave birth to 30 sons at once. She put them in a basket 'and launched them in the river. The river carried them to the sea, to the land of Zalpa' (on the Black Sea).⁴⁴ Later on, she gave birth to 30 daughters who she herself reared. When the sons grew up they returned to Nesas riding a donkey and married their sisters.⁴⁵ All of the texts discussed are foundation myths or origin legends, where the major issues are the kingship, the reaffirmation of the kingship and the assurance of fertility. Among the key elements there is a woman (without a partner), a prolific prodigious generation, forbidden sexual union and a donkey/horse as a symbol of intense sexuality. The incest is not

⁴¹ Simon 1985, 218-20. The earliest pictures of Silenoi are on Attic black-figure vases where they are riding donkeys and chasing nymphs: Carpenter 1986, 81; Hoffmann 1983, 61; Hedreen 1992, 74.

⁴² For example, on an Attic black-figure amphora in Beazley 1963, 283.1, see Hoffmann 1983, 61; Carpenter 1986, 26.

⁴³ Burkert 1983, 68-69. This sacrifice could possibly make a reference to the Ásvamedha ritual (see below).

⁴⁴ Watkins's translation (2004, 70).

⁴⁵ On their way back they stopped in a city and said: 'Here you have so heated up the bedroom that the donkey tries to copulate' (Watkins 2004, 70).

attested in the *Aśvamedha* ritual, which in its turn is unknown in Greek ritual practice.⁴⁶

According to Greek tradition, the sacrifice of donkeys among the Hyperboreans was actually observed by Perseus before he went to slay Medusa. The sexuality of the animals is again underlined: 'beasts' rampant insolence' (Pindar *Pythian* 10. 36).⁴⁷ Even more interesting is that Perseus is called *lagetas*, a rarely found survival of the Mycenaean title *lavagetas*. The allegoric meaning of the much discussed 'donkey passage' in the *Tenth Pythian Ode* has been interpreted as 'Other'-worldly, as a 'Hyperborean' existence in the Paradise. Thus, the donkeys (their sacrifice, flesh) were associated with heroes and gods.⁴⁸

On the grounds of 'detachable formula', Watkins argues for 'detachable themes', 'which may be deleted from one context and inserted in another', a process he calls 'genetic intertextuality'.⁴⁹ Several major Indo-European detachable themes can be found in Midas' mythology as well. In several stories Midas becomes founder of the Phrygian kingdom and dynasty (although there is no donkey in them) (Arrian *Anabasis* 2. 3. 2-6; Justin 11. 7. 3-13).⁵⁰ There is no extreme sexuality in Midas' behaviour, but the idea of fecundity and prodigious abundance can be translated in myth by his miraculous 'golden touch'. As the above mentioned process is a folklore feature, one can advance the idea of 'detachable scenes' or 'detachable images' as well. Some of the representations on the Greek vases had been inspired by folklore scenes. Thus, Midas' ass's ears in Greek vase painting can be 'detached' and inserted in scenes where there is no evident sexual connotation. And again, the royal symbolism is being preserved. Coming back to Watkins's article 'The Third Donkey: Origin Legends and Some Hidden Indo-European Themes', one could contemplate considering the Phrygian King Midas along these Indo-European patterns as the fourth donkey.

Recent epigraphic evidence from Anatolia could allow for a new consideration of the image of King Midas with ass's ears. An old Anatolian royal symbolism sur-

⁴⁶ Watkins 2004, 76-77.

⁴⁷ Loeb translation; Watkins 2004, 78.

⁴⁸ Hoffmann 1983, 64. Hoffmann's interpretation of the 5th-century Attic rhyta, combining halved heads of a donkey and of a ram is worth noting: 'splitting' (but also uniting) Apollo and Dionysos. An echo of the same dichotomy could be found in Midas' image as revealed in Greek literary tradition (see Vassileva 1997, 13-15; 2005, 26, 34, 120-21).

⁴⁹ Watkins 2004, 77-78. The proverbial sexuality of the ass can be found in Semitic, Sumerian and Babylonian contexts as well, but not in relation with kingship and foundation myth (West 1997, 499; Hordern 2001, 39-40).

⁵⁰ This is the story about the Gordian Knot and it includes a sacred marriage. Slightly different versions of the story are found in Curtius 3. 1. 11-18 and Plutarch *Alexander* 18. Although Gordias is named as the father of Midas and his wagon was dedicated in the temple of Zeus Basileus, all ancient writers consider Midas as the founder of the Phrygian dynasty (see Roller 1984; Vassileva 2003).

vived in the Greek visual and textual representations of the Phrygian ruler, although distorted and transformed.⁵¹ The donkey's sexual symbolism was attested in many Near Eastern traditions and in Greek and Roman literature as well. Probably this abundant sexuality contributed to the donkey's becoming a royal symbol in Near Eastern cultures,⁵² while turning into a figure of ridicule and scorn in Greek texts and art. The Anatolian echo of Tarkasnawa was processed by the Greeks to produce the strange look of the Phrygian ruler on Greek vases. Indeed, the appearance of Midas with ass's ears was so strange that the original rationale for the ass's ears was lost and no plausible account for his animal ears survives in Greek texts. We should also note the importance of Aegean Bronze Age royal survivals, which can be detected in the titulature of the Phrygian king. It was not only the Anatolian background that provided the basis for Midas ass's ears. Midas' involvement in cult and religion, especially his relation with Dionysiac (respectively satyriac and silenic) figures, as well as his Orphic associations might have also shaped his donkey-like appearance. The amalgamation of Anatolian and European Bronze Age survivals took place along the line of the Indo-European intertextuality. Greeks might not have always understood the detached images and interwove them into other contexts, creating new aetiological stories. The increasing evidence for contacts between the Anatolian and early Greek world show that associations, the 'detachments' and the new 'attachments' might well have occurred on Anatolian soil.

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Abbreviations

KBo *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (Leipzig/Berlin).

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⁵¹ S. Morris's discussion (1997, 63-67) on the social context of Orientalisation is very useful. In the case of Midas, eastern Greek sanctuaries should be considered as a probable media for Oriental survivals and Greek transformations. However, in this particular case, I would rather favour (unlike Morris) the elites and the aristocratic families as the social milieu of the process discussed.

⁵² The fertility meaning of the Old Indic ritual and of the Old Hittite and Greek mythological texts, involving the king (and the queen) is obvious, as discussed by Watkins (2004).

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GEOPHYSICAL RESEARCH AT AKALAN

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Abstract

Akalan, situated 2 km south of Yeniköy in the village of Çatmaoluk near the town of İlkadım, is a fortress-type settlement established on the steep slope of a plateau. At Akalan geophysical research was carried out in 2002 and 2003 by a team under the direction of Emin. U. Ulugergerli of the Geophysical Engineering Department of Ankara University. The project was based on the use of measuring instruments in conjunction with electromagnetic and electrical methods. Using ground-penetrating radar (GPR) and direct current resistivity (DCR) the aim was to obtain accurate information on the depth, extent and position of the building remains expected to be found below the surface. In the first stage reflection data was taken from points at intervals of 0.10 m along parallel lines on average 20 m long and 0.50 m apart. The details were processed to obtain information on the area underground. In the second stage, as well as making geo-electrical cross-section of the general profiles, the remains of another large structure were located.

Introduction and Background

Akalan (Figs. 1-2), south of Yeniköy in the village of Çatmaoluk near the town of İlkadım, is a fortress-type settlement established on the steep slope of a plateau.



Fig. 1: Map of the area.



Fig. 2: General view of Akalan from the north.

The fortress, bordered to the south, north and west by a small river, the Karadere (a tributary of the Kürtün) and its branches, all flowing into the Black Sea, was built at a strategic site commanding the two valleys to the north-west and south-west. The settlement, approximately 300 m in length and 50-70 m in width, is surrounded by a defensive system almost 500 m long (a significant proportion of it buried), built to make use of the topography. The rocks which covered most of the hill formed a natural foundation for the fortress.

The walls, the surviving sections of which are on average 4.50-5 m high, slope at an angle of 55-60 degrees on the north-eastern face and more steeply, at around 80 degrees, to the west. They are formed from large oversized rough stones (Fig. 3), while the gaps are filled with small stones. It is impossible to assess accurately the thickness of the walls, but it is understood that they were built using the 'massive' construction technique and have been damaged as a result of illegal excavations. Apart from its slope, the other important feature of the wall, which was probably high and made of mud bricks (*kerpiç*), is that its changes of direction are smooth, rather than at sharp angles. The fortress has two known entrances. The first and larger, now damaged, is on the south-east side between two large walls that resemble a tower (Fig. 4); the second and smaller is on the north-



Fig. 3: Sloping walls.



Fig. 4: South-east entrance.

east (Fig. 5). It is thought that the raised section, some 7-8m in height, at the centre of the fortress is a *höyük* formed from the remains of earlier periods.



Fig. 5: North-east entrance.

When passing through Samsun in 1906, Halil Bey, the assistant director of Müze-i Hümayun (now the Istanbul Archaeological Museum), visited Mihaliki Theodoridi, a famous dealer in antiques. Some of the items he saw attracted his attention – architectural plaques mainly of terracotta/clay – and he requested that Theodoridi find out their source and purchase similar objects on behalf of the museum from any villagers who might bring them in. When subsequent information revealed that the source was Akalan, Halil Bey decided to carry out an excavation of this site. This work, supported financially by J. Mülberg from Dresden, began in 1906 under T. Macridy Bey. The first, tiring task was to clear the fortress's defensive system of the overgrown bushes, often the size of trees, that enveloped it. After 25 days' work the fortress could be seen clearly. Photographs were taken and plans were drawn. An excavation lasting a single season was then undertaken.¹ This was the first important archaeological work in the Central Black Sea region of Turkey.

¹ Macridy 1907, 67-75.

Akalan was studied in turn by H.H. von der Osten in 1926,² U.B. Alkim in 1971³ and Ş. Dönmez in 1997 and 1998.⁴ Since 2000 continuing surveys and research have been carried out by Ö. Bilgi and Ş. Dönmez within the scope of various research projects.⁵ This work, together with excavations expected to commence in the near future, should help to answer all the questions raised about the site.

Alkim⁶ recorded that Early Bronze Age pottery sherds were found during the surveys he carried out at the fort and in its vicinity. In addition, an article was written by S. Przeworski which referred to the existence of Early Bronze Age (Copper Age) pottery at Akalan, an observation first made by von der Osten.⁷ This is important as it indicates that the first settlement at Akalan dates back to the 3rd millennium BC. After Macridy's excavations, a number of scholars recognised the significance of this Iron Age settlement and referred to Akalan in their writings.⁸

The most important and interesting group of finds from Akalan is that of clay/terracotta architectural plaques, roof tiles and pieces of acroters. The motifs on the plaques are formed of reliefs and matt paint – brick-red on cream, dark brown, brownish-black, greyish-black and yellowish-brown in colour. The plaques fall into two groups – drainpipe-hole and wall plaques. The first, which were probably attached to projections on the side of the roof, are decorated with compositions of lions and lion-panthers standing opposite each other. The wall plaques are richly decorated with compositions of several figures, with plant motifs (such as the lotus-palm tree frieze, a plaited border and plaited border-rossette motif), and geometrical designs (meanders, diamonds, rectangles and an envelope-shaped motif). Roof tiles were undecorated. The pieces of acroter are decorated with painted fish-scale motifs.

The architectural plaques indicate that there must have been a wooden building at Akalan, probably a temple. It seems likely that the tradition of painted relief plaques made of clay,⁹ seen at such Central Anatolian cities as Midas (City) Şehri,¹⁰

² Von der Osten 1929, 31-32; von der Osten and Schmidt 1930, 7-8, fig. 4.

³ Alkim 1973, 438; 1974, 25; Kızıltan 1992, 226.

⁴ Dönmez 1999, 517; 2000, 331; 2001, 303; 2004.

⁵ Bilgi *et al.* 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005. The work has been supported by the Research Fund of Istanbul University through the following projects: 'Samsun (Amisos) Bölgesi'nin Kültürel Gelişimi' (no. 1416/05052000) – The Cultural Development of the Samsun (Amisos) Region; and 'Akalan Kalesi Yüzey Araştırması' (1593/30042001) and 'Akalan Yüzey Araştırması' (7/27082002) – Survey of Akalan Fortress.

⁶ Alkim 1973, 438; 1974, 25.

⁷ Przeworski 1935, 391.

⁸ Przeworski 1935, 391; Kansu and Özgüç 1941, 218; Bossert 1942, figs. 1049-1051; Kökten 1945, 471; Roebuck 1959, 120; Akurgal 1961, 85; Huxley 1966, 66; Cummer 1976; Dengate 1978, 247; French 1991, 238; Atasoy 1997, 38-40.

⁹ Temples had a significant place among the buildings decorated with architectural plaques. This is clear from the decorations on the rock-relief monuments representing the front sections of the

Gordion/Yassı Höyük¹¹ and Pazarlı¹² from the beginning of the 6th century BC onwards, must have reached Akalan¹³ soon afterwards via Pazarlı.¹⁴ In addition, the presence of clay acroter pieces shows that the wooden temple thought to have been at Akalan was probably a megaron-style building with a gable roof.

The Akalan plaques, roof tiles and acroter pieces have frequently been a matter of debate.¹⁵ A. Akerström, who has carried out the most detailed research, suggests that the plaques could date to the second half of the 6th century BC and show evidence of Late Rhodian and North Ionian (probably used to mean Ephesus and Larissa) influence.¹⁶

Aims

As the general structure of archaeological sites, especially the building materials of which architectural remains are formed, differs from the physical properties of the landfill covering it, there is broad scope to apply geophysics (which is based on the study of underground characteristics) to archaeological work. In recent years geophysical methods have been widely and profitably used to obtain information about underground remains in settlements.¹⁷ Significant technical developments have taken place in response to the need for fast, reliable and detailed information about areas at shallower depths. Thus, geophysical investigation, planned for 2002 and 2003, was seen as the next step once the topographical plan of Akalan had been completed (Fig. 6), ahead of the expected systematic excavation of the site. The raised section inside the acropolis was chosen as the location for this work for two main reasons: first, as this was the highest point in the acropolis, the levels were likely to be concentrated; secondly, the western part of this area was where Macridy's excavation took place in 1906. According to his report, a wall made of

megaron-style temples to the mother goddess, Cybele, on the plateau at Eskişehir and Afyon, which give an idea of how architectural plaques were used to decorate temples. The rock monuments best reflecting this technique are the Midas (Haspels 1971, 73, pls. 8-13), Monument (Haspels 1971, 79, pls. 83-84, 513.1, 514), Unfinished (Haspels 1971, 77, pls. 14-15, 513.2-3), and Bahşeyiş (Haspels 1971, 81, pls. 124-125, 516, 517.1-4) monuments in the Eskişehir region, and the Değirmen (Haspels 1971, 86, pls. 160.6, 520.4), Maltaş (Haspels 1971, 85, pls. 157-158, 519, 520.1-3) and Arslankaya (Haspels 1971, 87, pls. 186-191, 523) monuments in the Afyon region.

¹⁰ Akerström 1966, 133-36, Taf. 68.

¹¹ Akerström 1966, 136-61, Taf. 69-86.

¹² Akerström 1966, 161-90, Taf. 87-98.

¹³ According to A. Akerström, the architectural plaques reached Akalan, Pazarlı and even Boğazköy by sea via the Ionia-Amisos route (Akerström 1978, fig. 1).

¹⁴ Koşay 1941, 6-8, Lev. XXVII-XXXI; Akurgal 1943.

¹⁵ Koch 1915, 22; Kjelberg 1940, 147; Maximova 1956, 64.

¹⁶ Akerström 1966, 121-33.

¹⁷ See, for example, Scollar 1962; Bevan 1963; Vaughan 1986; Candansaya and Basokur 2001; Batmunk *et al.* 2004.

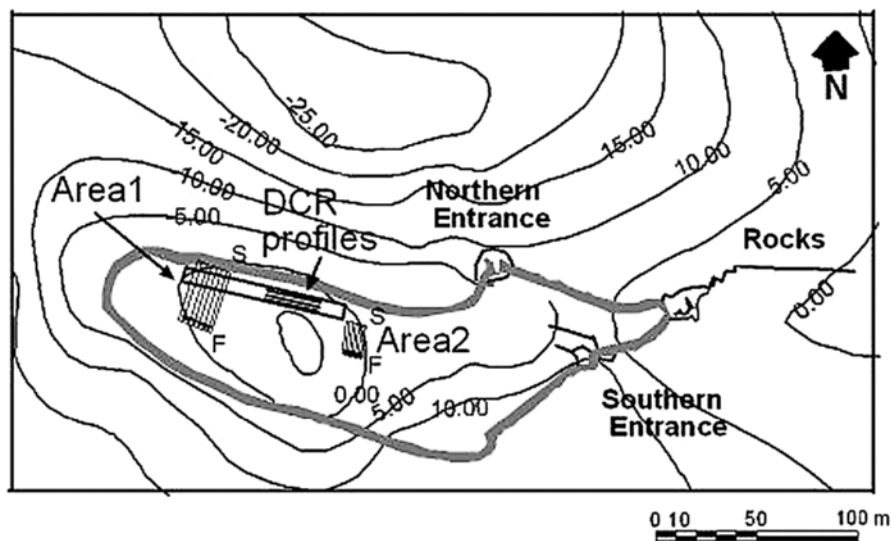


Fig. 6: Topographical plan of the acropolis
(S and F indicate respectively the start and finish points of the GPR profiles).

unworked (crude?) small stones and a stone pavement were found her. Most of the architectural plaques were taken from this wall and from the paved stone area.¹⁸

Material and Method

The geophysical research was carried out by a team under the direction of Emin U. Uluggergerli of the Department of Geophysical Engineering at Ankara University. Using ground-penetrating radar (GPR) and direct current resistivity (DCR), the aim was to obtain accurate information on the depth, extent and position of the building remains expected to be found below the surface.

The GPR instruments consisted of a computer, a control and recording unit (CRU), and receiving and transmitting antennas. GPR is based on measuring the time taken for an electromagnetic wave sent by the transmitting antenna and bounced off the subsurface to reach the receiving antenna.¹⁹ The frequencies used in surveys vary between 25 and 3000 MHz. The recording window may be between 32 and 2448 nanoseconds, and up to 2049 traces can be stacked. A suitable lap-top computer is used as the CRU. The antennas may be separate or in a single unit (more beneficial in certain circumstances as it provides a means of continual recording); the distance between them can be varied according to the frequency

¹⁸ Macridy 1907, 170-71.

¹⁹ For detailed information on GPR, see Davis and Annan 1989; Annan 1992, 127-38; Conyers and Goodman 1997, 232.

used. The GPR measurements are recorded as numerical values with equal distances between them. The GPR cross-sections are obtained by drawing each trace side by side. In this case the distance between the measurement points is represented on the horizontal axis and the travel time on the vertical. Evaluation of GPR data may be found in the literature.²⁰

DCR (see Fig. 7) is one of the principal methods used in exploration geophysics. Particularly since 1980 it has become one of the most effective geophysical

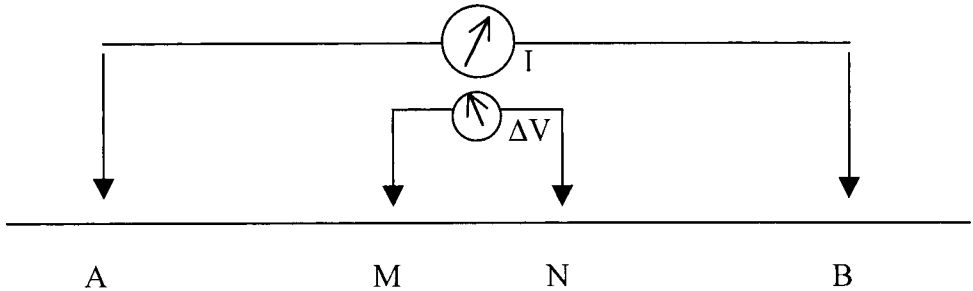


Fig. 7: Current (A and B) and potential difference (M and N) electrodes and a simple configuration.

tools for locating archaeological building remains. It records potential difference and current, but when the data are interpreted both are transformed into apparent resistivity, which is a physical quantity. The calculation uses the formula $\rho = k \cdot (\Delta V/I)$, where I represents the currents (amperes) used for the ground, k represents the geometrical factor related to the electrodes, and ΔV the potential difference (volts). In this method the aim is to assess the underground structure by taking advantage of the variations in levels of resistivity of different geological units. As well as its archaeological application, DCR is used in research relating to the earth's surface (roads, dams, etc.), tunnels and the environment (leakages, waste disposal, etc.). With it the collection of data using multi-channelled resistivity equipment is both swift and easy.

Findings

The geophysical research was carried out in two stages.²¹

²⁰ For instance David and Annan 1989; Kadioğlu and Daniels 2002.

²¹ Those participating in the surveys in 2002 and 2003 were Prof. Dr Önder Bilgi, Assistant Prof. Dr Şevket Dönmez, Research Assistant Aslıhan Yurtsever, and student Osman Ocak (all of the Department of Protohistory and Near Eastern Archaeology, Istanbul University), and Assistant Prof. Dr Emin U. Ulugergerli and students Özgür Saka, K. Mert Önal, N. Yıldırım Gündoğdu, Aslı Düzgün, Arzu Koçaslan and Cemile Gül Demirbş (Department of Geophysical Engineering, Ankara University). Assistant Prof. Dr Selma Kadioğlu interpreted the GPR and DCR data.

First Stage

During this stage GPR was used. GPR measurements were taken from two areas in the acropolis (see Fig. 6). The initial work was carried out on the western slope of the raised area in the western part of the acropolis in an area measuring 20 x 10 m (Area 1) (Fig. 6). Antennas operating at a frequency of 200 MHz were used, placed at a distance of 0.50 m and with an interval between measurements of 0.10 m. The first work area was scanned with parallel profiles approximately 21-23 m in length and with a 0.50 m distance between them. The second work area (Area 2) was scanned with profiles approximately 12 m in length. All profiles in both areas were from north to south. The results were evaluated and time-slices were produced showing the levels. Those for Area 1 are presented in Fig. 8. The data, given in the

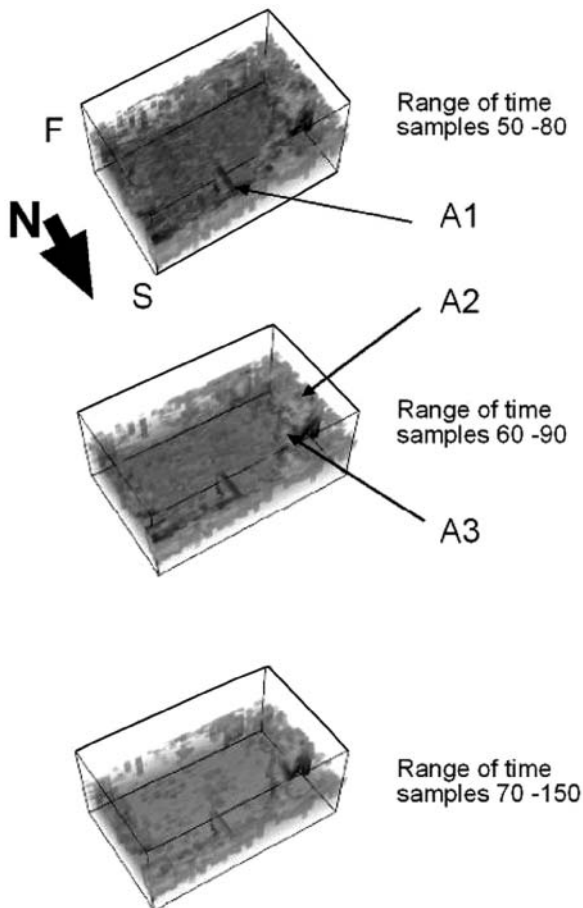


Fig. 8: Time-slices for Area 1. S and F indicate respectively the start and finish points of the profiles (see Fig. 7). Time values were given as number of samples. A1 indicates a wall-like structure, A2 is a pit, A3 the course of a channel.

form of three time levels, shows a specific depth for each image. The dark sections show a strong reflection of electromagnetic waves and, therefore, indicate the existence of a sublevel. In all three maps, continuity can be traced along the northern side. The circular section towards the centre of the line on the western side is related to a hole in the surface. Apart from this line, which may indicate some kind of structure, no other sign was recorded.

For comparison, measurements were also taken in the same are in an east-west direction. The section intersects the north-south lines at 7.5-10 m. The purpose of this exercise was to investigate the possible existence of any structure parallel to the previous lines. No linearity was observed in the time-slices showing the depth levels. Therefore the result is not presented here.

Area 2 was also sloping, situated next to the north-eastern entrance (see Fig. 6). The results of the measurements are given in Fig. 9.

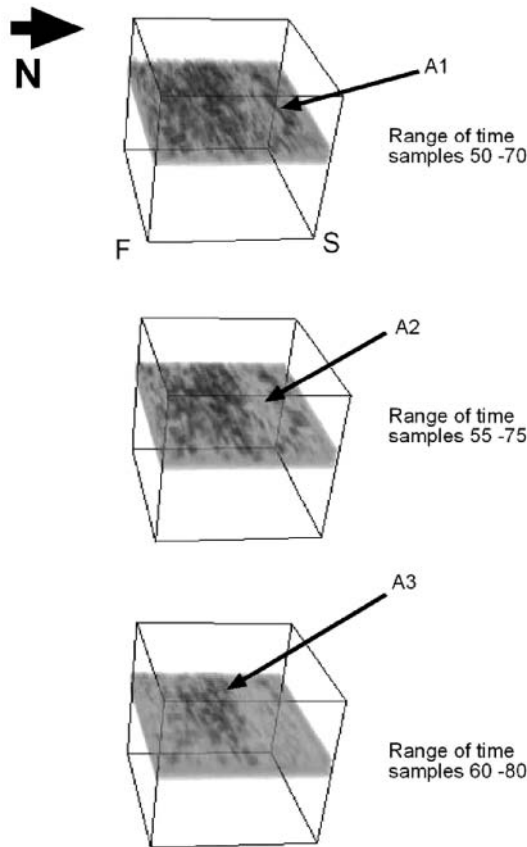


Fig. 9: Time-slices for Area 2. S and F indicate respectively the start and finish points of the profiles (see Fig. 7). Time values were given as number of samples. A1 indicates a linearity, A2 is a possible filling area, A3 is the extent of a pile of stones covered with trees.

Second Stage

In this stage DCR measurements were taken of an area of 1600 m² in the western part of the acropolis (see Fig. 6). A multi-channel resistivity instrument called the Scintrex SARIS was employed. This had 25 electrodes and could make simultaneously multiple measurements according to a pre-defined configuration. The response from the structure sought is affected by the location and length of the measurement profiles and the position of the measuring points. Thus, the selection of these parameters is very important. Five parallel profiles (labelled aka-1 to aka-5) of 120 m in length, determined with the help of GPR, were measured. Electrodes were spaced at 5 m in each profile. The purpose of the profiles was to locate roughly the position of the subsurface archaeological structure and to see whether it extended in an east-west direction. On the basis of the first results, six profiles 48 m in length were determined for detailed research (akadet-1 to akadet 6), with electrodes at intervals of 2 m. In addition, to establish in detail the location of the subsurface structure, a profile of 24 m in length was made perpendicular to these lines (akadik-1); here the electrodes were spaced every metre. The relative positions and lengths of all profiles are given in Fig. 10.

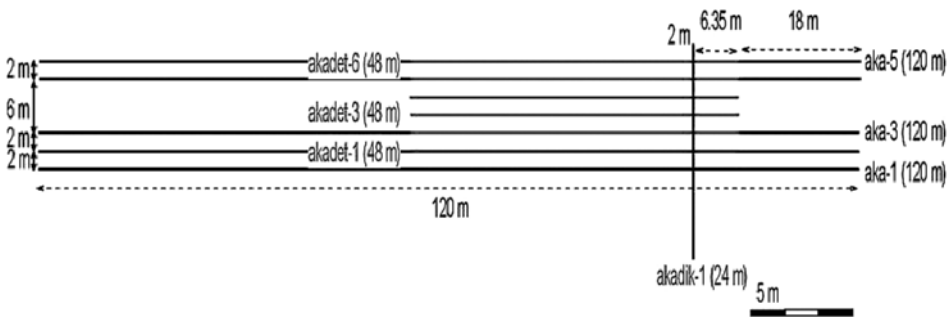


Fig. 10: Location of all DCR profiles in the Acropolis.

By the technique known as inversion, the real value of the underground structure and the geo-electrical cross-sections of the ground can be obtained.

General Profiles

These are 120 m in length. Data was collected at intervals of 5 m. They are parallel, but the distance between aka-3 and aka-4 is 6 m; in all other cases it is 2 m. The geo-electrical cross-sections of these profiles are given in Fig. 11. Results were obtained from the first two profiles, aka-5 and aka-4, for the sought for building remains at between 15 and 60 m (i.e. it is approximately 45 m in length) at a depth of up to 5 m. This structure cannot be observed in aka-3, aka-2 or aka-1

(Fig. 11: dark colour at surface). A structure can be seen in the central sections of these last three profiles, between approximately 10 and 20 m in depth and rising to the surface towards the end of the profile. This may be the geological base on which the acropolis was built.

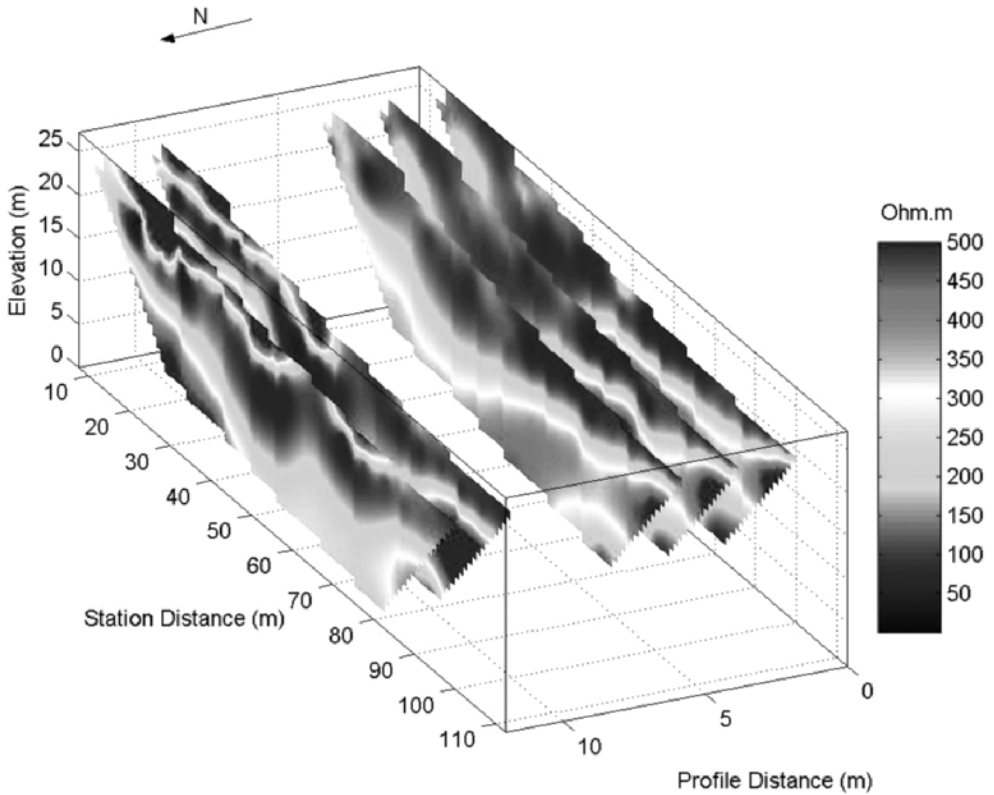


Fig. 11: Geo-electrical sections for long profiles.

Detailed Profiles

These followed from the interpretation of the data from the general profiles in order to determine more exactly the extent of the subsurface structure. The six parallel profiles were 2 m apart, as were the electrodes within each profile. The geo-electrical cross-sections are at Fig. 12. The structure seen in aka-5 and aka-4 is observed in almost the same location in the detailed profiles akadet-6 and akadet-5. Anomalies from Fig. 12 suggest that a structure found to the north of this line may have distorted some of the measurements. The results from the perpendicular profile support this theory.

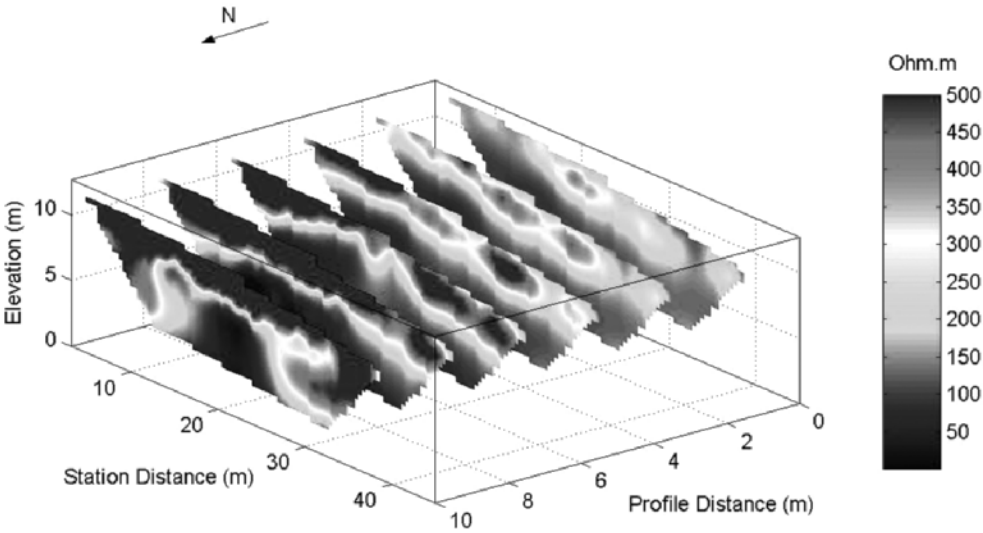


Fig. 12: Geo-electrical sections for short profiles.

Perpendicular Profile

This was taken to add a third dimension to the measurements and to gain a clearer picture of the building thought to be present in this area. To obtain a more detailed reading the interval between electrodes was reduced to 1 m. The position of the profile was chosen so that it would cut across the structure believed to exist from the previous profiles. The geo-electrical cross-section obtained is at Fig. 13. The remains of a building appear at between 2 and 6m on the profile. It has an approximate depth of 2.5 m and a width of 4 m. The anomalies at between 12 and 16 m at a depth of approximately 0.50 m and 3 m thick are probably the agricultural landfill resulting from previous excavations carried out in this area.

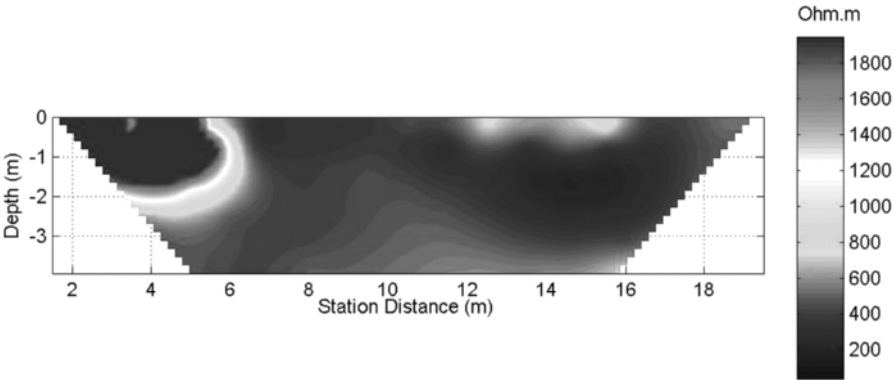


Fig. 13: Geo-electrical section for perpendicular.

Discussion and Conclusions

The first stage of geophysical work at Akalan in 2002 and 2003 obtained reflection data from points at intervals of 0.10 m along parallel line averaging 20 m in length and spaced 0.50 m apart. Once processed, details of travel times *vs* amplitudes and position were presented, also information concerning the area underground was obtained. Fig. 8 contains images of the block radagram showing different times from Area 1. The anomalous zone is darker and arrows point to the corner of a large structure. Positive reflection shows that this zone has a higher velocity than its surroundings. Linearity and its shape indicate that this may be a man-made structure. In the second stage another large structure was determined. The high resistivity indicated a material consisting of rock or blocks. The detailed profiles confirm the existence of an important structure in this area (Figs. 11-13). Both GPR and DCR measurements suggest that there was a dense building development in the western section of the acropolis.

On examination of Macridy's excavation report, it is apparent that his excavations were carried out in the western part of the acropolis.²² The two large buildings identified during our geophysical research are situated in the area he excavated. We believe that the long wall running parallel to the northern walls of the acropolis, found during the second stage of our work (Fig. 12), probably belongs to the building from which Macridy removed the architectural terracotta plaques. Evaluation of the geophysical data from Akalan is not yet complete; work continues at the Earth Sciences Data Processing Laboratory of the Department of Geophysical Engineering, Ankara University.

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²² Macridy 1907, 170-71.

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A KUSHAN KING IN PARTHIAN DRESS? A NOTE ON A STATUE IN THE MATHURA MUSEUM*

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Abstract

The statue of a seated Kushan king in the museum in Mathura has never been described in detail. An important feature of the king's outfit has therefore escaped notice. The analysis of the garment permits a comparison between it and the costume of images of western Asian gods and royalty which can be dated between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD.

One of the most impressive pieces of statuary in the Government Museum at Mathura (Uttar Pradesh, India) is the enthroned effigy of a Kushan king. In the Brahmi inscription between his feet most of his name is preserved: *Vima Ta...* It now seems fairly certain that a Kushan ruler, Vima Taktu, is represented (Figs. 1-2).¹ Until recently he was unknown. A grandfather of the better known Kanishka, Vima Taktu was the son of Kujula Kadphises, the unifier of the rival tribes of the the Yüeh-chih (who from early in the 1st century AD called themselves Kushan).² Coming from the north-east, several nomadic groups – first the Saka, slightly later the Yüeh-chih – had wiped out the Greek kingdom of Bactria in present-day

* I am much obliged to Joan Mertens and Paul Bernard for their critical reading of this study.

¹ Government Museum, Mathura, no. 215. The height of the statue is 2.35 m. See von Mitterwallner 1986, 53-64, esp. 60-62, pls. 1-4, with references. The author calls the king Vima Kadphises – at the time of the publication the only known Kushan king of a name that begins with Vima. She does not recognise or interpret the features that are the subject of this study. Through palaeographical comparisons, she dates the statute to about AD 142. The best photographs are in Bachhofer 1929 II, pls. 77-78; his text (1929 I, 52) does not go into details of dress. In 1974, I noted its inv. no. as 12.215. For the new identification, see below n. 2.

² It is not known whether the name Kushan is a personal, family, clan or tribal name, but all Kushan rulers we know by name add this epithet to it (Fussman 2003). For evidence of the presence of Yüeh-chih/Kushans in Bactria (the Oxus valley) from the later 2nd century BC onwards, see Abdoullaev 2001. It is only through the inscription found at Rabatak (Baghlan province) in Afghanistan in 1993 that the genealogy of the first Kushan kings could be finally established, since it mentions Vima Taktu as father of Vima Kadphises and grandfather of Kanishka. For the inscription, see Sims-Williams and Cribb 1995-96; Fussman 1998; Cribb 1999, also available with slight adjustments as http://www.grifterrec.com/y/cribb/ekk_cribb_01.html. (consulted 15 January 2008); Bopearachchi 1998, 390-91; 2007; also Bopearachchi and Flandin 2005, 244-45. Clearly enlightening for the genealogy, the inscription has not contributed to the establishment of the absolute chronology of the Kushan reigns (for a brief summary of the problem, see Alam 2004, 57). For the most recent interpretation of the coin evidence, see Bopearachchi 2008.



Fig. 1: Statue of the enthroned Kushan king Vima Taktu: frontal view. Government Museum Mathura, no. 215 (after Bachhofer 1929 II, pl. 77).



Fig. 2: Statue of the enthroned Kushan king Vima Taktu: side view.
Government Museum Mathura, no. 215 (after Bachhofer 1929 II, pl. 78).

northern Afghanistan about 145 BC. By *ca.* 70 BC the Kushan had crossed the great natural barrier of the Hindu Kush. It was not before the second quarter of the 1st century AD, however, that they conquered the kingdoms of the Indo-Greeks, the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians who – receding from the mounting pressure of the Kushan – had established themselves in north-western India (Paropamisades/Hindu Kush, Gandhara, Punjab). Vima Kadphises, son of Vima Taktu and father of Kanishka, stabilised the young Kushan empire founded by Vima Taktu who had already assumed the Iranian title ‘King of Kings’. Documented by abundant coin finds, Vima Kadphises added the immense and varied pantheon encountered in the new territories – Greek and Hindu deities – to the Iranian divinities of his own cultural heritage. Political stability, peace and a wise monetary policy were the basis of a flourishing trade with the Roman world, India and the Far East.

Mathura became part of the Kushan realm. Important sculpture workshops had existed there since the turn of the 3rd to the 2nd century BC. Favoured by the availability of the typical mottled pink sandstone, Mathura’s artists catered to the very diverse demands of their Hindu, Buddhist and Jain patrons. The image of Vima is fashioned of stone from the Sikri quarries and clearly created by an indigenous sculptor. However, Vima’s costume sets him completely apart from the rich collection of statuary assembled in the museum of this ancient city on the Yamuna/Jumna.

The statue was found broken into two pieces together with other damaged royal images. The find-spot was in and near the *devakula* (sacred precinct) of a hill called Tokri Tila³ in the vicinity of the village of Mat in 1911/12. The sculpture stands out by its enormous size, its iconography – the ruler is enthroned in Western fashion – and its strange garb.⁴ It is to this aspect of the image that we shall direct our attention. Though discussed frequently, certain features of the king’s costume seem to have been overlooked consistently. If analysed afresh, they may perhaps throw further light on Kushan iconography. Vima’s massive physique preserves faint traits of earlier Mathura sculptures, for example of the huge *yaksha* (nature spirit) from Parkham in the same museum. Vima’s statue clearly stands at the beginning of Kushan sculpture. Large scale images were not part of the cultural baggage of the

³ For a discussion of the place name which has been explained as ‘mound of the Tokri’ (=Τοῦζαροι, Tocari), see von Mitterwallner 1986, 55, with references. It is important to note that in the shrine of the sacred precinct, fragmentary images of Brahminic deities were found, most likely Shiva and Parvati. The sanctuary was built under Vima Taktu and repaired under king Huvishka, son of Kanishka, when the inscribed statue of his father, which is also in the Mathura museum, was added (see von Mitterwallner 1986, pl. 6; Verardi 1983, figs. 7-8). For the Shaivaite images, see Fussman 1989; Verardi 1983, figs. 11-13. For the importance of the place in attempting to clarify the Kushan chronology, see Falk 2002, 88-91, 95-97.

⁴ See von Mitterwallner 1986, 60-62.

nomadic Yüeh-chih. The newly acquired regal status of the Kushan rulers called out for appropriate icons. They were found in the statuary of the Mathura school. Vima's portrait reflects some of the archaic vitality of the older images; it is clearly a tentative piece. Interestingly, the inscribed statue of his grandson Kanishka, also in the Mathura museum, and other of Kanishka's likenesses from Surkh Kotal are much more stylised, as if a final formula had been found for the representation of divine royalty. This holds true likewise for Kanishka's coin portraits, as well as those of his successors.⁵

The sculpture of Vima, King of Kings, has lost its head, its lower left arm, its knees together with parts of the upper legs and thighs and an object in its right hand.⁶ The throne has a massive high back and front legs shaped like lions' foreparts with paws placed on turned supports. The seat is covered by a cloth that hangs down at either side – an attempt was made to depict folds where it touches the ground. It is embellished at the edges with a wave pattern and in the centre with superimposed hearts. Both patterns are of Western origin⁷ while the motif on the sides of the footstool has parallels in the decorative repertoire of northern In-

⁵ For the *yaksha* statue, see Härtel *et al.* 1971, 16, fig. 17; for Kanishka's image, see Härtel *et al.* 1971, fig. 39; von Mitterwallner 1986, pl. 6.

⁶ Von Mitterwallner (1986, 60) assumes that Vima held a 'scepter-like mace or more likely an *ankuśa*'. Both objects are attested on Kushan coins: for a mace, see the gold dinar of Vima Kadphises, St Petersburg (Alram 2004, 57, fig. 27), for example; and for an elephant goad, the gold coin of Vima Kadphises seated on a cushioned stool, *ankuśa* in right hand, mace next to stool, British Museum (von Mitterwallner 1986, book cover). Göbl (1984), referring to the coins nos. 8 and 11 of his census, calls the object a *Zweig* (twig). For the mace as a sign of the Universal Monarch (*cakravartin*), see below n. 15. Since an elephant, the supreme royal mount, was one of the symbols of the *cakravartin*, among them in particular the lion throne (see below), the goad would be an appropriate attribute. Both creeds, Brahminical and Buddhist, used the concept of the Universal Monarch.

⁷ The wave pattern is a common motif of Greek decorative art and it was adopted by the Parthians: see, for example, the stucco plaques on the brick pavilion Qal 'eh Zohak in Azerbaijan (von Gall 1998, 66 and pl. 1); and in Bactria, the edge of a war elephant's saddle-cloth on the silver-gilt plaque of the second half of the 2nd century BC in the Hermitage (Seipel 1996, 126, cat. no. 126). The heart pattern (that may represent ivy leaves) was much used by Hellenistic goldsmiths and enjoyed great favour under the Parthians, Kushan and Sasanians, most frequently on metal work. It is also found on Coptic textiles, in Sogdian art and in Sinkiang/Xinjiang. It appears in Gaul in late antiquity too. Examples such as a flagon-pendant, excavated in the Crimea and dated to the second half of the 1st century BC or somewhat later, encircled by an enamelled heart pattern, may have transmitted the motif to the East (see Mordvintseva 2003, 245, fig. 9.5). For brief surveys of the motif, see Bianchi Bandinelli 1966, 330; C. Manson Briar in Harper 1978, 124; Baratte 1993, 140). It also appears as filling ornament, that is single hearts, on textiles and jewellery in Central Asia; for trousers dotted with hearts, see Yatsenko 2001, 89, no. 89. For a tunic with such a pattern on a Kushan painted stucco plaque in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, see Carter 1995, fig. 3. Inlaid hearts are on the short end of the gold amulet capsule from the stupa in Ahin Posh near Jelalabad in the British Museum (Seipel 1996, 285, cat. no. 151). For the heart-shaped motifs on the dagger sheath of the male from Tillya Tepe burial ground, see now *Afghanistan* 2006, 279, cat. no. 113).

dia.⁸ Besides the name, the much abraded Brahmi inscription between the king's feet also records the name of the donor, a local Kushan functionary, who built the sacred precinct, a garden, tank and well, as well as an assembly hall and a gateway.⁹

Now to the statue proper: Vima wears a massive torque around his neck and, to judge from the preserved right hand, thin armlets about his wrists. The quilted edge of an under-garment is visible at the neck in the triangle formed by his coat that closes – edge to edge – at the centre of the chest without indication of hooks or slip-knots.¹⁰ Wide borders with a dainty flower pattern run along the edges of the garment and its sleeves, and presumably golden circlets are attached all over the coat, with small tassels emerging from their centres.¹¹ It has often been noted that the cut of the coat and its bractea decoration are customary features of the outfit of mounted nomads from the steppe. So are the heavy high boots – probably of felt or soft thick leather, fastened by straps at the ankles with *makara* clasps, the latter a symbolically highly charged purely Indian motif (Fig. 3).¹² The footwear is embellished by a trim of elegant vine-branches edged by simple strips that run up from the toes to the lost knees,¹³ only slightly disguised by the gauze-like material that covers the legs of the king's boots starting about a hand's width above the ankles. It is so delicate that – though it covers the decorative trims of the boots – they remain visible underneath. The wide festoon-shaped folds of this textile have always been taken for rumpled in the boots. A glance at the nearby statue of Vima's son Kanishka in the Mathura museum shows that such folds are depicted only on the

⁸ Superimposed rows of four-leaved flowers. The motif, in a single row, is found frequently on the Begram ivories (see *Afghanistan* 2006, 244-47, cat. nos. 198-208).

⁹ Von Mitterwallner 1986, 59-60; Fussman 1989.

¹⁰ As often seen on Parthian statues (see below n. 18). Yatsenko (2001, 89) assembles drawings of Kushan coats and jackets (nos. 37, 39-50). Coats close at the body's centre without lapels overlapping; jackets close right over left, in typical Iranian fashion, also used by Turkic and Tibetan tribes.

¹¹ The richest repository of small gold plaques of varied shapes attached to garments is the graves from Tillya Tepe, excavated by Victor Sarianidi (1985) and dated to the 1st century AD. For an exhaustive presentation of the materials, see Yatsenko 2001 (for example 84, pl. 6 – from grave no. 2). The assumption of the grave owners being Yüeh-chih/Kushan has been rejected by Bernard (1987a-b), who – more convincingly – assumes them to be Sakas. The small 'tassels' emerging from the centre of the circlets decorating Vima's coat are reminiscent of the much larger cockades on the turbans of countless Gandharan sculptures. For a choice of Tillya Tepe finds, see now *Afghanistan* 2006, 270-83, cat. nos. 36-146.

¹² Recognised by Rosenfield 1967, 179; cf. von Mitterwallner 1986, 61 and pl. 4. It is an imaginary creature, half crocodile, half fish, omnipresent in Indian art and belonging to the watery realm of the god Vishnu. It seems to take on special significance in Kushan art. The enormous mace Kanishka leans on (statue in the Mathura museum) that ends in a *makara* head, has been interpreted as the attribute of a *cakravartin*, a warrior king and Universal Monarch (see Verardi 1983, 259 and figs. 7, 9). Vima Taktu's *makara* clasp may well be part of that ideology.

¹³ The long boots are of one piece. Their trim has close parallels in Palmyra (cf. Fig. 4).



Fig. 3: 'Apron' on the statue of the Kushan king Vima Taktu (highlighted – left; reconstruction – right) (drawings by Elizabeth Wahle).

feet proper, not on the legs of the footwear.¹⁴ Though diaphanous one might take the material for that of leggings, but such hose are normally more substantial and would reach down to the feet. Further consideration excludes this option.

Our description differs from those that disregard this transparent piece of cloth consistently. If the statue's knees were preserved, it would be evident that the flimsy apron-like garment covering Vima's legs is gathered up by two thick cords between his thighs. They must be attached to a belt worn below the coat and covered by it.

¹⁴ A few creases at the lower boot shafts are the result of the tight ankle-straps on Kanishka's statue; they differ completely from the rumpled leather on his feet (*cf.* von Mitterwallner 1986, pl. 6; Härtel *et al.* 1971, fig. 39).

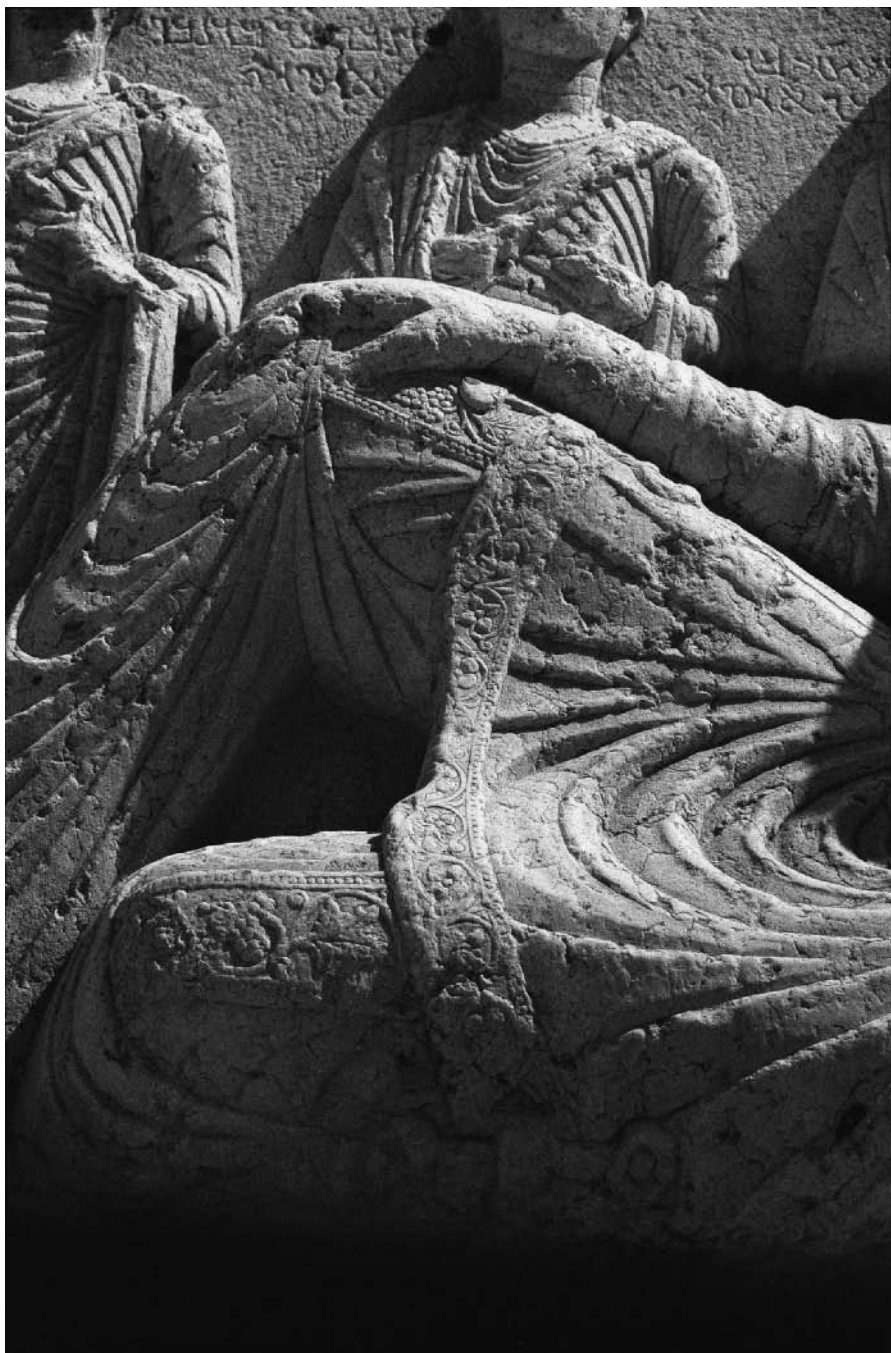


Fig. 4: Detail of banqueter in tunic, decorated trousers and leggings: funerary monument. Palmyra, museum garden (author's photograph: 1989).

The origin of this fashion will be discussed as we proceed. What should be noticed is the unusual way in which the upper end of the fabric is scrolled up resting on the king's thighs. Attention has been drawn to a much damaged sheathed sword that lies in the king's lap.¹⁵ His lost left hand may have touched it. However, no attempt has ever been made to explain the substantial 'scroll' of textile on which the sword rests and which is clearly discernible on the king's thighs. This feature can be nothing but the mass of the apron gathered up and held in place by the twin cords at the crotch. We shall return to that feature. The somewhat clumsy rendering of this outlandish garb, nevertheless faithfully represents its complex details.

When viewed from the side (*cf.* Fig. 2), it is obvious that the skirt of Vima's trimmed coat rests on the lions' heads: the decorative border can be perceived turning upward and disappearing under the damaged mass of scrolled material.¹⁶ This indicates that the coat spreads wide open in front, beginning at the waistline, to reveal and make room for the gathered-up textile in the lap. To the best of my knowledge, there is no other sculpture of equal importance extant in the arts of the Kushan empire that illustrates the unprecedented adaptation of an entirely foreign feature so clearly. We shall see that a modification, not an imitation, of an outlandish fashion is intended. Further down, we will examine the minor arts of the region and the period for related examples. But first to the obvious models for the strange fashion of wearing a long garment hitched up by cords between the legs, apparently to facilitate walking and riding.

¹⁵ Von Mitterwallner (1986, 61 with nn. 49-50) mentions a gold coin of Vima Kadphises that shows the king 'seated cross-legged with a sheathed sword on his lap' and suggests that the coin was modelled on copper coins of Saka/Scythian king Azes II, who is allegedly represented in the same position. However, the coins she cites show the king with a long sceptre on his lap (M. Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coins*, vol. 6 [London 1976], 570 – type 860; 573 – type 865) – for an illustration of Vima's coins, see Seipel 1996, 130, fig. 115. She misreads the evidence. Vima Kadphises is seated on a mountain top (perhaps indicating his *cakravartin* nature) with flaming shoulders, a mace of the Hercules type in his right hand and a sheathed sword attached to his belt, which is, however, covered by his long coat. The low relief of the coin image permitted the depiction of the actual position of the royal sword under the coat. Kanishka's statue, however, that shows him in a belted tunic and a coat, with mace, sword and baldric in his hands, avoided this, perhaps for technical reasons but surely to present the symbols of his power more ostensively. Bopearachchi (Bopearachchi *et al.* 2003, 130: coins of the Scythian Maues, from the Punjab) describes the king as cross-legged on a cushion with a sword in his lap. See also Fig. 8 below (with discussion). The much damaged sword on Vima's lap is much shorter than the Kushan sword and rather resembles the Parthian type.

¹⁶ Pl. 3 in von Mitterwallner 1986 gives a detail of the statue's mid section. The two cords, at both sides of which the gathered-up folds of the apron are visible, disappear under the scrolled material on which the much damaged sword rests. Above it, a triangle opens up with the floral trim of the coat-skirt clearly depicted. To clarify the evidence, I recreated the costume on my own person as best I could. In the frontal view of the statue, the limited experience of the sculptor is evident from the differing height of the lions and the uneven shape of their pedestals. I am most grateful to Paul Bernard, who provided photocopies of recent photographs of the statue by Osmund Bopearachchi.

The models are found in the arts of the kingdom of Commagene and are best studied in the numerous reliefs that decorated the east and west terraces of the tumulus of king Antiochus I. The monument is securely dated to the second half of the 1st century B.C. (Figs. 5-6). High up in the Taurus mountains of eastern Tur-

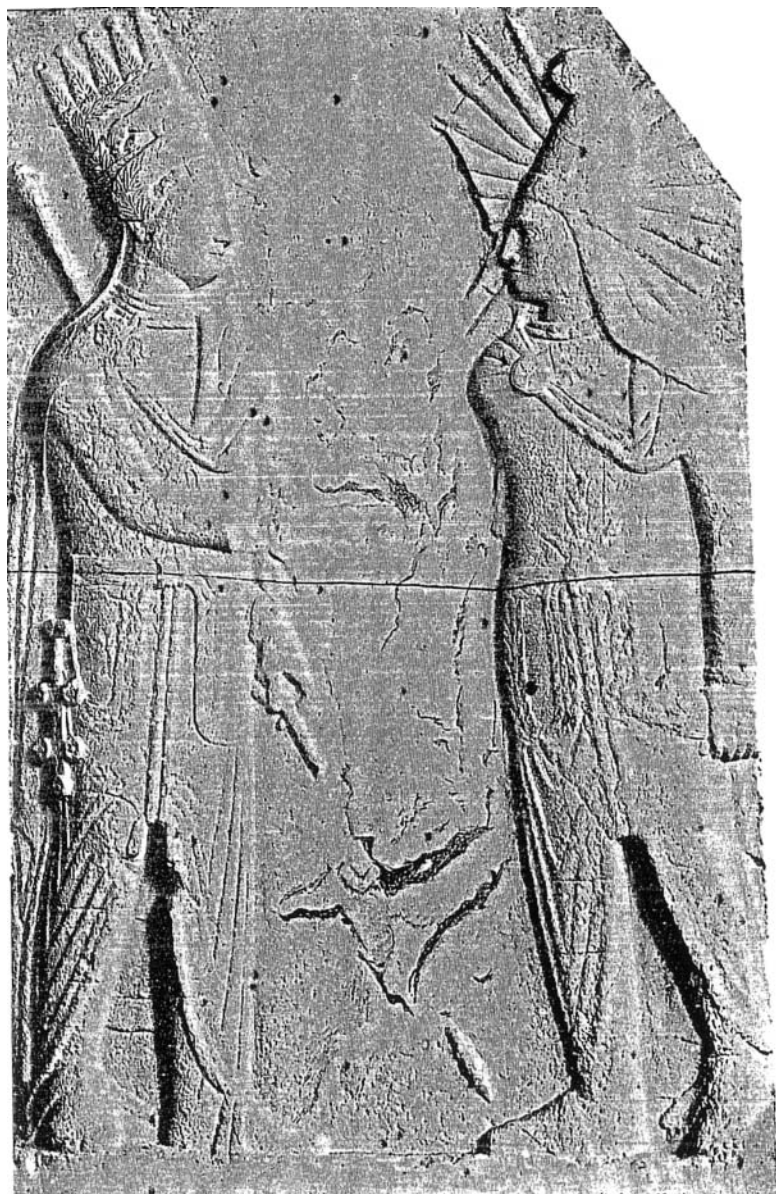


Fig. 5: Relief from the west terrace of the sanctuary (*hierothesion*) of Antiochus I, king of Commagene: the king with Apollo (after Humann and Puchstein 1890, pl. 39).



Fig. 6: Relief from the west terrace of the sanctuary (*hierotherseion*) of Antiochus I, king of Commagene: the king with Zeus/Oromazdes (after Humann and Puchstein 1890, pl. 39).

key, Antiochus had this sanctuary built in memory of his Seleucid and Persian/Parthian ancestors and to honour the local gods to whom he boldly associated himself as *σύνθερονος*. The king ruled over a petty state that served as a buffer between Roman Asia Minor and the Parthian empire. His preposterous claims to be descended from the rulers of great empires such as Darius and Alexander and to be a companion of gods, were given visual form by stelai with reliefs. They provide us with multiple examples of the garment that interests us.¹⁷ It should be pointed out, however, that the Commagenean examples are somewhat differently constructed from what Vima's statue teaches us. While the latter gives us a semblance of a costume the sculptor may never had set eyes upon but had to create at royal behest. As we shall see, the costume was intended to convey a political message.

The stereotyped iconography of the Commagene images shows the king shaking hands with various gods and heroes. The king invariably wears a long-sleeved tunic that appears to reach down to his feet, a richly patterned leather cuirass with a belt at the lower edge to which is tied a twin cord that holds up the apron-like piece of cloth.¹⁸ This garment, probably of ceremonial origin, was ill-suited to riding and therefore hitched up between the legs. Boots, trousers, the belt and a cloak – fixed with a double clasp at the right shoulder¹⁹ and draped over the back – are frequently embellished with a border of laurel or oak branches. A dagger in a sheath with four lateral projections is attached to the belt,²⁰ armlets and torques, a high

¹⁷ Some of the god on the reliefs wear this particular garb too. They are, however, not armed (see Humann and Puchstein 1890, pls. 36-39, for example; additional examples in Sanders 1996; Jacobs and Rollinger 2005, fig. 1). For a similar relief in the British Museum, excavated by Leonard Woolley, see *The Art Newspaper* XV.168 (April 2006), 11. For the history of the kingdom, see Facella 2006 – the author rightly stresses the financial power of the small realm that allowed Antiochus to build several huge sanctuaries: the *hierothesion* on Nemrud Dağ was never completed. Enormous revenues must have filled the king's coffers from his possession of the toll stations at Zeugma, the bridge over the Euphrates which, at the time, carried much of the Silk Road trade. For an interpretation and excellent maps of the trade routes, see Bernard 2005.

¹⁸ How these cuirasses were put on is unclear since no openings or buttons are represented. There are exceptions where the frontal opening is closed with multiple slip-knots, for example Humann and Puchstein 1890, pl. 38 left. A related piece, a Parthian sculpture in the round in the Louvre, shows the same system (see von Gall 1998, pl. 5a). Some scholars assume the king wears a floor-length shirt-like tunic, but it has been argued more convincingly that we have to do with an 'apron' (see Bernard 1964; and below n. 23).

¹⁹ Straps attached to the twin metal clasps are tied in a bow. A Persian 'ancestor' of Antiochus is featured in Humann and Puchstein (1890, pl. 36 left); he is represented in a ritual act: he empties a *phiale* while holding the sacred bunch of twigs, the barsom. His Persian *kandys*, the sleeved coat, is fastened by two chased clasps tied by a bow. This feature is taken over in Sasanian art, be it on cloaks or sleeved coats. For a history of sleeved coats, see Knauer 1999.

²⁰ For similar daggers on Palmyrene statues, see Fig. 4 (where they seem, however, attached to the edge of the trimmed tunic). The well-known bronze statue of a Parthian warrior in the Bastan Museum in Tehran has his (two-lobed) daggers attached to the leather (?) trim of his short coat. For the

tiara with crown and a long sceptre complete the ritual costume of the king. His headgear bears the ever specific symbols of the gods he shakes hands with. Some of the gods, such as Zeus-Oromazdes and Apollo-Mithra, are shown in costumes similar to the king's. However, they wear no cuirass and are never armed. The great Greek inscription preserved at the seats of the monumental sculptures of enthroned gods – joined by one of the king – on the west terrace of the *hierothesion* documents the syncretistic character of Antiochus' religious universe.²¹ Greek and Iranian concepts are merged and confirm the role of Commagene as a link between the Mediterranean and the East.

The origin of the royal costume, specifically of the hitched-up garment, has been much debated without convincing conclusions.²² Here, we need not pursue the question; what matters in our context is the presence of the feature on Vima's statue in Mathura. While the Kushan King of Kings' coat, boots and jewellery are derived from the age-old outfit of the steppe tribes, the 'apron' is a clear reference to sartorial customs of western Asia.²³ Unlike most Kushan rulers represented on coins or reliefs, Vima appears to have also worn a cloak, remnants of which are visible at his right shoulder (*cf.* Fig. 2).²⁴ This feature again relates the statue to the Commagene monuments on the Nimrud Dağ.

There is more. A relief from the west terrace shows king Antiochus in his customary outfit shaking hands with enthroned Zeus (*cf.* Fig. 6). Except for the spread-winged eagles perched on the high back of the throne, this piece of furniture is a twin of Vima's: lions as front legs and a footstool. The middle part of the figure of Zeus is much damaged, yet enough remains to tell us that the supreme god wears the same apron over trimmed and tied boots and trousers as the ruler of Commagene and his eastern ancestors. Between Zeus' legs, the lower end of his

sword and four-lobed-dagger found with the male of tomb IV at Tillya Tepe, see *Afghanistan* 2006, 278-79, cat. no. 113; V. Schiltz in *Afghanistan* 2006, 74-76; *cf.* also Bernard 1987a, 764-65. See below n. 27.

²¹ For the text, see Norden 1898 I, 140-46.

²² Seyrig (1934, 176-77) rejects Armenian prototypes suggested by Humann and Puchstein (1890, 320), who did not present convincing evidence, and refers to a relief from Palmyra (for which see below Fig. 9 and n. 36). Bernard (1964), in a wide-ranging article, demonstrated that the hitched-up garment is not a long tunic but, in fact, an 'apron' which covers only the thighs and lower legs. The costume may hark back to Achaemenid court dress.

²³ See Bernard 1987a, 765-66. Guided by the gold bractea that had accentuated the garment of the Tillya Tepe tomb owner, Sarianidi (1985) reconstructs it as a floor-length one; Yatsenko (2001, 87, pl. 10) differs. For the floor-length gown of the 'Master of Dragons' pendants from the site, see *Afghanistan* 2006, 174-75, cat. no. 61. In neither case does an apron seem to be represented. For a brief survey on Parthian costume, see Curtis 1998.

²⁴ For examples where a cloak is fastened with a clasp on the right shoulder, see the gold dinars of Vima Kadphises and of Huvishka in the Hermitage (Alram 2004, 57, figs. 25, 27).

cloak is shown, decorated with an oak branch, a pattern that also embellishes the back of the throne. Zeus-Oromazdes dons a high star-and pearl-studded tiara with flaps – as does his royal partner whose ‘Persian’ cap with flaps supports a crown. Though Vima’s statue was found headless, coins and other damaged sculptures from the sacred precinct at Mat and elsewhere in the Kushan realm document the presence of similar high headgear for the kings.²⁵

Let us now look at some pieces of sculpture where Parthian costume appears in the minor arts of the Kushan territory at the very beginning of Gandharan art. This signal creation of the Kushan empire results from a merging of the cultural heritage of the Iranian steppe peoples with the Greek artistic traditions, deeply engrained in Central Asia and north-west India since Alexander’s campaigns. A donor in Parthian costume, from the excavations at Butkara I in the Swat Museum at Saidu Sharif (Pakistan), is dated to the first half of the 1st century AD (Fig. 7).²⁶ Though damaged, the figure shows – with slight but important variations – essential sartorial features we have discussed above. Of special interest is the substantial decorative border of his trousers covered by wide leggings (not an apron) of material through which the leaf pattern of the trim is faintly visible. The leggings are held in place by a double cord between his thighs; the cord disappears under the coat where it must be attached to a belt. Suspenders fixed the tubular hose at his hips. The leggings are clearly of heavier material than Vima’s apron and they come down to the statuette’s feet. A relief with donors from the precinct of the great stupa at Taxila shows similar features.²⁷

Beyond the coin evidence discussed above, there is another item to be considered as a parallel to the sword that the Mathura Vima has placed in his lap

²⁵ Yatsenko (2001, 89) provides a useful catalogue of Kushan costume (schematised drawings); hats are shown in the top two rows. Judging from coin portraits, Kushan kings never put crowns on top of their high headgear.

²⁶ See Facenna 2003, 300, fig. 15, inv. No. B 2598. Described as a Saka/Parthian work from the beginning of the Kushan period, the donor carries a bunch of flowers. He may have held the hilt of his sword in his broken-off left hand, comparable to the Palmyrene military trias Bel, Malakbel and Aglibol on a relief of the 1st century AD from the temple of Bel in the Louvre (see Boardman 2006, fig. 381) and statues from Hatra (for example *Oasis* 1988, 45, cat. no. 12).

²⁷ See Knauer 2002, pl. 43, fig. f. A four-lobed dagger appears to be attached to the right side of the Butkara statue’s jacket – a feature with parallels in Palmyra. The four-perforated lobes originally served to tie the daggers to the thighs of steppe horsemen. It appears that the leggings worn later on by Parthians and Palmyrenes in addition to breeches made the tying method impractical and the ever shorter daggers were instead attached to the trims of tunics. I have been unable to clearly discern cords for fixing the sheaths on the thighs when inspecting numerous Palmyrene statues. The reliefs of Antiochus I of Commagene show that daggers are now suspended from the belt and no longer tied to the thighs because these are covered by the ‘apron’. The ancient four-lobed shape seems to have been retained for symbolic reasons (*cf.* above n. 20).



Fig. 7: Parthian donor from Butkara I (Pakistan). Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif (after Facenna 2003, 300, fig. 15).

(Fig. 8).²⁸ The central portion of a Sarmatian necklace worked *à jour* and found in the tomb of a female near Rostov-on-Don depicts a nomad chief who sits cross-legged on a quilted rug with a beaker in his hands. A sword lies in his lap. The bearded and hat-less banqueter has donned a coat that closes centrally (as does Vima's). The skilfully wrought little figure is fashioned in a totally different style from the scenes on the rest of the neck-ring where therianthropic beings battle dragons inspired by Chinese art of the Eastern Han period. These creatures are studded with turquoise and enamel inlays. The piece of jewellery has been dated between the second half of the first century and the first half of the 2nd century AD. It is a supreme example of the eclecticism of nomad art, well known from Tillya Tepe and it shares qualities with Vima's statue as well.²⁹

It has often been suggested that the early Kushan kings had some knowledge of monuments such as the gigantic *hierotheresion* of Antiochus I of Commagene. The



Fig. 8: Detail of Sarmatian gold ring from the tomb of a female: chieftain with sword in his lap. Regional Museum, Rostov-on-Don (after postcard, Kunsthaus Zurich).

²⁸ Cf. above n. 15.

²⁹ For a summary of such eclectic features as found, for example, in the Tillya Tepe burials, see V. Schiltz in *Afghanistan* 2006, 69-79. See also Boardman, who pinpoints Indian features in the stylistic medley of the Tillya Tepe jewellery (2003); and for comments on the Sarmatian neck-ring (2007, 19-20 and fig. 10).

Parthians may have been the mediators.³⁰ A circular building which appears to have served as a memorial for royal ancestors is being excavated at their capital Nisa near Ashgabad in Turkmenistan. Large clay figures decorated the interior.³¹ A building perhaps serving similar purposes was found in Toprak Kale, in ancient Khwarezm/Choresm (Uzbekistan).³² King Kanishka installed huge sanctuaries furnished with royal statuary on hillsides at Surkh Kotal in Afghanistan and Mat in India – probably also elsewhere in his vast empire.³³ The large inscriptions in Bactrian (the Iranian idiom used by the Kushans and written with modified Greek letters) that were discovered at Surkh Kotal and, more recently, at neighbouring Rabatak, elucidate the king's intentions: he wants to honour the protective deities of the dynasty and his ancestors for whom he claims divine descent.

This is reminiscent indeed of Antiochus' concepts. Apparently, kindred ideologies circulated among the rulers of neighbouring empires about the turn of the millennium. Apart from the features discussed above, Vima's statue at Mathura displays the same Iranian rigid frontality so evident in the figures on the Nemrud Dağ. It is also a feature of Parthian art as encountered at Hatra, Palmyra and Dura Europos, the great trading centres in the Syrian desert.³⁴ As mentioned above, the subsequent artistic production of the Kushan realm, the art of Gandhara, differs in being imbued with the lively verism of the Hellenistic heritage of the country. Itinerant artists disseminated this singular style all over present-day Afghanistan, Pakistan and northern India. Together with their craft, creeds were diffused. This is the time when Buddhism reached the Oxus as well as the oases of Chinese Central Asia.

The main purpose of this note was to elucidate items of 'material culture,' that is the strange outfit of king Vima Taktu in the museum at Mathura.³⁵ The apron

³⁰ Frye (1963, 132, 182-83) connects the Kushan sanctuary of Surkh Kotal with that of Toprak Kale in Khwarezm, Parthian Nisa and the Nemrud Dağ. See also Rosenfield 1967, 206.

³¹ See Invernizzi 1998, 45-60; 2004, esp. 139-40. I owe information and a photograph of a fragmentary clay sculpture – a bearded head, perhaps representing Mithridates I (*ca.* 171-138 BC) – to the kindness of Fred Hiebert. It was found in the western part of the Round Hall in 1996 immediately above the Parthian pavement and was finally excavated in 2002. It is now in the Ashgabad museum. Despite the scarcity of written sources, Frye (2004) makes an attempt to trace links between the Parthian empire in Mesopotamia and Iran and the Indo-Parthian realm. See also Metzler 2000; and, recently, Invernizzi 2007.

³² For Toprak Kele, see Rosenfield 1967, 168, fig. 20: the 'Hall of Warriors' in the palace area.

³³ For Surkh Kotal, see Schlumberger *et al.* 1983; *cf.* Fussman 2003, 172. A badly abraded relief of a ruler on a lion throne, with a tiara on his long hair and flaming shoulders, was found in Surkh Kotal (Schlumberger *et al.* 1983, 122-23, pl. 65), another link between this site and Mathura. *Cf.* Verardi (1983, 272-75), who demonstrates the Indian background of the Kushan *cakravartin* iconography.

³⁴ *Cf.* Rosenfield 1967, 208-14.

³⁵ Verardi (1983, 279) shows that the Kushan kings' retention of the steppe outfit for their official iconography was a conscious act deemed necessary for 'mediating among the various ethnic groups, the various religions and the different sections of society'.

we have identified clearly belongs to the ceremonial costume of the kings of Commagene when communicating with their gods and divine ancestors. The same may be the case in the single instance found at Palmyra. Two fragmentary figures whose gathered-up aprons are preserved, approach two deities on a relief from the temple of Bel, dated to AD 32 in the reign of Tiberius (Fig. 9).³⁶ The scene depicts the sanctuary of the Palmyrene gods Aglibol and Malakbel – the latter in military garb – who shake hands over an altar. A further altar, a sacrificial pig, holy trees and a building suggest a sacred precinct.

Is the apron worn by the two men on the left of the scene a ritual requirement in the worship of the gods of Moon and Sun respectively? If so, might not enthroned Vima, placed in the *devakula* at Mat, be represented as a devotee of the



Fig. 9: Drawing of relief from the Bel temple at Palmyra: sacrificial scene with the gods Aglibol and Malakbel with worshippers (after Seyrig 1934, pl. 22).

³⁶ See above n. 22. It was first discussed by Henry Seyrig, the masterly interpreter of Palmyrene art, in 1934 (176-77, pl. 22). He rightly connected the garb of the worshippers with that of the relevant figures on Antiochus I of Commagene's reliefs. Bernard (1964, 204-07, figs. 4-5) refined Seyrig's observations by stating that the apron as we know it from Nemrud Dağ has undergone a radical change in the Palmyrene relief: he assumed that the material was cut between the legs and its folds gathered in a binding that made the twin cord superfluous. The line drawing on the relief seems to support such an assumption – a kind of edge appears at the inner and lower edge of the apron. However, one would have to look at the original relief again to be wholly convinced.

Shaivaite deities of the sanctuary as well as in his divine avatar that includes the apron known from the reliefs at Commagene, in particular that of Zeus and Antiochus? Lastly, might not Vima Taktu who had wiped out the Indo-Parthian kingdom have chosen to adopt a garment of the adversary he defeated as Alexander the Great had done by appropriating parts of the royal Achaemenid attire of the last Persian King of Kings, thus documenting his own rightful successorship? Might one not also compare the widespread habit practiced, for example, by the Yüeh-chih/Kushan as victorious successors of the last Indo-Greek king Hermaeus to adopt, imitate or overstrike his coins before they created their own royal iconography?³⁷ As yet, these questions cannot be answered with any certainty. However, what seems apparent and important is the wide diffusion of analogous concepts of exalted royalty expressed by a specific garb.

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³⁷ See, for example, Bopearachchi 1998, 390-94. Other nomadic sovereigns such as the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthians had acted in comparable ways in the middle Ganges valley and in the eastern Punjab.

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LES FLEUVES DE LA PARTIE ORIENTALE DU BASSIN DE LA MER BALTIQUE DANS DES SOURCES ÉCRITES D'ANTIQUITÉS TARDIVE ET QUELQUES DÉCOUVERTES SUR LE FLEUVE DE LOUGA

Sergeï KARGAPOLTSEV et Valery SEDYH

Abstract

The note is dedicated to identifying the Chesinus river in the eastern part of the Baltic basin, mentioned in the *Geography* of Ptolemy (2nd century AD), the *Periplus* of Marcian (early 5th century AD), and the *Roman History* of Ammianus Marcellinus (second half of the 4th century AD). Ptolemy and Marcian place the river east of the Turuntus river, identified by V.A. Bulkin as the Western Dvina and its tributaries. In this case, the Chesinus can correspond to some channel east from the Dvina. The concentration of finds of Late Roman period weapons of Western origin on the Luga river points to the importance of this artery. Thus identification of the Luga with the Chesinus looks plausible.

Le Nord-Ouest de l'Europe orientale apparaît pour la première fois dans la *Géographie* de Ptolémée (première moitié du IIe s.). Ce sont les quatre fleuves qui se situent à l'ouest de la Vistule: Chronus, Rudon, Turuntus, Chesinus (Ptolémée *Géographie* 3. 5. 1). Plus tard nous les retrouvons chez les auteurs de la deuxième moitié du IVe s. Le fleuve de Chronius est mentionné, avec la Vistule, chez Ammien Marcellin (22. 38). D'une façon plus détaillée ces fleuves sont présents dans le *Périple* de Marcien:

... Après du delta de la Vistule suit les embouchures de fleuve de Chroné et au-delà du fleuve de Chronus se situe les embouchures du fleuve de Rudou. Ces fleuves se jettent dans le Golfe Vénède; celui-ci commence à partir de la Vistule et s'étale à une très grande distance. Après le fleuve de Rudou se situe l'embouchure du fleuve de Turuntus; après le fleuve de Turuntus suit le fleuve de Chesinus et son embouchure. Derrière le fleuve de Chesinus se trouve l'Océan Hyperboréen, qui voisine avec la terre hyperboréenne inconnue. Sur le fleuve de Chesinus vivent les Agatoursoi, le peuple de la Sarmate européenne. Les fleuves de Chesinus et Turuntus coulent des montagnes qui se situent plus haut, et qui s'appellent Ripéennes, elles se trouvent à l'intérieur du continent entre le lac de Méothide et l'Océan Sarmate. Le fleuve de Rudou coule de la Montagne alaine; près de cette montagne et en général dans cette région sur un vaste territoire vive le peuple des Alains-Sarmates ... (Marcien *Périple* 2. 39).

Si la Vistule, le Chronos et le Rudon se jettent –cela est indiqué– dans le Golfe Vénède, le Chesinus et Turuntus peut-être ne communiquent pas avec ce golfe. Ainsi P. Chafarik a proposé l'orientation des cours de ces deux fleuves selon l'axe nord-sud.¹ Quoique ce soit, la liste des ces fleuves, de l'ouest à l'est est toujours la même: Vistule, Chronos, Rudon, Turuntus, Chesinus.

V. Bulkin a entrepris la tentative de les localiser sur la carte géographique moderne. Selon lui le Chronos est le Niemen, tandis que le Rudon correspond au fleuve de Zapadnaja Dvina/Daugava.² Ces identifications ont été proposées déjà au XVIe s. et sont en vigueur jusqu'aujourd'hui.³ Les sources écrites et les cartes des XVIe-XXe s. témoignent de l'existence des nommes comme *-Turuntus*, *-Tutuntovskaja*, *-Turuntovo*, *-Turuntovaja*, *-Tarantovo*, dans la région entre le fleuve de Velikaja et le cours moyen de Zapadnaja Dvina/Daugava. Selon V. Bulkin, ce n'est pas le hasard. Ainsi, on peut supposer que le nom antique *-Turuntus* englobe un système fluvial qui englobe les fleuves de Polota, Drissa, Velikaja, Narova et le lac de Tchoudskoe/Peipsi; Ce système réunit le fleuve de Zapadnaja Dvina/Daugava avec le Golfe de Finlande.⁴

Le fleuve de Chesinus, qui se situe après le Turuntus n'est pas encore identifié.⁵ Si l'on part de la reconstitution de V. Bulkin, concernant le Turuntus (voir supra.), le Chesinus doit se situer à l'est de la ligne Velikaya-Tchoudskoe/Peipsi-Narova. Si l'on prend en compte l'hypothèse de P. Chafarik sur l'orientation possible nord-sud du Chesinus, il est tentant de l'identifier avec la section septentrionale de la future célèbre route 'des Varègues aux Grecs', c'est-à-dire avec l'axe Ladoga-Volkhov-Ilmen. L'existence des contacts entre la mer Baltique et la partie méridionale de l'Europe orientale par le système fluvial de la Grande plaine russe déjà à l'époque romaine est soutenue par beaucoup des chercheurs.⁶ D'autres expriment les doutes sur la réalité de l'utilisation de la section nord de la route 'des Varègues aux Grecs' déjà l'époque romaine, en tout cas les sources archéologiques ne confirment pas cette hypothèse.⁷

Sans entrer dans la discussion sur les voies de communication dans la zone forestière de l'Europe orientale à l'époque romaine, insistons sur quelques découvertes archéologiques, récentes et anciennes, qui montrent l'importance du fleuve de

¹ Šafarik 1848, 360-61.

² Bulkin 1983; 1987; 2003; Bulkin et Sedyh 2005.

³ Bulkin 1983, 7; Mačinskij 1984, 9; 1986, 4.

⁴ Bulkin 2003, 273-74.

⁵ D.A. Mačinskij (1986, 4), y voit le fleuve de Pernava en Estonie, mais il ne donne aucune argumentation de son point de vue.

⁶ Récemment, Mačinskij et Kulešov 2004.

⁷ Kazanski 1993.

Louga dans des contacts inter-régionaux à l'époque du Bas-Empire. Ces découvertes déjà ont été publiées,⁸ nous rappelons brièvement leur contenu.

En 1996 dans les tourbières du marée de Glumicy (district de Volosovo de la province de Leningrad, le bassin du Louga), à peu près à 60 km vers le sud-ouest de Saint-Petersbourg des chasseurs ont découvert une hache en fer (Fig. 1.5).

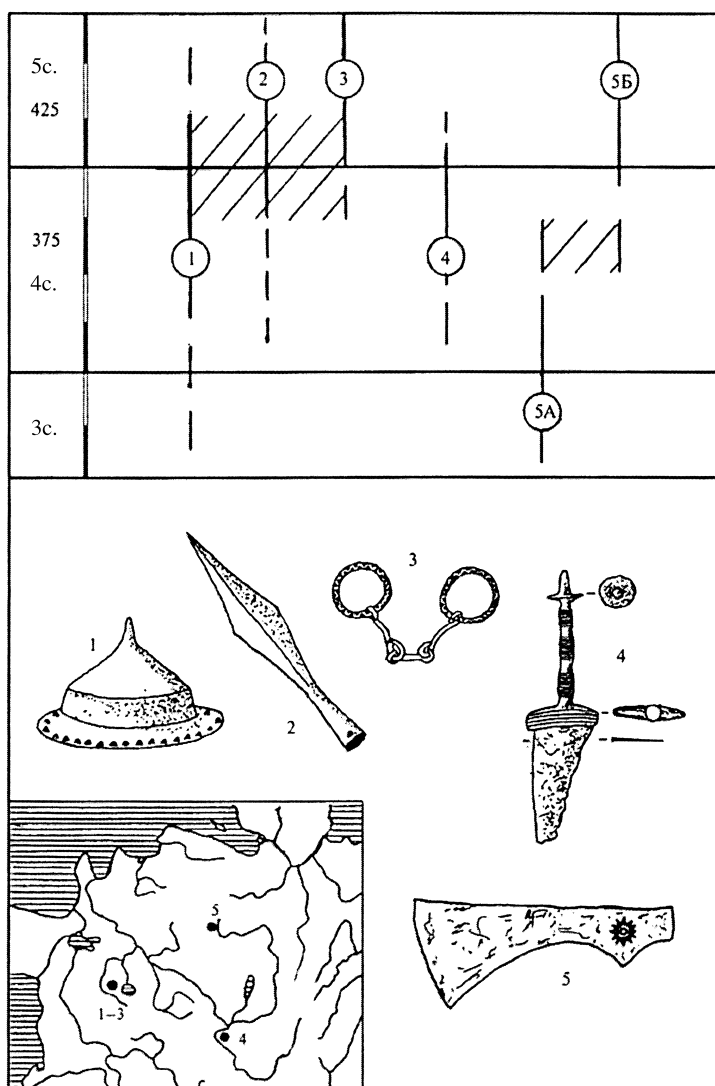


Fig. 1: Armes occidentales en Russie du Nord-Ouest et leur chronologie.
1-3: Doložskij pogost, tumulus 45; 4: Louga; 5: Glumicy.

⁸ Platonova et Ščukin 2000; Kargapoltsev et Ščukin 2002; 2006.

Cette hache porte un décor damasquiné en argent en forme d'étoile. Ce type de hache est totalement inconnu en Russie septentrionale. Les conditions de découverte ne permettent pas l'attribuer à un contexte précis, nous avons donc cherché des parallèles pour établir l'origine et la datation de cette hache. Les petites haches à décor incrusté existaient en Europe orientale durant le Bas Moyen Age, mais leur morphologie et leur forme sont différentes. Notre hache rappelle plutôt des armes germaniques de l'époque romaine tardive, largement diffusées dans la *Germania libera* entre le Rhin et l'Elbe, ainsi qu'en Scandinavie, durant des périodes C1b-C3 de la chronologie européenne 'barbare', c'est à dire 200-360/370 à peu près. Le nombre des découvertes le plus important provient du territoire de la civilisation dite de Luboszyce, entre l'Elbe et l'Oder.⁹ Le décor damasquiné est bien connu sur les armes barbares des périodes B2 (70-170) et C1a (150-220), cependant le motif d'étoile est plus tardif. Il fait partie du décor dit de Sösdala, typique de l'époque des Grandes Migrations, surtout de la période D2 (380/400-440/450). L'étoile sur notre hache rappelle beaucoup celle sur le pontet de l'épée de la découverte de Tibble, en Suède.¹⁰ Or ce dernier est identique à celui sur l'épée de Stilichon, représentée sur le diptyque de Monza. Ainsi, le décor sur la hache permet de cerner la date de cette arme dans les limites de la deuxième moitié -fin du IV^e s.

Une autre arme d'origine occidentale, découverte dans la même région est un coutelas à manche en bronze (Fig. 1.4). Il a été récemment mis au jour près de la ville de Louga d'une façon fortuite; selon d'autres sources il s'agit de la découverte dans un tumulus dans le lieu-dit Turov. Ce coutelas a des parallèles uniquement en Espagne du Nord-Ouest, où on en dénote actuellement 21 exemplaire. Les armes espagnoles similaires sont datés du IV^e s.¹¹ L'apparition d'une arme espagnole en Russie septentrionale paraît très surprenante, peut-être les contacts entre les Pyrénées et la région baltique s'expliquent par l'activité des Baltes-Galindes, qui auraient pris part dans la migration des Wisigoths ou Vandales au début du V^e s.¹² En tout cas les fibules originaires de Prusse orientale ou du bassin de la Vistule ont été récemment identifiées en Gaule du Sud-Ouest.¹³

Enfin, une troisième découverte, l'équipement militaire provenant du tumulus 45 de Doložskij pogost (Fig. 1.1-3), près du lac de Samro, est depuis longtemps

⁹ Godlowski 1970, 30, pl. 5; Meyer 1976, 192-93, carte 1; Domanski 1979, 51; 1982, 77-78; Kieferling 1994, 339-40, fig. 4.

¹⁰ Kargapoltsev et Ščukin 2002, fig. 3; 2006, fig. 3.

¹¹ De Palol 1964; Martin 1993.

¹² Platonova et Ščukin 2000.

¹³ Kazanski 1999.

connu des spécialistes.¹⁴ Ici, dans une incinération on a mis au jour un umbo du type Liebenau (Fig. 1.1), portant un décor perlé sur le bord, typique des umbo baltes, des mors à canon brisé tripartite (Fig. 1.3) et une lance à flamme losangique (Fig. 1.2), les deux derniers objets également typiques des Baltes.¹⁵ D'après l'umbo du type Liebenau cette tombe est datée de la fin du IV^e à la fin du V^e s. L'incinération de Določskij pogost rappelle, par ses pratiques funéraires, des sépultures lithuaniennes.¹⁶ On peut donc supposer qu'il s'agit d'un ressortissant balte, qui est venu en Russie septentrionale dans la vague des groupes militarisés d'origine germano-balto-slave, qui apparaissent dans la zone forestière de la Russie durant le V^e s.¹⁷

Ces armes occidentales sont inhabituelles pour les antiquités de la région de l'Est de la mer Baltique. De plus, dans la région de leur découverte, au Sud du golf de Finlande, aucune population n'est attestée par des sites archéologiques pour l'époque des Grandes Migrations. Cependant, les armes présentées dans notre étude montrent, qu'une telle population, entretenant des contacts lointains avec l'Occident existait. Il s'agit peut être de la population locale, qui a laissé dans des régions limitrophes des sites de la civilisation dite des Longs Kourganes, qui se forme justement à cette époque.¹⁸ D'autre part il n'est pas exclu que ces armes appartiennent à un groupe des guerriers d'origine étrangère (Germanins ou Baltes?) qui a pénétré loin dans les forêts de Russie septentrionale lors des événements de l'époque des Grandes Migrations.

En tout cas, ces découvertes archéologiques, dont la dater optimale est la deuxième moitié du IV^e-début du V^e s. (Fig. 1), montrent que le fleuve de Louga représentait une importance certaine à l'époque romaine tardive en tant que voie de communications. Ceci nous permet de proposer l'identification possible du fleuve de Chesinus avec celui de Louga.

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¹⁴ Spicyn 1896, 5, 109, pl. 18.16.

¹⁵ Kazanski 2000b.

¹⁶ Kargapoltsev 1994, 66.

¹⁷ Kazanski 2000a.

¹⁸ Kargapoltsev 1994; 1996a-b; 1997, 93-95.

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REVIEWS

WEST AND EAST: A REVIEW ARTICLE (7)

Companions and Handbooks

Archaeology has long since ceased to be a purely academic preserve, if ever it was; it is now a subject of considerable interest to a wider audience. Publication after publication continues to appear with this in mind. What distinguishes Blackwell's *A Companion to Archaeology*¹ is its structure: instead of hundreds of entries discussing individual sites, a limited number of well-known authors take a thematic approach to presenting the subject. The work is in four parts: 'Thinking About Archaeology', 'Current Themes and Novel Departures', 'Major Traditions in Archaeology in Contemporary Perspective', and 'Archaeology and the Public'. Within each of these are several chapters addressing different aspects of archaeology, for example 'Analytical Archaeology', 'Archaeology and Language: Methods and Issues', 'The Archaeology of Gender', 'Archaeological Dating', 'Classical Archaeology', 'The Archaeology of Landscape', 'Archaeology and Art', 'Museum Studies', etc. The contributions are written in an easy style. Each is followed by notes and bibliography. Sixty authors come together in *Discovery*,² a lavishly illustrated volume (320 photographs, all but eight in colour) which celebrates the outstanding archaeological discoveries of the last 15 years from Britain, China, Egypt, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Peru, Spain, the Sudan, Turkey, the Ukraine, and many other parts of the world. The sites date from the Ice Age through to the Middle Ages. This book will be read with pleasure by general readers and academic alike; it is very useful for undergraduates.

The Edinburgh Companion volume³ contains 70 contributions by over 50 authors, many of them distinguished. It is divided into four parts, the first, 'Classics and the Classical World', subdivided in turn into 11 pieces on classics in the 21st century (history, archaeology, religion, economy, gender, language, literature, philosophy, art history, legacies, etc.), three on the regions of the ancient world (the Ancient Near East, Iron Age Europe and regions and regionalism in antiquity), and six on periods (from the 'Dark Age' to Late Antiquity). Part 2, 'Material Culture', brings together 14 contributions (from landscape, marine archaeology, sites and features, and buildings and architecture, via coinage, sculpture, jewellery, pottery and metalwork, to dress and textiles, arms and armour, manuscripts, inscriptions, and papyri). Part 3, the longest, is entitled 'Texts and Genres': 25 pieces, starting with epic and moving through tragedy and comedy, verse and poetry, other forms of writing, and rhetoric, to philosophy, historiography, geography, mythology, science and legal

¹ J. Bintliff (ed.), *A Companion to Archaeology*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford 2006, 568 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 10: 1-4051-4979-5/13: 978-1-4051-4979-2.

² B.M. Fagan (ed.), *Discovery! Unearthing the New Treasures of Archaeology*, Thames and Hudson, London 2007, 256 pp., 320 illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-500-05149-8.

³ E. Bispham, T. Harrison and B.A. Sparkes (eds.), *The Edinburgh Companion to Ancient Greece and Rome*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2006, xiv+604 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-7486-1629-2/13: 978-0-7486-1629-9.

texts (often in pairs, one Greek, the other Roman). The final part 'Essential Information and Systems of Reference' lives up to its title: names, weights and measures, money, writing systems, maps, calendars, timelines, glossaries, abbreviations, etc. Extremely useful, like the rest of this well-produced and well-conceived volume.

A Companion to the Roman Empire,⁴ another admirable addition to Blackwell's large and expanding series of Companions, is of comparable length, but with just 30 contributors and 30 chapters, launched by the Introduction, 'The Shape of Roman History: The Fate of the Governing Class', written by the editor (pp. 1-30), it gives each author more breadth and depth, admittedly within a narrower overall remit (other volumes in the series deal with the Republic, the Greek World, etc.). The arrangement is again thematic: 'The Sources' (numismatic, documentary, 'Constructing a Narrative', art, architecture and archaeology, and 'Interdisciplinary Approaches'), 'Narrative' (three chapters, divided 44 BC-AD 96, AD 96-235, AD 235-337), 'Administration' (five: provincial, transformation under Diocletian and Constantine, the army, Greek cities, and cities and urban life in the Western provinces), 'Social and Economic Life' (seven: economy, family, sexuality, food and the body, leisure, spectacle, and 'Landlords and Tenants'), 'Intellectual Life' (six: Imperial poetry, Greek fiction, Roman law, Roman medicine, philosophy and 'The Construction of the Past...'), and 'Religion' (four: traditional, Jewish and Christian). There are various maps and tables; more would have been better.

*The Cambridge Companion to the Hellenistic World*⁵ is briefer. Its ambition is to present 15 essays, of similar length to those in the Blackwell volume (plus a short Introduction, some maps and a timeline), to supplement and complement the general histories of the period. A.B. Bosworth writes on 'Alexander the Great and the creation of the Hellenistic Age', W.L. Adams on 'The Hellenistic Kingdoms', J.K. Davies on 'Hellenistic Economies' and D.J. Thompson on 'The Hellenistic Family'. 'History and Rhetoric' are examined by G.J. Oliver, 'Material Culture' by S.I. Rotroff, 'Hellenistic Art...' by A. Stewart, and 'Language and Literature' by N. Krevans and A. Sens. Continuity and change in Greek religion form the subject of J.D. Mikalson's piece; 'Science, Medicine and Technology' that of P.T. Keyser and G. Irby-Massie. The editor discusses 'Hellenistic Military Developments'. E.S. Gruen offers a wide-ranging chapter on 'Greeks and Non-Greeks'. D.G.S. Shipley discusses 'The *Polis* and Federalism' in a chapter to which M.H. Hansen contributes, and concludes the volume with a short discourse on 'Recent Trends and New Directions' wherein he remarks upon the 'quiet revolution' (p. 315) in the study of the history and archaeology of an undervalued period.

*Ancient Egyptian Chronology*⁶ is another handbook. Whereas many such exercises are produced with a general and student audience in mind, this is more narrowly conceived. It

⁴ D. Potter (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Empire*, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford 2006, xxxii+692 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-631-22644-3/13: 978-0-631-22644-4.

⁵ G. Bugh (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Hellenistic World*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006, xxx+372 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 10: 0-521-53570-0/13: 978-0-521-53570-0.

⁶ E. Hornung, R. Krauss and D.A. Warburton (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 1: The Near and Middle East 83, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2006, xii+518 pp. Cased. ISBN 10: 90-04-11385-1/13: 978-90-04-11385-5/ISSN 0169-9423.

is arranged in three main parts. The first, 'Egyptian Chronographical Tradition and Method of Dating', has five chapters, including one on 'Royal Annals' and others on 'King Lists', 'Genealogy and Chronology', 'Methods of Dating and the Egyptian Calendar', etc. The other two, dealing respectively with relative and absolute chronology, have roughly a dozen contributions apiece and form the meat of the volume. The former takes us from the Pre-Dynastic period through dynasties and periods to Saite and Persian Egypt, plus a chapter on the Nubian/Kushite kingdoms and another on 'Chronological Links between the Cuneiform World of the Ancient Near East and Ancient Egypt'. The latter discusses radio-carbon and luminescence dating, dendrochronology, astronomical dating and astronomical phenomena, the Lunar calendar, variations in the motions of the earth and moon, etc. Part IV contains Conclusions as well as a chronological table for the Dynastic periods and tables of Kushite rulers.

Conference/Symposium Proceeding and Papers

S. Deger-Jalkotzy's time as Leventis Visiting Professor at the University of Edinburgh is handsomely commemorated in volume 3 of the *Edinburgh Leventis Studies* series:⁷ the publication of 33 papers, many of distinguished authorship, of a conference held in Edinburgh February 2003. Part I, 'Political and Social Structure', contains four papers on Mycenaean topics (palaces, administration, power terminology, social structure) and two on Homeric poems and epics. In Part II, 'Continuity-Discontinuity-Transformation', the Mycenaean heritage and late Mycenaean warrior tombs rub alongside ideology and power in Late Helladic IIIC, the archaeology of *basileis*, copper metallurgy in the Greek mainland and Aegean, ethnē in the Peloponnese and central Greece, etc. 'International and Inter-Regional Relations' are addressed in Part III by way of an examination of ancient attitudes to, and modern theories about, gift exchange, external contacts in the Euboean Gulf, the *basileus* in the kingdoms of Cyprus, the Phoenicians in Crete, and the 'Italian connection'. Part IV comprises three papers on 'Religion and Hero Cult' (epic heroes and social change, change and continuity in cult activity in Crete, and religion, *basileis* and heroes). 'The Homeric Epics and Heroic Poetry' (Part V) examines historical approaches to Homer as well as language and semantics. The longest section is the last 'The Archaeology of Greek Religions and Beyond' (nine papers: the palace of Iolkos, Iron Age elite burials in East Lokris, Athens and Lefkandi, the Early Iron Age in the Argolid, Knossos in Early Greek times, political evolution and ethnic identity in Praesos, western Greece 1200-700 BC, Homeric Cyprus, and a comparative study of settlement and socio-economic change in Crete and the Aegean).

From the index of *Debating Orientalization*⁸ the name of Edward Said erupts yet again. This volume, fruits of a symposium in Oxford in September 2002, has ten chapters including the Introduction, with headings such as 'metal bowls and art history' and 'the Orient as

⁷ S. Deger-Jalkotzy and I.S. Lemos (eds.), *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, Edinburgh Leventis Studies 3, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2006, xxiii+695 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-7486-1889-9/13: 978-0-7486-1889-7.

⁸ C. Riva and N.C. Vella (eds.), *Debating Orientalization: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Change in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology 10, Equinox Publishing, London/Oakville, CT 2006, x+170 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 1-84553-192-2/13: 978-1-84553-192-8.

lifestyle'. N. Purcell poses '...Five Historical Questions': 'Artefacts and life' and 'On the non-existence of the Orient', as well as '...problems with -izing' and '...what about the ized?'. D. Wengrew's 'Approaching Ancient Orientalization *via* Modern Europe' brings us Said and Port Said, or at least Napoleon in Egypt (under "Liberating" Egypt and exorcising the *Ancien Régime*). A.B. Knapp considers 'Orientalization and Prehistoric Cyprus...' and S.P. Morris 'The View from East Greece: Miletus, Samos and Ephesus', whilst E. Gubel makes 'Notes on the Phoenician Component of the Orientalizing Horizon'. M.E. Aubet writes 'On the Organization of the Phoenician Colonial System in Iberia' and C. Riva on 'The Orientalizing Period in Etruria...'. P. van Dommelen looks at '...Hybridity and Material Culture in the Western Mediterranean'. R. Osborne asks 'W(h)ither Orientalization' and opposes its subsumption into colonialism.

Six authors (three based in England and three in Wales) contribute two studies on Greek and four on Roman colonisation, admitting that the term encompasses a variety of processes (p. xv), extensively reworked from some of the papers given to a conference held in London in 1998 and informed by discussions held there.⁹ One of the themes echoing throughout the volume is the distortions brought about by 'the pervasive influence of ancient historiography on the study of ancient colonization' (p. xiii). Other topics are the impact of archaeological evidence, the diversity of colonies (even those of shared foundation), the origins and roles of colonies, foundation myths in colonisation, the role and nature of the founders, and different phases of colonisation. Thus, D. Gill, 'Early colonization at Euesperides: origins and interactions', J.-P. Wilson, 'Ideologies of Greek colonization', M. Crawford, 'From Poseidonia to Paestum via the Lucanians', E. Bispham, '*Coloniā deducere*: how Roman was Roman colonization during the Middle Republic', G. Bradley, 'Colonization and identity in Republican Italy', and J.R. Paterson, 'Colonization and historiography: the Roman Republic'.

Thirteen papers from an international conference on the economy of Roman Asia Minor (held in Exeter in July 2002) are here published in a well-edited volume, again by the Classical Press of Wales.¹⁰ Within this geographical focus, they have been divided into five themes: agriculture (examining estates, farming and the protection of men, beasts and crops, olive cultivation), trade and exchange (maritime exchange across the Black Sea, market-building in the Hellenistic and Roman periods), the economy of cities and sanctuaries (benefactors and public buildings, central intervention in the economy of Pontus and Bithynia, the economic dimension of sanctuaries), the monetary economy (coinage in Commagene and Pontus and Paphlagonia, monetisation in the 3rd century AD), and population movements and their economic impact (military supply, the impact of church councils on the city economies – both by Turkish authors). This well-produced volume fulfils admirably the aims outlined in the editors' scene-setting Introduction: not a 'detailed and exhaustive analysis' (p. xxvi), rather an exercise in highlighting patterns and pointing the way for future research.

⁹ G.J. Bradley and J.-P. Wilson (eds.), *Greek and Roman Colonization. Origins, Ideologies and Interactions*, The Classical Press of Wales, Swansea 2006, xvi+224 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 1-905125-06-2.

¹⁰ S. Mitchall and C. Katsari (eds.), *Patterns in the Economy of Roman Asia Minor*, The Classical Press of Wales, Swansea 2005, xxxii+335 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 1-905125-02-X.

The 35 papers (in German, Italian and English) published from the 2002 Stuttgart Conference on the Historical Geography of the Ancient World,¹¹ which focused on migration, exhibit a diverse mixture of approaches and themes, and length and quality, as well as taking a very broad definition of migration (so broad that there is no obvious division into themes beyond separation of general papers and case studies). W. Orth and U. Scharrer (pp. 90-97, 336-63) look at aspects of the Greek conquest of/migration to the East, A. Chaniotis (pp. 98-103) concentrates on how the Hellenistic wars affected Cretan migration, whilst K. Ruffing focuses on the regional mobility of merchants and craftsmen in the Greek Mediterranean (pp. 133-49). Of particular interest is M. Kerschner's combination of archaeological and written evidence in his study of Ephesus as a model for examining Ionian colonisation in Asia Minor (pp. 364-82).

An international conference held at the University of Genoa in December 2004 examined the importance of the sea to Mediterranean societies. The proceedings, lavishly illustrated, appeared in 2005.¹² It is no surprise that most papers concentrate on the archaeological evidence of maritime trade, such as the role of Campanian pottery, the trade of colonies in Iberian Peninsula, distribution of Mediterranean wine in Gaul, etc. Other papers discuss Romanisation, the image of the sea in the Etruscan world and so forth. One section is devoted to papers presented as posters. These concentrate mainly on new excavations of ports or the submerged parts of cities (Savignone, Portus Pisanus, Santa Gilla, Nora, Olbia, Durrës), and a few on newly discovered shipwrecks.

The Levant, the West and North Africa

Phoenician antiquities and problems connected with the study of the Phoenicians have long interested scholars. Of late, even more attention has been paid to these matters. To the fore are our Spanish colleagues, especially M.E. Aubet and the Department of Archaeology at Pompeu Fabra University of Barcelona. This department inaugurated the long-running publication series, *Cuadernos de Arqueología Mediterránea*. Volume 7¹³ publishes the results of the excavation of the Phoenician burial ground (the Southern Cemetery) in Achziv on the northern part of the coast of Israel, almost midway between Acre and Tyre, where the earliest excavations were conducted by the government of Palestine in 1941. It details the work of the Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, between 1988 and 1990, under the directorship of E. Mazar, which revealed built tombs, rock-cut shaft tombs, round graves, pit graves, burials in pottery vessels and cremation burials. The book

¹¹ E. Olshausen and H. Sonnabend (eds.), *"Troianer sind wir gewesen" – Migrationen in der antiken Welt*, Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur Historischen Geographie des Altertums 8 (2002), Geographica Historica 21, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2006, 431 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 10: 3-515-08750-8/13: 978-3-515-08750-6.

¹² B.M. Giannattasio, C. Canepa, L. Grasso and E. Piccardi (eds.), *Aequora, pontos, jam, mare... Mare, uomini e merci nel Mediterraneo antico*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Genova, 9-10 dicembre 2004, Università degli Studi di Genova, All'Insegna del Giglio, Florence 2005, 296 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 88-7814-470-3.

¹³ E. Mazar, *The Phoenicians in Achziv. The Southern Cemetery. Jerome L. Joss Expedition. Final Report of the Excavations 1988-1990*, Cuadernos de Arqueología Mediterránea 7, Publicaciones del Laboratorio de Arqueología de la Universidad Pompeu Fabra de Barcelona, Carrera Edició, Barcelona 2001, 216 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 84-88236-12-3.

gives a full account, lavishly illustrated. The chapters are arranged by type of burial: each burial is described, as are the grave-goods found in them. The vast majority of graves date between the end of the 11th and the 8th century BC, while shaft tombs with burial beds are from the end of the 9th to the 4th century BC. There are two appendices written by B. Brandl. Another monograph by Mazar¹⁴ publishes the Phoenician stone family tomb no. 1 from the Northern Cemetery at Achziv. It contains a detailed description of the stratigraphy, identifying four phases, chronology and architecture. The grave-goods are presented and examined by category: pottery, terracottas, jewellery and bronze scales, scarabs and amulets (also the subject of three appendices), fibulae, iron weapons and tools, and objects of stone, ivory and bone. Like the previous volume, this one contains illustrations of every piece discussed, as well as plans and photographs of the tomb.

Volume 11 in the same Barcelona series is an examination, by H. Sader, of Iron Age funerary stelai from the Lebanon,¹⁵ altogether 62 examples dating between the 10th and 4th centuries BC, illustrated by 118 figures. Only 13 come from regular excavations; the others were either looted or found accidentally. Chapter 1 looks in detail at the general characteristics of the stelai, their functions and chronology. The next chapter is dedicated to the inscriptions on them in Phoenician script of Phoenician and Punic personal names. Chapter 3 examines various symbols and their interpretation. Three reviews form a coda to the volume.

Al Mina has received much academic attention, but discussion has concentrated on the Archaic and Classical periods. This site continued to exist long after. T. Vorderstasse's book¹⁶ is extremely welcome, for it provides us with a detailed view of Al Mina from late antiquity to the end of the Ottoman period. In eight chapters the author offers a theoretical model of the port-city, a history of the excavations conducted here, and an examination of the city in Late Roman, Early Byzantine, Early Islamic, Middle Byzantine, Frankish and Late Islamic times, for each period describing what archaeological material has been found and giving a well-rounded picture of the city. All the illustrations – pottery, coins, glassware, maps, etc. – are on CD.

The Getty has created another of its magnificent volumes in Steingraber's huge work on Etruscan wall painting.¹⁷ Lavishly illustrated, although it can be hard work to tie together the text and the unnumbered illustrations, this may appear to be coffee-table material. A few minutes of attention disposes of this notion: this work contains up-to-date information

¹⁴ E. Mazar, *The Phoenician Family Tomb N. 1 at the Northern Cemetery of Achziv (10th-6th Centuries BCE)*, Cuadernos de Arqueología Mediterránea 10, Publicaciones del Laboratorio de Arqueología de la Universidad Pompeu Fabra de Barcelona, Edicions Bellaterra, Barcelona 2004, 244 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 84-7290-266-8.

¹⁵ H. Sader, *Iron Age Funerary Stelae from Lebanon*, Cuadernos de Arqueología Mediterránea 11, Publicaciones del Laboratorio de Arqueología de la Universidad Pompeu Fabra de Barcelona, Edicions Bellaterra, Barcelona 2005, 169 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 84-7290-276-5.

¹⁶ T. Vorderstasse, *Al-Mina: A Port of Antioch from Late Antiquity to the End of the Ottomans*, Uitgaven van het Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten te Leiden/Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 104, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden 2005, xii+204 pp., illustrations on CD. Paperback. ISBN 90-6258-315-6/ISSN 0926-9568.

¹⁷ S. Steingraber, *Abundance of Life. Etruscan Wall Painting*, translated by R. Stockman, J. Paul Getty Museum Publications, Los Angeles 2006, 328 pp., 250 colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-89236-865-9/13: 978-0-89236-865-5.

on recent discoveries, offers an overview of our current state of knowledge about Etruscan frescoes, and links them to a broader Mediterranean context. Their stylistic and iconographic evolution from the end of the 8th century BC to the beginning of the 2nd is addressed in six chronological chapters and a concluding chapter on the place of Etruscan painting in the art of the ancient Mediterranean, buttressed by an Introduction and various appendices (chronology, list of tombs, plans, glossary, indexes, etc.). Tarquinia, which predominates from front cover to back, is superb; worth dying for.

J.C. Thorn has produced a *magnum opus*: a lavish, well-illustrated and detailed history of two centuries of exploration of the necropolis of Cyrene.¹⁸ Chapter 1 is an account of previous explorations; Chapter 2 publishes Rowe's necropolis studies from the 1950s. The next gives details of excavations of rock-cut tombs, to be followed by one focused on their morphology, classification and detailed description. Chapter 5 provides a typology and morphology of the built tombs, also giving descriptions of sarcophagi and furnishings. In the following chapter, the Cyrene necropolis is compared with those from East Greece and neighbouring areas, mainland Greece, the Greek islands, Italy and Sicily. The final chapter is a discussion of burial rites. There are 426 figures: photographs and plans of tombs, photographs and drawings of sarcophagi and grave-goods, etc.

Part I of the publication of papers from the 10th Congress on Cyrenaican Archaeology focuses on new evidence on the cities and territory of Cyrenaica.¹⁹ Many of the 38 contributions, divided into six thematic sessions and posters, concern tombs and their architecture; several provide material from new excavations in Cyrene, a few are dedicated to temples, some more to the excavation of other sites, such as Euesperides, Balagrae, Tocra, etc.. As well as plans, drawings and photographs in the text, there are ten colour plates at the rear of the volume.

The Black Sea and the Caucasus

The fourth volume of Aarhus University Press's *Black Sea Studies* publishes papers from an international conference held in Denmark in September 2003.²⁰ This brought together scholars from West and East to examine both the Greek *chorai* and the current state of landscape archaeology in this region. The 15 papers are a mixture of methodological and site-based studies. J. Bintliff writes on aspects of the economic and ecological understanding of the *chora* in a social context; S.E. Alcock and J.E. Rempel look at sites other than settlements and what they can contribute to landscape archaeology and the study of the *chora*; O. Doonan explores the hinterland of Sinope, A. Avram the territories of Istros and Kallatis, S.B. Ochotnikov the *chorai* of the Lower Dniester, S.D. Kryzickij and S.B. Bujs-

¹⁸ J.C. Thorn, *The Necropolis of Cyrene. Two Hundred Years of Exploration*, Monografie di Archeologia Libica XXVI, 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, Rome 2005, 832 pp., 426 figs. Cased. ISBN 88-8265-339-0.

¹⁹ E. Fabbriotti and O. Menozzi (eds.), *Cirenaica: studi, scavi e scoperte. Parte I: Nuovi dati da città e territorio*, Atti del X Convegno di Archeologia Cirenaica, Chieti, 24-26 Novembre 2003, Università degli Studi G. d'Annunzio di Chieti, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità, BAR International Series 1488, John and Erica Hedges, Oxford 2006, 524 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-740-1.

²⁰ P.G. Bilde and V.F. Stolba (eds.), *Surveying the Greek Chora. The Black Sea Region in a Comparative Perspective*, Black Sea Studies 4, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus 2006, 346 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 87-7934-238-8/13: 978-87-7934-238-5.

kich the rural environs of Olbia, V.A. Kutajsov the *chora* of Kerkititis, G.M. Nikolaenko that of Tauric Chersonesus, A.V. Gavrilov Theodosia, S.Ju. Saprykin the Bosporan kingdom, and V.N. Zin'ko Nymphaion. J.C. Carter offers a comparative study of the *chorai* of Metapontion and Chersonesus and S. Conrad an archaeological survey of the Lower Danube. Aerial photography, mapping and surface surveys are applied to land division in the *chorai* of the European Bosphorus and Chersonesus by T.N. Smekalova and S.L. Smekalov. The volume is well put together and well illustrated. All contributions are in reasonable English, except one in German; and it is German practice which seems to dominate the transliteration of the names of Russian and Ukrainian authors.

L. Khroushkova's comprehensive account of the Christian monuments of Abkhazia of the 4th-14th centuries is the result of study undertaken since 1972.²¹ Chapter 1 provides an overview of the spread of Christianity through the eastern parts of the Black Sea, including Abkhazia. The next seven chapters, mainly arranged geographically, give very detailed accounts of the Christian monuments based on all kinds of available evidence – archaeological, literary, inscriptions, etc.. Chapter 8, the concluding chapter, contains a discussion of architectural decoration, including Byzantine marble and local sculpture, and, backed by extensive documentation and comparisons, highlights the Syro-Palestinian, Cappadocian and other features adopted in the creation of the Christian monumental architecture of Abkhazia. The volume is generously furnished with colour and black-and-white illustrations.

On a related theme is the investigation by A. Plontke-Lüning.²² This examines Christian architecture in a wider area, the whole of Caucasia, but in a narrower timeframe, the 4th-7th centuries. Again, this is not just a book about architecture; it combines all available forms of evidence to present a well-rounded picture of the spread of Christianity in Lazika, Iberia, Armenia and Albania. A large portion of the book is devoted to describing and evaluating the work of previous scholars in this field. It contains several useful maps; the very extensive catalogue, plans and other illustrations (altogether 254 tables) are on CD. Undoubtedly, this volume will be used for many years to come.

Varia

O. Palagia, herself a leading expert, brings together other notable scholars in this well-produced and well-illustrated volume on the evolution of Greek sculpture in the 7th-4th centuries BC.²³ She contributes the chapters on 'Classical Athens' and 'Marble Carving Techniques', M.C. Sturgeon that on 'Archaic Athens and the Cyclades', B.A. Barletta on 'Archaic

²¹ L. Khroushkova, *Les monuments chrétiens de la côte orientale de la Mer Noire: Abkhazie IVe-XIVe siècles*, Bibliothèque de L'Antiquité Tardive publiée par L'Association pour L'Antiquité Tardive 9, Brepols Publishers, Turnhout 2006, 340 pp., 120 black-and-white and 16 colour pls. Paperback. ISBN 2-503-52387-0. Extensive summary in English.

²² A. Plontke-Lüning, *Frühchristliche Architektur in Kaukazien. Die Entwicklung des christlichen Sakralbaus in Lazika, Iberien, Armenien, Albanien und den Grenzregionen vom 4. bis zum 7. Jh.*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften 359, Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung XIII, Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2007, 412 pp., 5 maps; catalogue and 254 tabs. on CD. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-70013682-8.

²³ O. Palagia (ed.), *Greek Sculpture. Function, Materials, and Techniques in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006, xvi+326 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-521-77267-2/13: 978-0-521-77267-9.

and Classical Magna Graecia', and P. Higgs on 'Late Classical Asia Minor: Dynasts and Their Tombs'. J. Boardman examines 'Sources and Models', whilst C.C. Mattusch focuses on 'Archaic and Classical Bronzes' and N. Herz on 'Greek and Roman White Marbles: Geology and Determination of Provenance'. As the title suggests, the emphasis is on materials, techniques and function, quarrying detail from different regions to essay a refreshing departure from the overly and overtly art-historical approach still too often found.

*Rethinking Revolutions through Ancient Greece*²⁴ contains 11 chapters and R. Osborne's Introduction, which is followed immediately by his 'When was the Athenian democratic revolution?'; his co-editor, S. Goldhill, contributes 'Rethinking religious revolution', sandwiched between 'Religion and the rationality of the Greek city' (T. Harrison) and '...history as the development of a secular narrative' (C. Dewald). D. Allen examines political change in 4th-century Athens and historiographical method. J. Elsner makes 'Reflections on the "Greek Revolution" in art...'. 'Revolutions in human time: age-class in Athens and the Greekness of Greek revolutions' (J. Davidson), revolutions in philosophy (C. Osborne), new music (A. D'Angour), and a chapter on medicine (H. King) conclude the volume.

A second edition of Raaflaub's *Social Struggles in Archaic Rome*²⁵ has appeared some 20 years after the first, testimony to the continuing debate about a struggle between the Orders (several of the contributors are sceptics), reinforced by an extra Preface responding to various criticisms of the first edition, a mixture of addenda, appendices and additions to footnotes to incorporate new material and the authors' responses to recent scholarship, an updated bibliography, and one new chapter (Russell Scott, briefly, on 'The Contribution of Archaeology to Early Roman History', to make up for a correctly perceived weakness in the original collection). A. Momigliano's 1969-vintage contribution on the rise of the *plebs* in Archaic Rome follows J.-C. Richard on the origins of the dichotomy between plebeians and patricians, and R.E. Mitchell on an end to the struggle between the Orders. There are two chapters each by Raaflaub (taking a comparative approach to the conflict of the Orders in Chapter I, and later examining the stages in that conflict) and J. von Ungern-Sternberg (concerning the Decemvirate and, in the concluding chapter, reviewing the end of the conflict). J. Linderski looks at the religious aspects of the conflict; W. Eder and M. Toher focus on law, the codification of law and the political significance of it, and R. Develin discusses the integration of the *plebs* into the political order.

*The Colors of Clay*²⁶ is an opulent catalogue, indeed somewhat more than this implies, produced by the Getty to accompany the first large exhibition at the renovated and enlarged Getty Villa. In addition to the Introduction, which seeks to bring together and give context to the various themes of the exhibition, and the short 'Technical Studies of Some Attic Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum', a discussion of conservation issues, there are nine

²⁴ S. Goldhill and R. Osborne (eds.), *Rethinking Revolutions through Ancient Greece*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006, xvi+320 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-521-86212-4/13 978-0-521-86212-7.

²⁵ K.A. Raaflaub (ed.), *Social Struggles in Archaic Rome. New Perspectives on the Conflict of the Orders*, 2nd ed., Blackwell Publishing, Oxford 2005, xxx+417 pp. Paperback. ISBN 10: 1-4051-0061-3/13: 978-1-4051-0061-8.

²⁶ B. Cohen, with contributions by S. Lansing-Marsh *et al.*, *The Colors of Clay. Special Techniques in Athenian Vases*, Getty Publications, Los Angeles 2006, xii+372 pp., 140 colour and 95 black-and-white illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-89236-571-4/13: 978-0-89236-571-5.

chapters (the first five by Cohen, most of the rest by Getty colleagues): 'Bilingual Vases', 'Coral-red Gloss', 'Six's Technique', 'Added Clay and Gilding', 'Outline in Black- and Red-figure Vase-painting', 'White Ground', 'Plastic Vases and Vases with Plastic Additions', 'The Sotades Tomb', and 'Kerch-style Vases'. In each, a detailed discussion of the technique illustrated is provided, followed by the very detailed catalogue entries (105 vases from various American and European museums).

J.K. Papadopoulos and the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology can be proud of the two weighty volumes on *The Early Iron Age Cemetery at Torone*,²⁷ a comprehensive text comprehensively illustrated. Part I, 'The Material', contains an introductory chapter, a trench-by-trench account of the excavations on Terrace V, a catalogue of tombs and their contents, and three appendices providing an extensive anthropological assessment of the inhumations and cremations and shorter examinations of animal, plant and marine remains. Part II, 'Analysis of the material', opens with an extensive chapter on mortuary practices (of broader use), followed by an even longer one on the pottery, with an appendix containing petrographic and chemical analyses of the pottery, short chapters on potters' marks and graffiti, non-pottery finds, and the concluding remarks 'Between archaeology and history', in which the limitations of both are mentioned. Volume 2 holds 226 figures (maps and drawings) and 540 plates of the excavations and the objects.

The six volumes of the *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*²⁸ were organised by the same group as *LIMC* to form a successor to it. The deep pockets of the Getty have underwritten what will become an essential fixture of every respectable university library; an important contribution to the study of ancient religion, containing a vast amount of material and, though scattered, a rich bibliography. Of necessity, the assemblage and organisation of material aimed at presenting 'a comprehensive account of all substantial aspects of Greek, Roman and Etruscan religion' (vol. 1, p. xi) from ca. 1000 BC to AD 400 must be radically

²⁷ J.K. Papadopoulos, with contributions by J.H. Musgrave *et al.*, *The Early Iron Age Cemetery of Torone. Excavations Conducted by the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens in Collaboration with the Athens Archaeological Society*, Monumenta Archaeologica 24, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA, University of California, Los Angeles 2005, 2 vols., XLIII+1278 pp., illustrations in text and 540 pls. Vol. 1: Text; vol. 2: Illustrations. Cased. ISBN 1-931745-16-1.

²⁸ *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum (ThesCRA)* vol. I: Processions, Sacrifices, Libations, Fumigations, Dedications, J. Paul Getty Museum Publications, Los Angeles 2004, xxii+612 pp., 139 pls., drawings in text. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-89236-788-1/13: 978-0-89236-788-7. Vol. II: Purification, Initiation, Heroization, Apotheosis, Banquet, Dance, Music, Cult Images, J. Paul Getty Museum Publications, Los Angeles 2004, xxiv+646 pp., 117 pls., drawings in text. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-89236-789-X/13: 978-0-89236-789-4. Vol. III: Divination, Prayer, Veneration, Hikesia, Asyilia, Oath, Malediction, Profanation, Magic Rituals, and Addendum to vol. II – Consecration, J. Paul Getty Museum Publications, Los Angeles 2005, xx+434 pp., 72 pls., drawings in text. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-89236-790-3/13: 978-0-89236-790-0. Vol. IV: Cult Places, Representations of Cult Places, J. Paul Getty Museum Publications, Los Angeles 2005, xx+488 pp., 60 pls., drawings in text. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-89236-791-1/13: 978-0-89236-791-7. Vol. V: Personnel of Cult, Cult Instruments, J. Paul Getty Museum Publications, Los Angeles 2005, xxii+504 pp., 67 pls., drawings in text. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-89236-792-X/13: 978-0-89236-792-4. 5-volume set: ISBN 10: 0-89236-787-3/13: 978-0-89236-787-0. *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum (ThesCRA): Abbreviations, Index of Museums, Collections and Sites*, J. Paul Getty Museum Publications, Los Angeles 2006, xviii+170 pp. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-89236-793-8/13: 978-0-89236-793-1.

different from the alphabetical approach of *LIMC*. Thus, the first three volumes detail ritual activities, the next two deal with places, people and objects, and the small sixth volume houses abbreviations and indexes. That English, French, German and Italian are mixed within chapters is, despite page headers in all four, complicating enough, but actively unhelpful when source texts are quoted in translation. There are chapters and sub-chapters (in the first volume, for example, Chapter 1 is 'Processions', whilst the other four named subjects are presented, often at greater length than Chapter 1 in sub-chapters numbered 2.a.-2.d.). These contain introductory sections with general bibliography; there then follow the specific topics presented in a structured form. Thus 2.d., 'Dedications', has a section 'Greek dedications' in which heading 'II' concerns 'Greek votive objects', wherein 'A' is the introduction and 'E' is Archaic statuary types (divided into seven categories); after these seven descriptions comes a bibliography (for all seven) and then the 'catalogue' of examples/evidence from all manner of sources for each of the seven (sometimes further subdivided). Overall, well illustrated by drawings in the text and by plates grouped at the end of each volume.

The University of Michigan, with its various departments and Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, has been in the forefront of Classical and Near Eastern studies for many decades. *Kelsey Museum Publication* 4²⁹ is an illustrated history of these archaeological expeditions, from 1924 to the present. This impressive list of projects includes excavations in Armenia, Egypt, Greece, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Libya, Syria, Tunisia and Turkey. The entries are arranged by site, and provide a brief description of each project and what it achieved. The bibliography contains an impressive list of the publications of the projects. The previous volume in this series was published to accompany an exhibition on the early arts of Iran and Iraq, held at the Kelsey Museum in February-September 2005.³⁰ It is not just an exhibition catalogue. The introductory chapters present a thematic discussion of the objects exhibited and describe their importance: 'An Overview of Place and Space', 'Seals and Sealings: Archaeological Perspectives', 'Systems of Symbolic Expression', 'Shamans, Seals, and Magic', 'Problems in Interpreting Late Prehistory', 'Archaeology and Collecting: Law, Ethics, Politics', etc. A remarkable feature is that the chapters are written not just by well-known specialists but by graduate students as well.

Although written for the general public, *In Search of Myths and Heroes*³¹ will be of interest to students. It is very well illustrated with colour photographs and maps and plans. The chapters cover Shangri-La, Jason and the Golden Fleece, the Queen of Sheba, and King Arthur. Each presents, in a lively and approachable style, the myth, and then follows the author's fascinating journeys in search of the reality, in the course of which the reader will learn a lot about the recent history and distant past of these regions. As an example, the chapter on the myth of the Argonauts contains the following sections: 'The legend of Anafé', 'The roots of Greek myth', 'The start of the quest', 'The cave of Cheiron the

²⁹ L.E. Talalay and S.E. Alcock (eds.), *In the Field. The Archaeological Expeditions of the Kelsey Museum*, Kelsey Museum Publication 4, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor 2006, 103 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 0-9741873-3-X.

³⁰ M.C. Root (ed.), with the assistance of A. Tsiobulsky, *This Fertile Land: Signs and Symbols in the Early Arts of Iran and Iraq*, Kelsey Museum Publication 3, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor 2005, viii+192 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 0-9741873-1-3.

³¹ M. Wood, *In Search of Myths and Heroes. Exploring Four Epic Legends of the World*, University of California Press, Berkeley/Los Angeles 2005, 272 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-520-24724-8.

Centaur', 'The crew', 'The Argo sets sail: the journey to Lemnos', 'The island of the Great Gods', 'Into the Bosphorus', 'The Greeks in the Black Sea', 'Sailing to Trebizond', 'The Pontic Greeks'... 'Into the Phasis', 'Vani: city of Gold', and others. The Argonauts provide the connection to a collection of eight essays on Apollonius Rhodius, initially given as papers at the 6th Fransum Colloquium organised by the University of Groningen.³² Here the approach to the Argonautica is a literary-linguistic one, dealing with various aspects of the poetry of Apollonius Rhodius and the Argonautic tradition. The collection shows that there is still much to discover about this Hellenistic author and his writings.

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THE COPENHAGEN POLIS CENTRE:
A REVIEW ARTICLE OF ITS PUBLICATIONS
Part 4

D. Whitehead (ed.), *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius. Sources of the Ancient Greek Polis*, Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1, *Historia Einzelschriften* 87, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1994, 124 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 3-515-06572-5

M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2, *Historia Einzelschriften* 95, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1995, 219 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 3-515-06759-0

M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 3, *Historia Einzelschriften* 108, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1996, 196 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 3-515-06969-0

T.H. Nielsen (ed.), *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 4, *Historia Einzelschriften* 117, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1997, 258 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 3-515-06572-5

This is a continuation of my review of the magnificent series of publications of the Copenhagen Polis Centre, which began in *AWE* 5 (2006), 252-303, and has been continued in *AWE* 6 (2007), 284-321. Here I turn to the series of the *Papers* of the Centre that have been published as a group of the *Einzelschriften* volumes of *Historia*. These volumes are chronologically interspersed among the previously reviewed *Acts* volumes. The cast of contributors to the *Papers* is less expansive than to the *Acts*, and the role played by scholars of the Centre is relatively greater. That is especially true of Mogens Herman Hansen himself, with two volumes co-edited, and 20 authored and four co-authored contributions. Thomas

³² M. Harder and M. Cuypers (eds.), *Beginning from Apollo. Studies in Apollonius Rhodius and the Argonautic Tradition*, Caeculus 6, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA 2005, xii+156 pp. Paperback. ISBN 90-429-1629-X.

Heine Nielsen edited three volumes, and authored eight or co-authored two contributions, while Pernille Flensted-Jensen, edited one volume, with three authored and two co-authored contributions. The *Papers* are solely the products of their authors and of the process of editing – the input from referees is occasionally noted – as they do not embody conference papers at the Polis Centre and there were no respondents. Some contributions, however, are reactions to such papers of the *Acts*. *Papers* 1-3 contain no indexes whatsoever, but it is important to note the provision of a detailed *index locorum* (compiled by Flensted-Jensen) and of a subject index (whose author is Nielsen) in *Papers* 4 that cover the first three volumes as well.

From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius. Sources of the Ancient Greek Polis

At the beginning, a short 'Editor's Foreword' by David Whitehead explains the inauguration and mission of the Polis Centre, and notes the nature of this work and the volumes of the *Papers* to come. *Papers* 1 is divided between Hansen, who provided the lion's share of the scholarship in four offerings (assisted in one chapter by Tobias Fischer-Hansen), and Whitehead, who presents the remaining major selection.

We start with Hansen, 'Poleis and City-States, 600-323 B.C. A Comprehensive Research Programme' (pp. 9-17), a short piece outlining the mission of the Polis Centre, and then surveying likely and conjectural instances of city-state cultures. The Provencal cities down to ca. AD 1230 were later removed from likely city-state cultures in *A Comparative Study of Thirty City State Cultures*.¹ Examples sceptically treated here were subsequently included there, while the Assyrian colonies in Anatolia and the early modern German *Reichsstädte* became included eventually among the city-state cultures. An enumeration of characteristics of city-state cultures follows. The stipulation (characteristic no. 4) that city-states 'hardly ever arise in a period of decline, by disintegration of a larger political unit' was later largely suspended. The rethinking of this issue needed to be presented more explicitly in the Centre publications. Characteristic no. 9 is 'the conurbation is surrounded by a hinterland ideally (but rarely actually) large enough to supply the population with foodstuffs'. If this statement hints at more than the banality that indigenous food sources are significant in pre-modern economies, the topic is sketchily addressed by the Centre in *A Comparative Study* and elsewhere. Two competing approaches are then raised and criticised, 'peer-polity' interaction and a cult-centred perspective.²

The format of the future *Inventory* is then noted with six points for testing. First is that the emergence of the *polis* preceded colonisation, in place of which Hansen suggests that the *polis* developed in consequence of colonisation. This issue is not too prominent in other Centre publications. If its best evidence is Achaean colonisation, the hypothesis is ill grounded.³ The second matter is correcting a view that *autonomia* is an essential aspect of the concept of the *polis* (cf. AWE 6 [2007], 299-300, and below here). Our challenge, however, is balancing an appraisal of the centrifugal propensity of the *polis* toward autonomy against the centripetal culture-general impetus, which was promoted by security preoccupa-

¹ M.H. Hansen (ed.), *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures. An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre* (Copenhagen 2000).

² Typified here by F. de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque* (Paris 1984). Compare my comments in my review of de Polignac in *American Historical Review* 91 (1986), 1168-69.

³ See my remarks in AWE 5 (2006), 295.

tions, regional or ethnic solidarity, and panhellenic cohesion, all favouring larger structures. A third topic, understanding the *polis* as 'town' and as 'political community', does receive thorough exploration. The raw material for issue four, 'Hellenic versus barbarian *poleis*' is presented in various discussions, although I missed an analysis of the impact of more inclusive use of *polis* for non-Greek polities in some contributions (see AWE 5 [2006], 293 and below). The raw material on the relationships involved in 'region versus *polis*' is presented extensively; yet, I would fault an aversion to book-marking for special attention every setting where regional identity competed with *polis* identity for individual allegiance (for example Boeotia or Arcadia). On the independent *polis* (the last topic), Hansen notes its long retreat prior to Macedonian hegemony, for it was the fate of the hegemonic *polis* that was settled in the later 4th century BC.

These issues are treated in abbreviated manner when compared with the programmatic material in Hansen's Preface, Introduction and Conclusions in *A Comparative Study*.⁴ On the Greek *polis* specifically, compare Hansen's ampler treatments in *Acts* 1,⁵ *Acts* 3⁶ and *Acts* 5,⁷ which contains his synthesis. Another short chapter follows: '*Polis, Civitas, Stadtstaat and City-State*' (pp. 19-22), which traces the use of the term city-state or, in German, *Stadtstaat* back to a first employment by J.N. Madvig in 1840 in Danish.⁸

The meatiest offering in the volume is Hansen and Tobias Fischer-Hansen, 'Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*. Evidence and Political Significance' (pp. 23-90). This study focuses on surveying political, secular buildings, intending to address whether they constitute monumental architecture, in order to illuminate the identity of settlements as *poleis*. The authors begin with a strong denial of the early existence of palaces of tyrants, after reviewing candidates at Athens, Samos and Cyrene. Exceptions are in marginal areas affected by Near Eastern models, as at Larissa on the Hermos and Vouni on Cyprus. Nonetheless, the residence of Dionysios I and his family on Ortygia is tantalisingly restricted to allusions in literary sources. In contrast, the *prytaneion*, with its common hearth and public dining facility, is widely attested. Making use of Stephan Miller's monograph,⁹ the authors list 91 possible examples from literary or epigraphic citations. The existences of three *prytaneia* have been ascertained archaeologically – Delos, Lato and Olympia – all of which are briefly described, along with six probable cases, of which a building at Kassope is treated. The authors note the unpretentious character of these *prytaneia*, and diverge from Miller in denying to them, admittedly on the basis of thin material, a characteristic plan. The *bouleutērion* is another standard facility, of which 72 examples are offered (42 known from written sources and 44 from excavation), the majority of which are Hellenistic. This list supplements and ostensibly corrects the treatment of Doris

⁴ 'Preface' (pp. 9-10); 'Introduction: The Concepts of the City-State and City-Culture' (pp. 11-34); 'Conclusion: The Impact of City-State Cultures on World History' (pp. 597-623).

⁵ M.H. Hansen, 'Introduction. The Polis as Citizen-State'. In M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Ancient Greek City-State* (Copenhagen 1993), 7-29 (= *Acts* 1). See AWE 5 (2006), 277-78.

⁶ M.H. Hansen, 'ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ (Arist. *Pol.* 1276a23). The Copenhagen Inventory of *Poleis* and the *Lex Hafnienis de Civitate*'. In M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis* (Copenhagen 1996), 7-72 (= *Acts* 3). See AWE 5 (2006), 291-93.

⁷ M.H. Hansen, *Polis and City-State. An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent* (Copenhagen 1998) (= *Acts* 5). See AWE 6 (2007), 294-303.

⁸ Note the similar discussion by Hansen in *Acts* 5 (see above n. 7), 15-16, 156-57.

⁹ S. Miller, *The Prytaneion. Its Form and Function* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1978).

Gneisz.¹⁰ The *bouleutērion* emerges as a roofed structure with a number of functionally determined floor plans. Typical of the Classical period are the two Attic buildings that are moderately sized and non-ambitious (contrast Miller below)

Unsurprisingly, given the scale of its attendance, varied provisions were made for an assembly, which could be housed in *agora*, theatre, or a special site. Although favoured by Homeric semantics, the *agora* is a more elusive locale than expected. The *theatron* as a place for ekklesial meetings is subjected to site-by-site examination, based on the work of Frank Kolb.¹¹ Greeks tended to be rather silent about venues for meeting, while Romans found such settings a striking cultural phenomenon. The lurid details of the humiliation of the legate L. Postumius Megellus in the theatre at Taras that led to the Pyrrhic War are well attested (Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 19. 5. 1-5; Appian *Samnitica* 7. 4-7; Cassius Dio 9. 39. 5-9) and formed an iconic event for appreciation of the performative aspects of Greek mass politics (for ekklesial theatre, note Cicero *Pro Flacco* 16, cited here; also *De Republica* 3. 35. 48; cf. Livy 33. 28. 3-4; Valerius Maximus 2. 2. 5). Our authors next grapple with Kolb's theory that the political use for the theatre was primary, rejecting it on the basis of Attic evidence, internal configuration and size.

The separate *ekklēsiastērion* presents interpretative challenges, each case requiring analysis. Examples are unroofed, relatively rare, and more often located in the west, including Akragas, Argos, Athens (the famous Pnyx), Dreros, Kassope, Lato, Metapontion, Olbia, Panionion (an anomalous large, open *bouleutērion*?), Poseidonia, Priene (architecturally anomalous, but attested epigraphically), Rhegion (somewhat questionable), Samothrace (*dikastērion*?) and Tralles, most of which get excavators' plans. The *ekklēsiastērion* appears to be a less requisite structure than the *prytaneion* or *bouleutērion*.

The *dikastērion* is mainly illuminated by Attic evidence. Popular courts actually met at Athens in a variety of locations, sometimes utilising elegant edifices (Periclean Odeion; Stoa Poikile). The archaeological evidence also seems to indicate dikasteric courts in rather unimpressive structures (buildings A and B in the Agora), and crude open-air venues like the settings that Alan Boegehold has identified in front of the Hephaestion. With shaky Attic documentation, we are ready for disappointment elsewhere in a handful of literary attestations for judicial facilities. Indeed, Athens, with its several court buildings, seems an exception, since a cultural boundary may exist between roofed *bouleutēria*, where groups deliberated and thus needed to hear each other, and *ekklēsiastēria* and *dikastēria*, usually open, where citizens listened to speakers.¹² Fittingly, stoas are considered last. They were omnipresent, standard, undifferentiated structures used for public purposes as well as for other economic and social functions.

The lack of monumental public structures in Archaic and Early Classical *poleis* is correlated with the absence of extravagant private homes – although there is perhaps a risk of some exaggeration here. Sacred architecture received embellishment, as well as, naturally, I stress, military facilities. The 4th century BC saw a transition toward aggrandisement of other secular public works consummated in the Hellenistic period.

In 'Polis, Politeuma and Politeia. A Note on Arist. *Pol.* 1278b6-14' (pp. 91-98), Hansen briefly criticises the standard English translation of this passage in the *Politics*. The term

¹⁰ D. Gneisz, *Das antike Rathaus* (Vienna 1990).

¹¹ F. Kolb, *Agora und Theater. Volks- und Festversammlung* (Berlin 1981).

¹² Compare my discussion below of Miller on the nature of the Attic *bouleutērion*.

πολιτεία in the phrase πολίτευμα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτεία means 'citizen-structure', acting as a medial term between πολιτεία as 'constitution' in the abstract and πολίτευμα in the concrete as 'body of politically privileged citizens'. Yet, it is important to remember that semantic ranges in Greek and English are irreducible to formulae, but must be expressed discursively, as based on the intuitions of philologists. Edmond Lévy's '*Politeia* and *politeuma* chez Aristote',¹³ ought to be required reading before tackling this and others of the semantic studies of Hansen and his colleagues.

Whitehead offers 'Site Classification and Reliability in Stephanus Byzantius' (pp. 99-124). This piece prudently avoids a general rehabilitation of the *Ethnika*, opting for a consideration of his evidence for the identification of *poleis*. It begins with a treatment of the state of our knowledge of the epitome, and then proceeds to discuss its huge number of citations, as well as criticism of the scholarly use of ethnic descriptors in the *Ethnika*. Whitehead further attempts to check Stephanus' use of sources by exploring the use of eleven surviving authorities (Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Polybius, Strabo, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Josephus, Arrian and Pausanias), with Herodotus as a type-case. Although Stephanus did indeed make mistakes, a more common phenomenon was assuming settlement status from context, at times boldly.

The totals for Homer are 26% correct, 72% assumed and 2% incorrect; for Herodotus, the proportions are respectively, 77%, 11% and 12%; for the two topographical authors, Strabo and Pausanias, 57.5%, 36.5% and 6%; and, for the remaining authors, 65%, 27% and 8%. Thus, the value of *polis* determinations in the *Ethnika* is correlated with the underlying source. *Polis* has the predominantly physical connotation as conurbation. An appendix deals with *polis* cognates, for example *polikhnion*, and synonyms, of which *phourion* and *nēsos* are recognised as differentiating. The sensible conclusion that the cognates are semantically equivalent with *polis* also points up in my judgment the process of amplification of political vocabulary in Stephanus. The second appendix notes the descriptive terms for sites, while listing terms for inhabitants. The categories do not correlate, a fact that is most significant in a failure to limit the application of *politēs* to communities denominated as *poleis*.

Writing after the completion of the Polis Centre project, and assessing this piece in that light, I emphasise Whitehead's observation that Stephanus identifies nearly 3000 communities as *poleis*. Even if one surmises many *poleis* whose existence belonged to later periods (beyond the Centre's purview), the total still attests to an expansiveness of the category '*polis*'. The derivative methodology of Stephanus ensures that liberal or atypical applications of the status and its attribution in disputed settings constitute many identifications in the *Ethnika*. The capacity of communities to acquire or lose *polis* status acts as another mechanism to raise the number of *poleis* in any such work. Moreover, Stephanus' tendency to apply the term to non-Greek communities corroborates a conclusion that his *polis* is first and foremost an urban centre. Yet, this pattern of describing non-Greek states as *poleis* does also imply that *polis*, when used in non-Hellenic settings, often denotes merely the highest-order polity in terms of its own cultural context without vouching for the presence of characteristic *polis* institutions.

¹³ E. Lévy, '*Politeia* et *politeuma* chez Aristote'. In M. Piérart (ed.), *Aristote et Athènes* (Paris 1993), 65-90.

Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis

The first chapter is François de Polignac, 'Repenser la 'cité'? Rituels et société en Grèce archaïque' (pp. 7-19), which grapples with the birth of the Archaic *polis*. Detecting traces of the *polis* in Homer, while contrasting the complexity of the 6th-century BC *polis*, the question of marking a threshold for its appearance becomes delicate. Ritual cultural markers are helpful. De Polignac focuses on the dichotomy of offerings, created by the disappearance of elaborate grave-goods and the appearance of dedications at sanctuaries (reflecting the views of A. Snodgrass and I. Morris). He juxtaposes Argive, Corinthian and Attic evidence in order to subvert culture-general hypotheses about the social valuation of various burial practices. Then he outlines the shifting 7th-century BC interplay between heroic cult, elite burial and communal festival (for example on mountain summits) in the Argolid and Attica, and a 6th-century BC reaction against them. Returning to the Argolid, de Polignac will later note how archaeological material in the 8th century BC illustrates the evolution of an elite operating in the *koinon* of the *polis* that aspires to regional hegemony. Fissures within the aristocracy in Attica, and the emergence to prominence of a more prosperous, hoplitic rural class, as represented by Solon's reforms, leave cultic and funerary material traces. The author closes by accenting that Late Geometric changes reflect new conceptions of community characterised by an integration affected by the growing diversity of social units.

The next chapter is Hansen's 'The "Autonomous City-State". Ancient Fact or Modern Fiction?' (pp. 21-43), which seeks to rebut the notion that *autonomia* is a 'defining characteristic' of the *polis*. A long note cites scholars purportedly holding this view (n. 1, p. 21). This is problematic, both because of the reality of dependent *poleis*, and since *autonomia* differs from English 'autonomy', also used for self-regulating groups. Although some are clearly guilty of this generality (W.G. Runciman, quite egregiously), even on these citations, many 'offenders' nuance their conception of the *polis* by focusing *autonomia* on the existence of a decision-making apparatus or by highlighting the tendency toward or yearning for *autonomia*. Hansen counters with Attic subject allies who did not try to break free or the loyal *perioikoi* in Messenia after 371 BC. Such examples surely miss the point. For one thing, no reasonable observer would claim that a tendency toward *autonomia* was a uniquely overwhelming motivation that trumped all other practical or ideological concerns. For instance, during the 5th-century BC Attic *arkhē*, many allies may well have desired *autonomia*, but were inhibited from seeking it through similarly strong desires for continued prosperity, life in a democracy, safety from the Persians and physical security. Nonetheless, the widespread enthusiasm for the Spartan cause among the Greeks as the Peloponnesian War began, noted by Thucydides (2. 8. 5-6), however imprudent, is owed to the belief that the Spartans were making war to free the Greeks. On Hansen's second point, some perioecic towns in Messenia did not defect to the Messenians and their allies, but not because of deficient predilection for *autonomia*. They stayed loyal because they did not consider themselves Messenians, but rather Spartan and a part of Lakōnikē, so already autonomous in their own lights. Here I will use my 'AUTONOMOI KATA TAS SPONDAS' (Thuc. 1.67.2),¹⁴ of which Hansen was unaware. I would have started from the detailed

¹⁴ *BICS* 37 (1990), 63-88, a revised version of which appeared in my *Excursions in Epichoric History* (Lanham, MD 1993), 255-92.

studies of Ostwald, Raaflaub and Smarczyk, rather than scoring points on the necessarily simplifying tags from more general works.¹⁵

However, Hansen does come to grips next with the view of Ostwald (derived from E. Bickerman) that *autonomia* is self-government within a sphere of hegemony, and observes that, to the contrary, it is often demonstrably 'independence'. As I tried to show in 1990, *autonomia* in its literal sense 'self-government' was primary and continued in general usage, as Sparta attempted to exploit. In Attic diplomatic usage, however, *autonomia* connoted special status under hegemony marked by absence of *phoros*, maintenance of a robust military and more discretion in local government.¹⁶ Without hypothesising two tangential semantic ranges, Hansen sees Thucydides' usage as problematic, focusing on the cases of Aegina, the Peace of Nicias and the military roster at Syracuse. He unfortunately concludes that Athens had genuinely damaged Aeginetan *autonomia* between the Thirty Years Peace and 431 BC. To the contrary, nothing suggests that pre-431 Aegina had any vestige of autonomy, either as 'independence' or as favoured status within the *arkhē*, other than the bare Spartan claim in 431 (Thucydides 1. 139. 1), which Pericles rejects by implication (1. 144. 2). Aegina was not declared autonomous in 446 BC; the local and general diplomatic contexts rendering such a concession improbable. Finally, the most likely context for mutual recognition of *autonomia* between Athens and Aegina was 481 BC, the foundation of the Hellenic League.¹⁷ Regarding the autonomy of Delphi in the Peace of Nicias (Thucydides 5. 18. 2), Hansen believes that the qualifiers *autoteleis* and *autodikous* gloss *autonomous*, correcting Ostwald, who believed that they were necessary clarifications. In partial support of Ostwald, the differences between the Spartan and Athenian understandings of *autonomia* strongly militated in favour of a more ample formulation that stressed how Delphi was to be free of all external constraint. On the later clause (5. 18. 5) where certain Chalcidian cities are made autonomous and tributary, Hansen needlessly complicates with a distinction between voluntary 'Aristeidian' tribute and coercive contemporary tribute. Rather, the allies had sworn to pay the tribute Athens assessed – whether they liked it was immaterial. The treaty created a new class of autonomous states: granted to Athens and forbidden to assist Sparta, and autonomous as long as the Aristeidian tribute was paid. Finally, the catalogue of allies in Thucydides 7. 57. 3-5 has challenged students of *autonomia*. Hansen's explication of the syntax parallels my treatment in *Excursions in Epichoric History*.¹⁸

Hansen believes that *autonomia* creates interpretative problems because it is a negative concept. He offers a series of formulations of incompatibility. We may agree that *autonomia* is incompatible with tyranny, although more properly applied to communities that legislate *nomoi*. The Greeks also believed Persian dominance was incompatible with *autonomia*, although I disagree with Hansen's implication that a Greek would question the validity of

¹⁵ M. Ostwald, *Autonomia: Its Genesis and Early History* (Chico, CA 1982); K.A. Raaflaub, *Die Entdeckung der Freiheit: zur historischen Semantik und Gesellschaftsgeschichte eines politischen Grundbegriffes der Griechen* (Munich 1985), especially 189-207 (cf. my review in *American Historical Review* 95 [1990], 793-94); B. Smarczyk, *Bunderautonomie und athenische Seebundpolitik im Dekeleischen Krieg* (Frankfurt 1986).

¹⁶ Earlier connotation: *BICS* 37 (1990), 82-85 (= *Excursions in Epichoric History*, 280-84); Spartan valence: *BICS* 37 (1990), 64-67 (= *Excursions*, 257-60); Attic meaning: *BICS* 37 (1990), 67-72 (= *Excursions*, 260-66) (see above n. 14).

¹⁷ *Excursions in Epichoric History*, 266-84 (= *BICS* 37 [1990], 67-86) (see above n. 14).

¹⁸ 261 with n. 22 (= *BICS* 37 [1990], 67-68).

Mardonios' offer of *autonomia* in Herodotus 8. 140. 2. As for cleruchs and Lakedaimonian *perioikoi*, they were admittedly not autonomous. But why would one expect a community of Athenians, i.e. 4th-century BC cleruchs, to be autonomous from other Athenians? As to the *perioikoi*, one may distinguish between the Elean dependencies and the Spartan *perioikoi*, most of whom considered themselves parts of the Spartan *politeuma*. The statement that 'everybody' thinks *autonomia* was incompatible with subjection to the Attic *arkhē* is both wrong on its face, as 5th-century BC Athenians and their adherents disagreed, and incongruous in light of attested grants of *autonomia* to Athenian allies (Mytilene, Samos, Selymbria, Eteokarpathioi). Supposed admissions in Thucydides (1. 144. 2; 3. 46. 5) are read out of context. Somewhat inconsistently, Hansen later treats Chios, Samos and Lesbos as legitimately autonomous. Nor was the presence of a Spartan harmost necessarily incompatible with autonomy, as Xenophon *Hellenica* 6. 3. 18, 6. 4. 2 are not such concessions. For example, the harmost on Aegina in the Corinthian War acted at Aeginetan discretion (*Hellenica* 5. 1. 1). Similarly, Sparta and its friends in the 4th century BC would not have agreed that membership in the Peloponnesian League was incompatible. Most of the passages cited to prove that autonomy was incompatible with federated status merely demonstrate that the presence/absence of *autonomia* depended on the partisanship of the speaker (for example Xenophon *Hellenica* 5. 1. 31-33). One could perhaps gauge the probity of their judgments, but only if there was exponentially more data. Based on his incompatibilities, Hansen then lists *poleis* without autonomy.

Nonetheless, Hansen's position that a *polis* remains a *polis* without *autonomia* is valid; a *hypēkoos polis* is not a contradiction in terms. He further supports with argument based on the insignificance of autonomy in *Republic*, *Laws* and *Politics*, where *autarkeia* is highlighted. Yet practical provisions of Platonic and Aristotelian paradigms illustrate the principle that the *polis* tends toward *autonomia* as preferred state. For Hansen, *autonomia* emerges late, a 5th-century BC creation. His earliest certain date, 446/5 BC, is owed to incorrect analysis of the Thirty Years Peace, but *autonomia* was well known to the audience of the *Antigone* in the late 440s BC (ll. 821-822). He also grants that *autonomia* was a part of Pausanias' guarantee to Plateia in 479 BC, while I prefer the formation of the Hellenic League in 481 BC as the earliest probable known context.

Hansen explains how *autonomia* for all the Greek *poleis* advanced from the appearance of the limited guarantees in the Peace of Nicias through the King's Peace and the common peaces of the 4th century. The notion that 'all the *poleis* in Greece are to be autonomous' was 'pure propaganda'. I stress that this thinking was fuelled by the late 5th-century BC propaganda against the Attic hegemony as uniquely tyrannical and enslaving, and that it subsumed an imagined past of universal, local *polis* sovereignty. Nevertheless, the Peace of Nicias (421 BC) and the Spartan-Argive alliance (418 BC) differ from later activations of *autonomia* by affixing the condition *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια*. This proviso recognises that present claims to autonomy had to be based on past exercises of autonomy and hegemony. Hence, the remarkable stipulation in the Spartan-Argive alliance that 'the *poleis* in the Peloponnesus, both great and small, are all to be autonomous *katta patria* [in accordance with ancestral tradition]' is limited by that proviso. The absence of such language in 4th-century BC autonomy provisions vitiated their promise and propelled their application into a realm of almost unalloyed hegemonic manipulation. For Hansen, 4th-century BC conceptions of *autonomia* progressed so that Hellenistic autonomy was reduced to self-government under subordination. He presents a useful catalogue of Hellenistic epigraphical examples. He does,

however, exaggerate the departure from earlier thinking, since the late 5th-century BC Athenian understanding of *autonomia* under hegemony constituted the basis for this evolution.

Next Hansen offers '*Kome. A Study on How the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements which were not Poleis*' (pp. 45-81). He propounds a dilemma in which modern scholars deny the denomination *polis* to locations that our sources call *poleis*, and resolves by noting a tendency to require a *polis* satisfy expectations for a city-state. The Centre emphasises the Greek concepts in contrast with, for example, R. Osborne, who avoids ancient categories in favour of modern descriptive language. Any general sympathy here for the Copenhagen position ought not to be misconstrued as urging rejection of a social scientific methodology. What is missing, however, in this position is the existence of the borderline *polis* whose institutional apparatus and psychological hold were sufficiently marginal that it risked demotion to sub-political unit through enervation or desuetude of political processes and shifts in civic identity. Hence, the status determination of Hansen's oft-cited case of Boeotian Mykalessos, *polis* in Thucydides and *kōmē* in Strabo, may be affirming that both authorities are correct at different times. The risk in treating every site ever called a *polis* as a *polis*, or even in rejecting a few as authorial errors, is that this treats shifting political structures in merely two dimensions, as though flat slides under a microscope.

Hansen concentrates on the use of *kōmē* to describe settlements, while realising a similar exercise would be needed to treat the parallel descriptor, *dēmos*. The word *kōmē* is prominent in Pausanias and Strabo, which Hansen illustrates with their classification of Boeotian settlements. This vocabulary is rare in Classical authors; most attestations are Hellenistic or Roman, but some major figures like Plutarch stood aloof. The modern view in which *kōmai* are constituents of *poleis* and pre-existing fundamental parts of tribal states goes back to a study of E. Kuhn of 1878. Two chief sources for our traditional concept of *kōmē* are Thucydides and Aristotle. For the latter, it occupies a medial position in the hierarchy between *polis* and *oikia*. Hansen denies the concept of the πόλις κατὰ κώμας οἰκουμένη was valid for Aristotle, but his interpretation is inconclusive. Hence, a contrast is overstated with Thucydides, who saw settlement 'in *kōmai*' as a mode of early *polis* life. Alike overplayed is an analogy from Thucydides' contiguous *kōmai* of Sparta to differentiate Aristotle's spaced *kōmai*. A far-ranging review of modes of unification is next made, treating Thucydides' vision, for which Hansen finds archaeological support, and, Aristotle's view, for which he discovers scant support – the evidence mainly supporting amalgamations of separate *poleis* and physical aggregation within a pre-existing *polis*. A short section explores *kōmē* as a topographical term. I am not so sure that a site named Polis in Locris, called a *kōmē* by Thucydides, necessarily was a *polis* in the sense of 'stronghold', since calling one's hometown '*polis*' may have been intended to lay a presumptive claim to higher status.

Hansen tries to classify every Classical (or retrospective) appearance of *kōmē*, respectively as general reference or as subdivision of *polis* or region; as an individual named *kōmē*; or as a *kōmē* mentioned in Hellenistic sources. *Kōmē* emerges as a term restricted to homeland Greece, especially the west, the Peloponnese and the Asia Minor coast. Boeotia is again used to illustrate the way in which *polis* and *kōmē* overlap as denominations. A number of *poleis*, notably the Peloponnesian states Argos and Megara, were subdivided into *kōmai*.¹⁹ *Kōmai*

¹⁹ At Megara, five *kōmai* may actually have synoecised. See T.J. Figueira, 'Archaic Megara, 800-500 B.C.'. In T.J. Figueira and G. Nagy (eds.), *Theognis of Megara: Poetry and the Polis* (Baltimore 1985), 261-303, esp. 265-69.

also appear as dependencies, as at Mantinea, in Laconia, at Aigosthena of the Megaris, and for Chalcidian Stageira. *Kōmai* also feature in *dioikismos*, an invariably coercive process (I emphasise) in which a *polis* is dissolved in *kōmai* (Smyrna: ca. 545 BC; Mantinea: 385 BC; and Phocis: 346 BC). While Hansen argues for persistence of a political community, it is fairly clear that the 'higher' functions of *poleis* (diplomatic, military and, probably, fiscal/administrative) were attenuated for Smyrna²⁰ and Phocis, and perhaps even at Mantinea as well. *Kōmē* was also used for non-Greek settings, including those where the inhabitants lived in villages, where they were attached to administrative centres like palaces or temples, where the landscape included scattered cities, and where native settlements were *kōmai* controlled by a colonial *polis*.

Hansen correctly argues that the traditional interpretation is not based as strongly as its general currency implies. I add that the *polis* looms so large psychologically that other entities fail to be attested to the degree that their ubiquity would appear to demand. We might start from the probability that the root *kōm-* connotes cutting and partition, but only in some dialectal settings.²¹ Hence the Peloponnese offers more documentation for *kōmē*, as Hansen indicates. *Kōmē* and its relatives perhaps started out as segments of the land or people, but *kōmai* were inevitably envisaged as *polis* segments, once that polity became normative. Hence, Aristotle implies that *kōmai* merge into a *polis*, or one expects that a *polis* must shatter into *kōmai* when overwhelming force is applied to its structure. For the *ethnē* seen as possessing *kōmai*, the assumed genetic relationship of *kōmē* to *polis* shapes perceptions. For an *ethnos* exhibiting some *polis* processes, such as broadly based decision-making or the ability to conduct diplomacy and to sustain warfare, but lacking the pervasive, top-to-bottom institutionalisation of a conventional *polis*, its subdivisions can be comfortably seen as *kōmai*. The absence of *kōmai* from the colonial world, noted by Hansen, is owed to an intuition about their organic nature: *kōmai* grew; they were not legislated. Some elusiveness in classifying *kōmai* is probably owed to the fuzziness of ancient intuitions over its nature. The images of the *kōmē vis-à-vis* the *polis* emerge in a noteworthy Isocratean passage where Athens becomes the common *asty* of the Greeks, with the other *poleis* appearing as *kōmai* (15. 299).

Nielsen provides 'Was Eutaia a *Polis*? A Note on Xenophon's Use of the Term *Polis* in the *Hellenika*' (pp. 83-102). Xenophon *Hellenika* 6. 5. 10-21 offers the sole Classical discussion of Eutaia in an episode in which Agesilaus spared the town, although its men had joined the Arcadians. Pausanias and Stephanus Byzantius offer confirmation for its status as *polis*; yet the Arcadian decree which Pausanias uses is suspect for its reflection of dubious territorial claims of Megalopolis. Nielsen surveys Xenophontic usage of *polis* in the *Hellenika* (set out on a table) according to the Polis Centre categories (489 times, of which 262 = 'political community', 134 = 'town', 6 = 'country', and the rest semantically multivalent). Of 86 places, a few are composite *poleis* (using my term), like the Achaean League and the *ethnos* of the Triphylians; most of the rest are *poleis* on the strength of Xenophon and other authorities. The argument shifts to a detailed review of 14 remaining cases, including rather

²⁰ *IG II²* 28. 18-19 (P.J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404-323 BC* [Oxford 2003] no. 18) is not sufficient counter-evidence.

²¹ See P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, histoire des mots*, vol. 1 (Paris 1968), 606; for possible Mycenaean cognates, see F. Aura Jorro and F.R. Adrados, *Diccionario micénico*, vol. 1 (Madrid 1985), 336-37.

obscure sites. A reasonable analyst would grant *polis* status to most, but four places defeat efforts at specification in Nielsen's opinion: Akhilleion on the Maiandrian plain, Halisarna, Leukophrys and Palaigambria. On this review, Eutaia was probably a *polis* as political community.

The trouble with this methodology is that it overvalues the underlying knowledge of Xenophon. He was an immeasurably more knowledgeable observer of 4th-century BC political topography than a modern scholar, but his focus seldom falls on constitutional status (often incidental to his narrative purpose). His intention for the campaign of 370/69 BC was to illuminate the energy of Agesilaus in buttressing pro-Spartan elements and to stress his generous, philhellenic demeanour. If the status of Eutaia had any programmatic meaning – and that is doubtful – a higher status as *polis* magnified Agesilaus' magnanimity in foregoing destruction of an important asset for Sparta's enemies. For all this, Eutaia may still have been a small dependent *polis*. Xenophon might actually have known the status of minor places he calls *poleis*, or he may have surmised their correct status. The cumulative effect of trusting his status specifications, and those of other credible authorities, is to increase attested *poleis*. That effect has the force of flattening the settlement-hierarchy throughout the history of *polis*-culture (as viewed by the Polis Centre), because sub-political constituents become identified as *poleis*.

A regional study follows in Flensted-Jensen, 'The Bottiaians and their *Poleis*' (pp. 104–32). A brief bibliographical summary, in which Zahrnt's monograph is prominent,²² gives way to geographical considerations. Bottike is a sub-region of the Chalcidice lying in the western interior of the peninsula's base, north from Poteidaia and Olynthos toward the Krousis, Anthemous and Mygdonia. Bottiaioi were seemingly Hellenised in the 5th century BC, but complicating factors are their origin in Macedonia, the ambiguous nature of their Cretan founders, and the record of non-Greek names. Flensted-Jensen leans toward recognising Hellenic identity, based on literary evidence and political presentation. I would introduce the controversy over the affinities of the Chalcidians and opt for greater admixture and Hellenisation. Next is *IG* I³ 76, the alliance of ca. 422 BC between the Bottiaioi and Athens, with four surviving of perhaps nine *poleis*. The author places Kalindoia in a northern location (Kalamoto) adjoining Mygdonia (*SEG* 36. 626), and not placement near Olynthos (implied by *IG* IV² 94). *IG* I³ 76 names Kemakai and Tripoiai, both near Kalindoia, and Haioleion, all attested on Attic tribute lists. A possibility is Thamiskia (with Kemakai and Tripoiai on *SEG* 36. 626). The chief Bottiaian town was Spartolos, well known from the tribute lists and contributing for the whole *ethnos*. Spartolos was to be autonomous in the Peace of Nicias (Thucydides 5. 18. 5). I emphasise that manoeuvres *vis-à-vis* Athens of sub-units of the Bottiaioi were probably driven by an assessment of risks/benefits in Spartolan hostility to Athens. For other possibilities, Flensted-Jensen suggests Kithas, Tinde, Prassilos, Pleume and Sinos, while excluding the towns of the Krousis. Yet, distinguishing the Bottike and Krousis is difficult, especially for Tinde and Kithas. Noting the peripatetic *Constitution of the Bottiaians*, Flensted-Jensen accepts a federate state, implied by *IG* I³ 76. I suggest that confederacy may have followed on Spartolan hegemony, when the revolt faltered (Thucydides 2. 79. 1–7). An appendix argues that Bottiaian towns were walled and that the term *polisma*, used in Thucydides, means 'town'. Other Classical attestations are then investigated.

²² M. Zahrnt, *Olynth und die Chalcidier* (Munich 1971).

The next chapters continue the valuable work of the Centre on ancient urbanism. The first is Stephen G. Miller, 'Old Metroon and Old Bouleuterion in the Classical Agora of Athens' (pp. 133-56). Miller adopts a thoroughly heretical tone. Much of what is widely believed about the Old Bouleuterion is incorrect. His basic insight is that the Old Bouleuterion must be the pre-Hellenistic Metroon (hence Old Bouleuterion/Metroon); so denominated by the last quarter of the 5th century BC. Observations about this structure exclude its identification as a *bouleutērion*: no evidence for seating, an unlikely floor plan for hypothetical seating; sketchy evidence for roof supports; and traces of trenches suggesting partial east-west walls that delimited a *cella*. These indications argue for identification as the Metroon that housed a 5th-century BC (Pheidian?) cult statue. The building considered the Old Metroon is a mirage. I ask whether the Old Bouleuterion/Metroon survived Persian devastation because of a Peisistratid connection. His supposition leaves 5th-century BC Athens without a *bouleutērion*, which he remedies by offering four rows of open-air seats between the Old Bouleuterion/Metroon and the Stoa of Zeus (often attributed to a law court). He cleverly incorporates attestations of δρύφακες and κίγκλιδες in connection with the *boulē* into his localisation. His treatment of Kritias' posting armed men at the *druphakes* during Theramenes' trial (*Hellenica* 2. 3. 50, 55) is persuasive. He invokes the impressive architectural effect of the west side of the Agora in his reconstruction. In an appendix, he responds to Shear's following piece.

Miller's theory leads to speculations about the evolution of bouleutic consultation. An open-air *bouleutērion* seems a more direct successor to the Areopagos that also met in open air. The reinterpretation of the Old Bouleuterion excludes that this building or a predecessor on the site might have accommodated a Solonian Council of 400. That adjustment removes an argument for the existence of the council. A *boulē* in an open-air *bouleutērion* with long rows seems a more passive body and more oriented psychologically toward its presiders, presumably the archons, and then the *stratēgoi*, unlike the council of the Old Bouleuterion, envisaged by the Agora's excavators. Initiation of the prytanic system with housing in the intimate setting of the *tholos* can stand out more prominently as the democratic breakthrough it constituted.

The chapter of T. Leslie Shear, 'Bouleuterion, Metroon, and the Archives at Athens' (pp. 157-90), is expressive of the professional stake that he holds in a traditional understanding of the Agora. Its gestation is not articulated, but I suspect that it might be considered editorial counter-programming against Miller. Starting from H. Thompson's reconstruction of the Hellenistic Metroon, Shear attacks Miller's plan for the Old Bouleuterion/Metroon through criticism of the rear wall of the hypothesised Classical colonnade, of the nature of the trenches which are to demonstrate three-fold division of the interior, of insufficient provision for steps to enter an east-facing Old Bouleuterion /Metroon and the presence of measures to provide southern entry, and of Miller's reinterpretation of Thompson's pier supporting the roof as a statue base (Shear sees it as too massive). Miller addresses these concerns in his appendix. Shear provides these weighty counter-arguments to Miller's reconstruction, but they do not have equal potency for re-establishing the building as a *bouleutērion*, for which Shear offers the somewhat circular argument of the configuration of other excavated *bouleutēria*. He turns to re-establishing the existence of the building called the Old Metroon as presented by Thompson, but not specifically as Metroon. His exposition is too dependent on appeal to expert authority. A presentation of evidence for the

Mother of the Gods is nicely mustered, but hardly brings much support to a late 5th-century BC introduction of the cult. More telling is an absence of the dedication of marble reliefs that are datable before 400 BC, but, as there are only two 4th-century BC dedications during a period when the cult doubtless existed, this is not probative. Shear analyses the plan of the New Bouleuterion. A salient point on the identity of the Old Bouleuterion is its frontal alignment with the New Bouleuterion. Here is the first published analysis of pottery of the debris from inside the Hellenistic porch, from behind the building's steps, and from an unused foundation trench. It establishes a period of building stretching into 410-400 BC. Shear appends a less convincing argument in favour of placing the meeting where Kritias intimidated the council in the New Bouleuterion. Finally, a review of the public archive of records is undertaken, but its creation in the Metroon scarcely discredits an outdoor *bouleutērion*.

The aetiology for the cult's foundation with a precipitation of the first itinerant priest into a *barathron* and a subsequent plague and oracle ordering propitiation looks Archaic, not late 5th century BC.²³ This appears to descend from Atthidography. That the Athenians built a *bouleutērion* as sacred precinct to the Mother, to which the body of the priest was removed, has become a *non sequitur*, probably through abbreviation. Nor can we accept Shear's surmise that it explains building the New Bouleuterion and dedication of the old building as Metroon, in part because sources imply the actual *bouleutērion* was in the Metroon. I propose that the internal space needed for rites of the Mother in the Metroon not only lent itself for bouleutic use on occasions when forced indoors (from Miller's site), but also had secure space for an archive.

Three short contributions reflect responses to papers delivered at Centre conferences and published in the *Acts*. First is Alexandru Avram, 'Poleis und Nicht-Poleis in Ersten und Zweiten Attischen Seebund' (pp. 191-200). He explores the significance of non-*poleis*, for example dynasts or *dēmoi*, in Attic hegemonic alliances. Starting with the Delian League, he considers the Milesioi from Leros and from Teikhoussa, and concludes these toponyms were Milesian possessions that appeared by *apotaxis* 'division of assessment'. Some changes, however, were stricter examples of *apotaxis*, such as the mainland holdings of Thasos (for example Galepsos or Neapolis). This process yields toponyms on the tribute lists. The Black Sea communities appearing in the assessment of 425/4 BC (*IG* I³ 71) are also presented as toponyms, and several are unworthy to be deemed *poleis*. In such cases, power politics are implicated in recognition as allies of dependencies of stronger and thereby more threatening allies. A similar motivation is detected in the 4th-century BC confederacy, for example, in recognition of *koīna* that would have a single vote in the *synhedrion*. On proportionality, our presumption may be that individual Attic allies are *poleis*, but mere membership is insufficient demonstration (cf. *AWE* 5 [2006], 286-87).

Next is Walter Burkert, 'Greek *Poleis* and Civic Cults: Some Further Thoughts' (pp. 200-10).²⁴ Burkert notes the importance of Augustine's reflection (*De civitate Dei* 6. 5-6,

²³ *Suda* s.v. μητραγύρτης, μ 1003 Adler; cf. s.v. βάραθρον, β 99; Photius s.v. μητραγύρτης, μ 268. 7-17; Julian *Orationes* 5. 159A-B; Aristophanes *Plutus* 431; Σ Aeschylus 3. 187.

²⁴ Derived from a response to S.G. Cole, 'Civic Cult and Civic Identity'. In M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State* (Copenhagen 1995), 292-325 (= *Acts* 2). Cf. *AWE* 5 (2006), 289.

12) of Varronian civic theology, drawn from Q. Mucius Scaevola (pontifex maximus *ca.* 89–82 BC). *Polis* religion drew on communal self-representation, and was subject to collective decision-making (sometimes by sub-units). At times this process reaches the level of the *polis* making religion. Yet, Burkert cites the names of the gods, cult continuity, and pre-calendric festivals as cases of ‘religion before the *polis*’. ‘Religion beside and beyond the *polis*’ is illustrated by panhellenic sanctuaries, oracles, familial/clan cult, and private religion. However, the survival of ‘Mycenaean gods’ in *genos*-cults seems a shakier proposition.²⁵ Burkert turns to assumption of religious control by the *polis*, envisaging an advancing process, with an early instance in the establishment of the priestess of Athena, Theano, in the *Iliad*. This evolution can be exemplified in developed *poleis* by the disputes over the code of Nikomakhos at Athens and over authorisation for the shrine of Sarapis on Delos. Burkert finds examples of those championing traditional ritual rules against *polis* policies in the defiance by religious personnel of decisions regarding profanation of the mysteries of 415 BC, but, in absence of detail, these might only constitute ordinary politics expressed religiously. The emphasis on temples was ‘a decisive cultural decision’ that Burkert discusses for the co-evolution of *polis* and temple building, although his persons ‘with dictatorial authority’ as temple-builders reflect patronage and a historiography of personality rather than derogations from the centrality of the *polis*’ role. As for patrons, he notes the possibility of multiple patrons, denies they owned their *poleis*, finds their epithets polyvalent and used complexly, and illustrates patronage with Anacreon fr. 3 (*Poetae Melici Graeci* 348). These lively, learned comments might have been shown off to better effect if published as an adjunct to Cole’s treatment.

Lene Rubenstein, ‘Pausanias as a Source for the Classical Greek *Polis*’ (pp. 211–17), assesses the value of Pausanias for determinations of *polis* status, supplementing Susan Alcock in *Acts* 2.²⁶ Alcock focused on the political topography of Pausanias as a figure of the 2nd-century AD Empire, but she is particularly concerned with his evidence on the earlier status of sites he visited. Considering Parapotamoi in Phocis, we can see him using attestations from Homer and Herodotus, as well as autopsy, to establish the earlier existence of a *polis*. Rubenstein collects 39 examples in an appendix on deserted *poleis*, few of which are as well and transparently sourced as Parapotamoi. The problem that source aggregation into a single plane of analysis tends to exaggerate *polis* numbers might have been addressed here. Rubenstein notes Pausanias’ inconsistency in describing hierarchies of sites or polities by adducing confusion over *polis* and *polisma* as terms for the same sites. His use of disparate earlier sources is a factor, as is use of the Roman category of *polis*. However, that a topographical author uses terminology for sub-political components, like *kōmai* or *polismata*, relatively infrequently ought to have sounded alarms. This phenomenon cannot be completely explained by pointing at their comparative lack of architectural or historical significance (if I may play the devil’s advocate), because smaller units were so much more numerous than *poleis* on the ground traversed by the *periēgētēs*. Rather, it indicates the cultural tendency to exaggerate settlement status to the level of the *polis* (the normative political unit in Greek culture).

²⁵ His *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical* (Oxford 1985), 43–53, 88–90 is less adventurous.

²⁶ S.E. Alcock, ‘Pausanias and the *Polis*: Use and Abuse’. In M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State* (Copenhagen 1995), 326–44 (= *Acts* 2).

She then balances Phocian Panopeos (following Alcock) as a *polis*, reluctantly conceded by Pausanias (10. 4. 1), against Ledon (10. 33. 1), over the status as *polis* of which he hesitates. Yet, I am uncertain whether Pausanias does in fact deny *polis* status to the people of Ledon, however displaced and few in number they had become. He emphasises their self-identity as *politai* and the concession of *polis* status by the Phokian federal state (with explicit cross-reference made to the Panopeis). For the author, Pausanias' value is limited to topography; his site classifications are unreliable, in part for lack of a 'legally or politically defined concept' of the *polis*. Yet, Pausanias is no more undependable than any other late source for site status. His engagement with physical remains and wide reading of earlier evidence makes the plasticity of his use of *polis*-language troubling for the homogenising tendencies that are all too tempting once one adopts a culture-wide perspective. This piece fails to meet the challenges and invitations raised by Alcock's earlier study (cf. *AWE* 5 [2006], 290).

More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis

Papers 3 is headed by Nancy Demand, 'Poleis on Cyprus and Oriental Despotism' (pp. 7-15). This argument for awarding *polis* status to the Cypriot cities is suggestive, deserving sympathy for a critique of E. Gjerstad's use of 'oriental despotism' for the Cypriot kingdoms. That was a distortion of terminology meant to describe the hierarchical, regimented hydraulic monarchies of the Near East. Yet, Demand offers simplistic analysis and seldom moves beyond generality and speculation to confront specific evidentiary items (and then only perfunctorily).

In 'The Greek Settlement and Sanctuaries at Naukratis: Herodotus and Archaeology' (pp. 17-37), Hugh Bowden tries to clarify settlement patterns by examining the fundamental Herodotean account and site archaeology. He begins with a detailed review of early excavations, with an accent on scepticism, especially on the discovery and location of the Hellenion. He then turns to Strabo's account of the foundation of Naukratis before surveying ceramic evidence. It has long been known that the pottery on the site precedes Amasis. Two solutions to the dilemma are attributing the foundation to an earlier pharaoh or lowering Attic pottery dates to accommodate Herodotus. Rather I propose a Milesian lodgment at Naukratis became the basis for the *emporion* through Egyptian initiative. Turning to the structure of Naukratis, Bowden distinguishes between the southern and northern areas: the southern area around the Aphrodite sanctuary harboured permanent residents (Herodotus 2. 178. 1). Naukratis did not acquire *polis*-status until the 4th century BC at the earliest. A brief discussion of the livelihood of the Naukratites splutters out amid uncertainties over the valence of the term *emporion* (in light of the collection edited by Bresson [n. 42 below]). Bowden sensibly sustains the account of Herodotus concerning the authority of the states of Hellenion over the market by appointing *prostatai*, and sensibly adduces the Delphic Amphictyony as parallel. The Kalaurian Amphictyony may be a better analogy. Yet, I emphasise that it is the secular authority over the market that is most illuminating about the atypical character of the Naukratite community. Bowden errs, however, in doubting that *prostatai tou emporiou* can mean 'supervisors over the market', and overplays religious issues in that oversight. He closes by reviewing pharaonic dedications in Greek sanctuaries, and with a reminder that the latest Egyptology has restored the credentials of Amasis as philhellene.

The next three pieces deal with a focus of Polis Centre scholarship, Arcadia and adjoining areas (cf. *AWE* [2007], 303-09). In 'Was There an Arkadian Confederacy in the Fifth Century B.C.?' (pp. 39-61), Nielsen, attempts to disprove a widely held belief that the Arcadians formed a confederacy in the 5th century BC. He starts, as he must, by noting the ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ coinage, which scholars have connected with an Arcadian league, and sensibly observes that some looser association, such as a *summakhia*, may be distinguished from a federal state. He turns next to the epigraphy, chiefly *IG* V. 2, 3 and 6, that are found inadequate to carry the point of the existence of federal institutions. Literary evidence is dominated by Herodotus 6. 74. 1, Spartan king Kleomenes' swearing the Arcadians to an oath of personal allegiance (late 490s BC), and Herodotus 9. 35. 1-2, Spartan victories, presided over by the seer Teisamenos, including over the Tegeates and Argives at Tegea and over the Arcadians at Dipaia. While Nielsen may well be correct (not uniquely so, however) in arguing that Kleomenes' designs were stillborn (against W.P. Wallace), it is harder to reject that his initiative may have exploited and then enhanced nascent impulses toward forming ethno-regional unities. Other indications are presented in favour of 5th-century BC Arcadian disunity, such as the absence of common dedications and the evidence of dedicated spoils (some from other Arcadians). This argument is not entirely persuasive. Herodotus on the anti-Persian hostilities and Thucydides may well give no signs of pan-Arcadian political structure, but scholars have focused on the late 490s-480s and 470s-460s BC for this very reason.

Nielsen then returns to re-examine *Arkadikon* coinage. This discussion might have presented die-linking and hoard evidence. An earlier assignment of the three die-linked groups or 'mints' to particular cities can rightfully be criticised, and patterns of 5th-century minting differed from 4th-century BC federal issues in some regards. Yet, the effort to provide an economic rationale for maintenance of the 5th-century BC type of Zeus Lykaios/Pan miscarries. Nielsen next canvasses alternatives to an alliance/federation minting the *Arkadikon* coinage. One option is Tegea, but that merely posits that Tegea claimed to speak for its allies and the Arcadian *ethnos*. Nielsen is attracted by B. Head's theory of a 'festival' coinage, but raises problems about the denominations and the legend. He suggests the pan-Arcadian cult of Zeus Lykaios. One has, however, to consider the purpose for a large, closely die-linked (albeit divided into three components) emission, mainly of triobols and secondarily obols. Subsidies to attend the festival would work well, but the limited number of possible mints amid many *poleis* and the aristocratic social order of 5th-century Arcadia seem counter-indicative. Moreover, these rather large issues seem a disproportionate exertion for providing prizes. An adjustment of the traditional hypothesis is therefore preferable. For example, a sizable group of communities, claiming to represent the Arcadian *ethnos*, chose a symbolically apt and administratively appropriate (Aeginetic weight triobols and obols) medium for the subsidisation of larger or longer duration infantry campaigning. Their need to mint their own coins probably transcended symbolism or propaganda, because military exigencies required pulses of minting (compatible with the die-linking) that drained public and private coined reserves in Aeginetic coin and drew on bullion and sundry coins otherwise unhelpful for expenditures.

An exhaustive study of political dependency in Arcadia follows: Nielsen, 'A Survey of Dependent *poleis* in Classical Arkadia' (pp. 63-105). The *prooimion* of this piece restates the Centre's protocols on *polis*-status, *autonomia* and various categories (and their overlap) of

dependent *poleis*. Some dependencies can be classed as minor *poleis* within larger *poleis* and *poleis* continuing after *sumpoliteia* or *sunoikismos*. Several dependencies of Mantinea are treated. Nestane is as likely to have been a *kōmē*, or to have been considered a *polis* or a *kōmē* at different times and by different sources. The case of Helisson is illustrated by an agreement of incorporation into Mantinea (*SEG* 37. 340). While Helisson undoubtedly became a *kōmē* of Mantinea, using Mantinean law (adjusting Hansen), Nielsen believes it remained a *polis* (although many uncertainties remain). Another case of dependency is the relationship of Euaimon to Orkhomenos, attested as a *suwoikia* 'unification' by an inscription (*SVI* 297). Finally, Nielsen looks at Xenophon *Hellenica* 7. 5. 5 in reference to small cities living in the midst of larger cities, but I caution that this interpretation is speculative. The relationship of *perioecic poleis*, important for Sparta or Elis, is unknown for Arcadia, although Lasion in Triphylia was an Arcadian town among Elean *perioikoi*. Arcadian communities by dialect, *ethnos* and self-identification (for example Lepreon) perhaps were alike Elean *perioikoi* in my view.

This exploration shifts to the Arcadian cities presiding over hegemonic leagues. Here is a good treatment of Mantinean hegemony (well attested in Thucydides books 4 and 5) over the Parrhasians and quite possibly some Mainalians, whom Nielsen stresses were organised into their own *poleis*. The situation is less clear for Orkhomenos, where Pausanias' description of the formation of Megalopolis implies that Thisoa, Methydriion and Teuthis may have been its subjects (8. 27. 4). A Tegean hegemony is vaguely attested by Thucydides 4. 134. 1-2; a possible hegemony of Kleitor is based on a few tantalising indications. There then ensues a discussion of Arcadia in the Peloponnesian League (especially Tegea and Mantinea), emphasising *autonomia*. Our lacunose source material does not permit definitive review of Spartan breaches of Arcadian autonomy – indeed Spartan dominance there was a pillar of Peloponnesian hegemony – and, even taking *autonomia* on its self-serving Spartan connotation, there is enough highhandedness to hint at ever-present and sizable anti-Spartan constituencies, now dominant here or there, now checked by pro-Spartans with socio-economic motivations, added to factional agendas.

Nielsen next deals with the Arcadian League of the 370s-360s BC, including the knotty issue of membership, with attention to the controversies of the Phylarkhos decree (*IG* V. 2. 1). There is then a treatment of federal institutions: the assembly, the Ten Thousand, a probouleutic council, *arkhontes* (like *damiorgoi*), *stratēgoi* and a military force of 'picked men', the *eparitōi*. Constituent units were *poleis*, though Nielsen admits the medial status of tribes (for example the Mainalians). The league conducted foreign affairs, as the treaties in Xenophon's *Hellenica* demonstrate (notwithstanding a Stymphalian treaty of *sumbola* with Athens; perhaps a renewal). There is no evidence of structural bias in the league's institutions. This discussion is peppered with references to upholding or abridging *autonomia*. Yet, the data do not offer a sufficiently fine-grained picture to come to grips with the popularity or legitimacy of the various reciprocal interventions. A sketch follows on the *autonomia*, *polis*-status and the policy options of the Arcadian 'tribes' or sub-*ethnoi*. A conclusion outlines the Arcadian cases of Hansen's classes of dependency.

The third Arcadian investigation is James Roy, 'Polis and Tribe in Classical Arkadia' (pp. 107-12), answering Nielsen in *Acts* 3 (Roy being its respondent in Copenhagen in 1995).²⁷

²⁷ T.H. Nielsen, 'Arkadia. City-Ethncis and Tribalism'. In M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis* (Copenhagen 1996), 117-63 (= *Acts* 3).

Roy is reacting to Nielsen's argument that subdivisions of Arcadian tribes can sometimes be shown to have been *poleis*, and addressing the question whether *poleis* or 'tribes' developed first. Complicating matters is the lack of source material on 'tribal' political decisions, inconclusive archaeological data and Archaic attestation of 'tribes' and *poleis*. Nonetheless, Roy concludes that 'tribe' generally preceded constituent *polis*, a reasonable conclusion (see AWE 6 [2007] 303-04). He also interestingly broaches the impact of Spartan policy. It strikes me that Spartan check on the expansion of the larger *poleis*, possibly coupled with an inhibiting of true synoecism in the region, might have promoted the maintenance of 'tribal' consciousness, alongside identities based on *polis* affiliation.

In 'Were the Boiotian *Poleis Autonomoi*?' (pp. 113-25), Anthony G. Keen attempts to rebut Hansen's views on Boeotian autonomy.²⁸ He starts by making an essential point (if belaboured here): when the Thebans tried to swear to the Common Peace of 371 BC on behalf of the Boeotians, they truly felt justified in doing so, in face of the autonomy clause. Keen's discussion of Pausanias 9. 13. 2 and Plutarch *Agesilaus* 28 recognises that Epaminondas' riposte about the Spartan *perioikoi* pointed up the impropriety of requiring the Boeotians to swear separately, and was not a serious argument that *perioecic* status violated the autonomy clause (cf. AWE [2006], 284). He fails, however, to note that the Boeotians considered themselves as much a single people as the inhabitants of Lakōnikē, as the Thebans invoked the *patria* 'traditions' of the Boeotians to justify their hegemony. Keen's interpretation does have difficulty in coping with a group of passages, collected by Hansen, speaking of dissolution of the Boeotian League as allowing the cities their autonomy. Keen sensibly notes that these attestations adopt anti-Theban viewpoints of the Spartans, Athenians, or Xenophon himself. It is possible to compile a dossier of anti-Spartan passages on the Peloponnesian League as violating its members' autonomy. Nonetheless, I should have stated unequivocally that Theban hegemony over Boeotia *vis-à-vis autonomia* elicited mainly negative contemporary reactions, and extensive Theban justification has not survived. Rather Keen introduces the case of Boeotian Tanagra, allowed to keep its small hegemony over neighbouring *poleis*, and the possibility that the peace of 371 BC contained a clause authorising *poleis* to retain their own territory.

While accepting in the main Hansen's view of the evolution of *autonomia*, severing the concept from the essence of *polis* life, Keen diverges to countenance Ostwald's vision of *autonomia* under dependency, noting that the transition point for its loss was hazy, appreciated subjectively. I make two points. The Thebans probably grounded their leadership of Boeotia on the legitimacy of such rationales as encoded in the κατὰ τὰ πατρία clauses, attested in 5th-century treaties, despite their absence in the King's Peace (except implicitly for Attic control of the cleruchic islands). When they invited the Plataians to join their Boeotian League in 431 BC, they offered them a chance to be an ally *kata ta patria* (Thucydides 2. 2. 4). This tallied with the efforts of Boeotian exiles in 446, who acted for autonomy *and* alignment with Thebes (Thucydides 1. 113. 1-4). Second, a true judgment on the *autonomia* of Boeotian cities would depend on a more detailed knowledge of the

²⁸ Keen shares Hansen's concern that *autonomia* not equal modern autonomy, adding my piece from BICS 37 (1990) (see above n. 14), as slippage between the two ideas. To be sure, 'autonomy' does appear in my text as *variatio* for *autonomia*, but the modern concept of autonomy is never broached in an article whose first section 'the concept of autonomy' offered headings 'autonomy according to the Spartans' and 'the Athenians on autonomy' (cf. 119-20 here).

course of legitimate, traditional governmental processes there, affecting decisions for or against participation in confederation. We lack these insights, compared with contemporaries whose hostility to Theban pretensions thus deserves credence. However, Andocides' emphasis on the autonomy of Orkhomenos (3. 13, 20) may hint at varying degrees of legitimacy in Theban claims toward different Boeotian *poleis*.

In 'Were the Boiotian *Poleis* Deprived of their *Autonomia* During the First and Second Boiotian Federations? A Reply' (pp. 127-36), Hansen addresses Keen's arguments. He starts by dividing the question to consider separate 4th-century treaties, with the situation in 386 BC first. Here he is mistaken that Thebes had the option in Xenophon *Hellenica* 5. 1. 32-33 of swearing to the King's Peace with an autonomy clause. That they did not *as Boeotians*, but only as Thebans, a *démarche* that would first lead to each Boeotian *polis* coming forward to swear on its own behalf and then accusing the Thebans of forswearing if a vestige of federal authority remained. Hansen next turns back to consider the abortive peace of 392/1 BC. I would reject that Sparta relinquished a general autonomy clause between the meetings at Sardis and Sparta, but explain any difference in terms to the rhetoric of Andocides, who reduced the concessions sought by Sparta to Orkhomenos, already free of Thebes, i.e. bringing them to a level more palatable to his audience. Turning to the peace of 371 BC, Hansen has sensible things to say against Keen's raising of an inhibition against perjurious impiety (proposing that the Thebans truly believed the Boeotian *poleis* to be autonomous). He also notes how Attic opinion jibes with Spartan. However, he does not confront the likelihood that the Thebans believed that the Boeotian League deserved protection in the treaty equal to that of other traditional hegemonies. Hansen attaches weight to a decline of autonomy in Boeotia between 446 and 386 BC, and is not alone in seeing Theban preponderance having increased. Yet, Xenophon *Hellenica* 3. 5. 8-9 does not prove Theban arrogation of authority, and the weakness of our evidence forbids firm conclusions. Hansen reiterates his view that Spartan *periokoi* also lacked autonomy. Yet, in a sense the concept of *autonomia* was irrelevant for those believing these state structures embodied matters of basic solidarity with their co-ethnics.

The syntheses of the Polis Centre on the semantics of the word *polis* and its relatives depend on specific studies of various authors. Another is Flensted-Jensen and Hansen, 'Pseudo-Skylax' Use of the Term *Polis*' (pp. 137-67). The *Periplus* of [Scylax] is a derivative geographical work whose main body is late 4th century, though incorporating a *ca.* 500 BC account of the Black Sea. The authors helpfully analyse its organisation by classifying both the rubrics to which are appended designations of each locale and incorporated descriptors such as *polis*, *polis hellēnis*, *ethnos*, or *nēsos*. Fifty-two such categories are used for toponyms, 23 of which involve *polis*, some being compounds like *polis kai hieron*. Particularly problematic is the phrase αἰθε πόλεις and variants, because sites of various types follow, not just *poleis*. The authors establish the somewhat artificial convention that at least two *poleis* follow such an introduction, although these putative *poleis* are aggregated with sites definitely not *poleis*. Next, every toponym in the *Periplus* is assigned an appropriate classification. For those treated explicitly or implicitly as *poleis*, a gazetteer presents the other evidence establishing *polis* status. Examination turns to the central section on homeland Greece. For 59 of the 73 sites classified as *poleis*, external justification is available. The authors note mistakes over the status of Nauplia and Kyllene, mistaken applications of *dipolis* and *tripolis* to Ikos, Peparethos, and Skiathos, and an apparently unjustified heading αἰθε πόλεις for the

Megarid. Shifting to the first and third sections, covering the rest of the Mediterranean, the authors find 192 *poleis* of which 27 are unknown, 29 non-Greek towns, 22 poorly attested, 99 otherwise attested, and 8 questionable cases among which they discover errors. I conclude from the non-Greek *poleis* that the geographical works underlying the *Periplus* tended to call any town a *polis*. That *polis* was often applied to places that another authority calls a *polis* is at times owed to the prevalence of the *polis* polity, a bias in our source material toward using the term *polis*, and to fact that any attestation at any time counts the same for establishing status. It is not a forced conclusion that [Scylax] transmits accurate readings on the true status of *poleis*. Thus, the *Periplus* is not describing as *poleis* urban centres that were *poleis* in the political sense, and making some errors in doing so, as our authors would have it. The apparent errors are merely outliers in a much wider semantic range for *polis* than its connotation as 'city-state' or town of a 'city-state'.

In 'City-Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity' (pp. 169-96), Hansen treats the city-ethnics for evidence on status of communities as *poleis*. He starts with naming conventions, noting the appearance alongside the patronymic of identifications of *polis* sub-units, of the *polis* itself, or of units transcending the *polis*. Demotic names in a strict sense were limited to a few places (Athens, Rhodes and Eretria), but other designations of *polis* constituents abound. Hansen proposes we call them sub-ethnics, and explains how they were primarily meant to identify within a *polis*, while ethnics were employed abroad and in places foreigners frequented. He suggests that we distinguish between regional ethnics and *polis* ethnics, which are almost always derived from toponyms. Despite *Athenaion politeia* 21. 4, Attic demotics did not invariably form part of Athenians' names, although they gained currency and appeared alongside patronymics so that the clearest way to identify was given name + patronymic + demotic. While metics appear on some official documents identified by deme residence, their ethnic of origin was commonly used. Use of sub-ethnics outside Athens, even where shown to exist, is spotty, with a meagre attestation of Dorian tribes noteworthy (in my opinion). In some settings, regional and sub-ethnics are hard to separate from *polis* ethnics.

Hansen examines whether ethnics are primarily geographical or political in valence. Standard opinion opts for political, but he notes some complications. Is it really noteworthy that citizens of dismantled *poleis* continued to use their ethnics, for, while they lived and were true to their identities, they thought their *polis* lived on as well? As for the ethnic *Naukratites*, self-identifiers and their sympathisers may have equated it with *Athēnaïos* or *Korinthios*, but such usage does not vouch for the 'facts on the ground' of the *polis* status. Nor is it too helpful that regional ethnics and even a foreign ethnic (*Ioudaios*) are found at Oropos, as cult authorities could hardly be expected to research the juridical standing of foreign states – they merely accepted reasonable representations. Nor is it strange that women had *polis* ethnics on Attic tombstones, since ethnic affinity trumped gender boundaries. Hansen sensibly observes that we would expect ethnics based on every sort of toponym if they had merely geographical meanings. Does this observation support the view that components of *poleis* are systematically under-represented in our evidence?

Regional ethnics may be topographical or display 'a feeling of national identity' which need not show membership in a political community. Although use of regional ethnic may be merely practical, for example where people from obscure locales preferred a better known regional ethnic, one might object that identification as Arcadian or Boeotian often

meant that a regional cultural personality occupied some psychological ground held exclusively by *polis*-identity elsewhere. Hansen stresses the singularity of Greek naming with the incorporation of ethnics. This is not only a demonstration of the importance of belonging to a *polis*, but also a product of conditions where people of many communities constantly interacted. While ethnics were used collectively in lists, Hansen focuses on the use of the collective ethnic as the state's name. He sums up the major points, followed by two appendices on male and female city-ethnics on Attic sepulchral monuments. This chapter contains a valuable bibliography in its notes on the research on Greek naming.

Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis

Papers 4 opens with Hansen, 'Πόλις as the Generic Term for State' (pp. 9-15). He seeks ancient equivalents for modern diplomatic terms for political units such as 'states', 'nations' and 'countries'. One possibility is to use *poleis* as such a generic term; a more precise phrase, is *poleis* and *ethnē*, in which, *asty* seems once to replace *polis* (Thucydides 1. 122. 2). He thinks another denotation is *poleis* and *chorai*, as in Demosthenes 25. 11 and Aristotle *Politics* 1327a32-36. Later *basileis* and *dunastai* are added to such formulas. Hansen wisely notes that *polis* is a dominant and more generic term, except for the *ethnea* of the Boeotians and Chalcidians in Meiggs and Lewis *Greek Historical Inscriptions* 15A-B; Herodotus 5. 77. 4. He concedes 'that there was a tendency to adopt the word *polis* as a name for every kind of state'. This leads me to three observations. When the term *poleis* appears to summarise the membership of leagues like the Attic alliances, phraseology implies that allies possessed the processes and structures to interface with the hegemonic state on parity with *poleis*. Thus, states made up of *poleis* which possessed a superstructure of *polis* institutions for diplomacy, warfare and taxation, are rightly *poleis*, such as all Sicily under Dionysios I (Plato *Epinomis* 7. 332C), the Thessalians as viewed by the Peripatetic *politeia* (Aristotle fr. 504.1 Gigon), and the Achaean League as appreciated by Polybius (2. 37. 11). Thirdly, *polis* can be used for the capstone political unit, when a non-Greek culture is considered from a Greek perspective. The Persian monarchy is a *polis* in Aeschylus *Persae* 213, 511-512 and Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 1. 3. 18, 1. 4. 25 and 1. 5. 7.²⁹

In 'Hekataios' Use of the Word *Polis* in His *Periegesis*' (pp. 17-27), Hansen surveys Hecataeus' usage of *polis* on the basis of citations in the *Ethnika* of Stephanus. His point of departure is Whitehead's study in *Papers* 1 (see above). Focusing on passages in which Stephanus quoted Hecataeus or used him to specify site status, Hansen isolates 30. That 13 are non-Greek indicates to me that Hecataeus often used *polis* in the manner of Herodotus, either for a conurbation, or, in most of these cases, probably to connote 'the top-rank polity in its cultural context', without implication for political structure. The 17 Greek communities are indeed independently attested *poleis*. Yet, to interpret others as *poleis* requires *ad hoc* pleading. The mere presence of Greek pottery at Bouthroton in Epirus does not strongly favour a colony there justifying *polis* status ca. 500 BC (for Hecataeus). *Polis* institutions likely emerged there through Classical Hellenisation. Similar uncertainty prevails for Choirades, near Trapezus; [Scylax] 86 helps establish it as a Greek city, perhaps a secondary colony of Trapezus, but, equally, it could be a Hellenised community of indeterminate configuration. As for the Chersonesus, this name may not have been shorthand for Cardia or

²⁹ Cf. AWE 5 (2006), 260, 293; 6 (2007), 302; and below.

Agora as Hansen suggests. The 'Kherronesitai from Agora' are a secondary formation from the dissolution of an earlier unitary state. *Polis* may be used here to denote the unitary state itself, first ruled by the Cimonid tyrants, and later allied with Athens. Hence, *polis* connotes 'polity composed of *poleis*, possessing some *polis* institutions' (for example capacity to stand up and support an army and conduct diplomacy), a sort of colonial *ethnos*, like the Chalcidians of Thrace. While Sidoussa may have been a *polis* in the urban sense, was it a *polis* at the time of Hecataeus? Finally, Thoricus is a *polis* for me in the same sense as *poleis* of pre-Thesean Attica (Philochorus *FGH* 328 F 94) and *poleis* of the Marathonian *tetrapolis*, i.e. a community of mythological or cultic significance for later Greeks living in a *polis*. Hansen appositely notes Amphanai and perhaps Gephyra from Hecataeus' *Genealogiai* as parallels, but to press on in order to interpret *polis* in its political connotation is too speculative. In addition, it is a bit dismaying to observe how credence has been given in the *Inventory* to speculations serving schematic classifications.³⁰

Next is Hansen, 'A Typology of Dependent *Poleis*' (pp. 29-37). His categories are component *poleis* (Mykalessos within Tanagra³¹), *poleis* of a *peraia* or facing island (the Aktaian cities belonging to Lesbos³²), *emporía* (Mesambria³³), dependent colonies (Ambracia³⁴), Attic cleruchies³⁵ (Lemnos³⁶), perioikic *poleis* (Kythera³⁷), federated *poleis* (Orkhomenos in

³⁰ M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen, *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Greek Poleis* (Oxford 2004), 343, 905 (cf. 901), 955.

³¹ Or view Mykalessos as Theban and treat as a hegemonic subject or treat as synoecism (R.J. Buck, *Boiotia and the Boiotian League, 423-371 B.C.* [Edmonton 1994], 19).

³² They may constitute a sub-hegemony consolidated under Attic hegemony. See N.D. Robertson, 'The True Nature of the "Delian League" 478-61 BC'. *American Journal of Ancient History* 5 (1980), 64-96.

³³ However, the implication may be rejected that all *emporía* were *poleis* (a judgment affecting Naukratis. See below.)

³⁴ Perhaps to be collapsed into the hegemonic subjects. *Pace* Hansen, Ambracia was probably not continuously a Corinthian dependency. Foundation by Kypselos need not equal subjection to Corinth rather than the tyrannical dynasty, nor need Corinthian control been exercised before Periander. After him, Cypselids persisted there (Plutarch *Moralia* 859D). Ambracia perhaps returned to a closer Corinthian orbit in the 5th century BC. Cf. J.B. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth. A History of the City to 338 BC* (Oxford 1984), 270-80.

³⁵ To be subsumed under 'dependent colonies'. Are Attic colonies are to be classed separately from other subjects, the ideological rationales for subordination were equivalent? Answering depends on whether Athenian colonists maintained their citizenship. For the 4th century BC, the answer is affirmative, while I have argued for citizenship in the 5th century as well (the topic is not treated by Hansen).

³⁶ All 'legacy' Attic settlements were cleruchies in the 4th century BC including Lemnos, a semantic change equating 5th-century *apoikiai* and *klēroukhiāi*. Fifth-century BC cleruchies (for example Mytilene) were not *apoikiai* and lacked the full panoply of *polis* institutions. Lemnos was not a 5th-century cleruchy, but probably contained some Athenian citizens, non-tributary and fighting in the Athenian army, and living alongside tributary, non-citizen Lemnians, fighting in their own contingents. These may have been partially descended from Attic colonists who mixed with Lemnians. See T.J. Figueira *Athens and Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization* (Baltimore 1991), 41-48, 166-69, 253-56; N. Salomon, *Le cleruchie di Atene* (Pisa 1997), 31-81.

³⁷ Hansen admits that some perioecic communities were *kōmai*. That situation points to the primacy of determining the nature of their dependency and not toward foregrounding the *polis* status of

Boeotia³⁸), *poleis* within hegemonies (Delian League *poleis*), *poleis* in *sumpoliteia* (Helisson in Arcadia), *poleis* of tribal states (the Arcadian tribes or sub-*ethnoi* such as the Mainalians), *poleis* of empires/kingdoms (Asian *poleis* under the King's Peace), *poleis* founded as fortresses '*teikhoi*' (Samothracian Mesambria and Syracusan Casmene³⁹), main harbour *poleis* (Notion in Ionia⁴⁰), and *poleis* as civic subdivisions (Koresia on Keos⁴¹). Hansen admits an overlap of types, providing cases of *poleis* dependent in several concurrent modes.

Concern cloaks any reconstruction of dependency that sees domination of dependent *poleis* as fundamentally different from that encompassing sub-*political* units (for example *kōmai*). To analyse dependency one rather starts with classifying modalities of subordination, constraint and exploitation, being sensitive not only to material or power-political factors, but also to conceptual content. One looks for coercion where those subjected are constrained in behavioural choices and for exploitation where a flow of goods (material or symbolic) passes from subjects to masters. Then the investigation may advance to seek the boundaries where state-formation gives way to hegemonism and to determine the presence/absence of shared *personae* (ideological, dialectal, ethnic, or cultic) between dependents and hegemonists. Therefore, the preoccupation with the status as *polis* or not of those in dependency tends to imply less fruitful distinctions.

A strength of the publications of the Centre has been its regional surveys summarising archaeological evidence. A fine example is Gocha R. Tsetskhladze, 'A Survey of the Major Urban Settlements in the Kimmerian Bosphoros (With a Discussion of Their Status as *Poleis*)' (pp. 39-81). Its usefulness is enhanced by references to much Russian scholarly material. The chapter is copiously annotated, and well supplied with maps and plans. I note the valuable maps that distil the ethnic situation in the north-east Pontus in the 6th/5th and in the 4th centuries BC. The author focuses on the eastern Crimea and the Taman Peninsula, lying opposite to its east. This was the core of the later Bosporan kingdom. It is archaeological data that predominate over attestation in our evidence. The earliest Greeks settlements were anonymous lodgments at Taganrog and near and at later Gorgippia during the 7th century BC. The main Greek colonies were 6th-century, including Panticapaeum, the later Bosporan capital, founded by Milesians ca. 580-570 BC (based on pottery; coins and inscriptions soon follow). Here a characteristic mode of dugout dwellings, adopted by Pontic Greeks, is illustrated in early habitation stages. Early east Crimean establishments include Nymphaion ca. 575-550 BC, and Theodosia ca. 570-560 BC, a Milesian colony, while on the Taman Peninsula lay Tean Phanagoria ca. 550-525 BC, Hermonassa ca. 580-570 BC, whose colonists were Ionians and Mytileneans, and a foundation of ca. 580-570

the dependent units. A mid-6th-century BC accession from Argos, Kythera is not the best case of a perioecic *polis*; its status might have been inherited.

³⁸ It is hard to distinguish here from hegemonic dependencies. A better example would derive from a less coercive confederacy (for example the Achaeans).

³⁹ Again hard to distinguish from dependent colonies, unless the *teikhoi* evolved into *poleis* subsequent to foundation (not likely for Kasmene).

⁴⁰ Complications are Attic colonisation at Notion and Kolophon and Medising. The Notieis may have variously comprised their own independent *polis* or claimed to be the legitimate Kolophonian government. Figueira, *Athens and Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization* (see above n. 36), 67-68, 218-20.

⁴¹ Koresia may better exemplify how communities moved between the status of *polis* and *kōmē* not only by adding or shedding political processes and structures, but also by psychological adaptations.

BC, possibly Kepoi, another Milesian colony. Only after 550 BC did these colonies reveal indicia of systematic building and urban structure.

About 20 lesser urban centres are attested, for which archaeological evidence is predominant. Crimea: Myrmekion (founded *ca.* 580-560 BC), Tyritake (*ca.* 580-560 BC), Porthmeus (*ca.* 550 BC); Kytai (5th century), Akra, Cimmericum (5th century), Patreus, name uncertain (575-525 BC), and Tyramba (end of the 6th century); and Taman: Sindike, Sindic Harbour, eventually Gorgippia (6th century), Torikos (later 6th century) and Bata. Their status is elusive, with *polis* and *kōmē* employed for the same community (possibly with the function of *dēmoi*). The author argues that Myrmekion, Tyritake and Porthmeus could be dependent *poleis* established through internal colonisation. At Myrmekion, note the stone architecture and possible fortification in the second half of the 6th century BC, and the temples and rectangular planning in the 5th century BC. Yet Porthmeus may have been a *teikhos*, a recognised class of settlement (*SIG*³ 360), a status perhaps shared by towns on the Taman Peninsula. I endorse his distinct classification of the Bosporan establishments in non-Greek contexts, probably deemed *emporia*, such as those at Semibratnoe, Elizavetovskoe and Tanais.

In considering *chora* and population, the author hypothesises a first period of settlement in the Crimea shaped by the movements of nomadic Scythians, which precluded smaller agricultural establishments and necessitated dependent *poleis*. In contrast, on the Taman Peninsula, a denser settlement network may have been possible early. The presence of natives in the colonies is indicated by non-Greek elements in burials and by a controversial set of arguments on handmade, local pottery. This evidence is difficult to interpret. The emergence of the Bosporan kingdom arose from interplay between native pressure and Greek expansionism that led to a power bloc under Panticapaeum. By *ca.* 480 BC, a dynasty, significantly named the Archaeanactidae was in power; they yielded to the Spartocids in 438/7 BC (Diodorus 12. 31. 1). This long-lived dynasty (300 years!) embarked on systematic development of its territory, as Tsitskhladze explains, noting their official titles as 'archons'. A few comments are finally offered on the Pontic expedition of Pericles and the assessment of Pontic cities in 425/4 BC.

In another contribution to the semantics of *polis* life, Hansen presents 'Emporion. A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods' (pp. 93-105). He notes his debt to the recent volume of Bresson, the conclusions of which he mainly accepts.⁴² Unsurprisingly, Hansen concludes that most *emporia* were dependent *poleis*. He rightly notes the rarity of the term in Classical texts, where the Attic *emporion* predominates, and even in some authors useful for retrospective attestations like Pausanias. Discussion is then split between *poleis* with *emporia*, legally demarcated zones for 'interstate' trade and settlements constituting *emporia*, some of which may be *poleis*. While some authors tend to juxtapose *emporion* and *apoikia* in colonial studies, the rigidity attributed to earlier scholarship here is exaggerated. A treatment of cities with *emporia* is unobjectionable. *Emporia* belong to coastal cities; Corinth in Thucydides 1. 13. 5 being a partial exception. For overland commerce, I note that legal and administrative structures, united in *emporia*, were split among peripheral posts, gates and *agorai*. In a later section, Hansen discusses the

⁴² A. Bresson and P. Rouillard (eds.), *L'emporion* (Paris 1993); and especially Bresson's own contribution, 'Les cites grecs et leurs *emporia*', 163-226.

related issue of ports of inland cities attested as *emporía* and *poleis* (for example Peiraieus for Athens or Naulokhos for Priene). Hansen next lists examples of anonymous *emporía* and those whose locations are named. These 19 *emporía* are mostly called *poleis*, while Hansen admits the *emporion* of Pistyros in Thrace was not a *polis*. The single-plane perspective adopted by the Polis Centre for such determinations and the overwhelming cultural bias in favour of the denomination '*polis*' (and relations), meaning that almost any community would be called a *polis* by some authority at some time or other, drains such quantification of much probative force.

The crucial task in understanding the *emporion* is to test the hypothesis that Archaic/Classical Greeks sometimes lived in communities with imperfect realisations of the array of *polis* institutions. The structures of such communities may manifest adaptations for facilitating commercial exchanges with non-Greeks, set within a mosaic of articulated and embryonic institutions. Naturally, the incentive of profits through trade may have acted as inducement toward acquiescence in communal living deficient in some appurtenances of *polis* life. The *polis* is a psychological order as well as a set of facilities or an implementation of social processes for human interaction, so that it may be assumed that a sufficient concentration of persons socialised to *polis* life, i.e. 'Greeks', would attempt to create a *polis*, unless constrained. That they did not always in an *emporion* could be owed to preponderance of non-Greek political authority, to the presence *in situ* of a sufficiently countervailing population of persons with different cultural values and practices, or to the authority of another *polis* over resident 'Greeks'. Since Archaic *poleis* had to develop a set of behaviours and processes to operate their local *emporía*, it would not be odd to apply *emporion* to a place where such adaptations played a disproportionate role in the absence of other *polis* structures. This *emporion* is a simplification of a *polis* to which non-Greek trading centres may appear comparable.

Thus, identification of *emporía* and other atypical Greek communities is meshed within investigations of colonisation, exploitation, cultural hybridity and Hellenisation. Since such communities may tend strongly to become full-fledged *poleis* over time, examination of *emporía* is methodologically exacting, as it requires a critical mass of evidence, including commentary from politically sensitive observers, upon a limited chronological window. Because the actual structure of communities in question needs reconstructing, to cite authors calling *emporía poleis* – especially, lexicographers or *periēgētai* – seldom addresses social reality, unless one assumes that our sources were mindful of the existence of *polis* institutions. To say such evidence is virtually always absent may dash hopes for testing hypotheses on the nature of *emporía*, but does not invalidate how our questions are to be posed.

Hansen has done his due diligence tracking down supposed *emporía*. His first class are called *poleis* by a Classical source: Naukratis, Borythenes/Olbia,⁴³ Crimean Chersonesus, Spanish Emporion and Tartessos, Thracian Styrmé and Eion, Carthaginian Neapolis, Paphlagonian Kytoron, Phoenician Myriandros and Egyptian Kanobos. There are four late attestations of *poleis* supposedly derived from Classical sources: Thracian Drys, Kobrys,

⁴³ He revisits the *emporion* (Herodotus 4. 24) at Olbia separately, denying localisation at Berezan, opting for Olbia itself. Curiously, he recognises the Berezan community as a Milesian 'trading post without a chora', an admission of the very concept he is minimising. How would a Greek denote such a community save by the term *emporion*?

Kypasis and Zone (with Deris as an exception). Crimean Theodosia is identifiable as a *polis* through coinage, and Kremnoi may be an earlier name for Panticapaeum. Nevertheless, the inclusion of foreign entrepôts points up the futility of this exercise: ancient authors do not usually intend by casual employment of the terms *polis* and *emporion* to pass judgment on the presence of the panoply of *polis* institutions – otherwise this hodgepodge category of Greek and non-Greek communities could not exist – but merely to indicate a town with significant trading activity. The testimony of Herodotus is of a different nature: not dependent on written sources, he distils the oral testimony of his informants

Hansen narrows his attention to Naukratis, citing 4th-century BC attestations of the Naukratite *prytaneion*, usage of the city-ethnic and appointment of a Delphic *proxenos*. In my view, it is likely that the Naukratitai consolidated their civic institutions during periods of Egyptian independence and Persian weakness in the 4th century. Notably, the peculiarities of government at Naukratis, which Herodotus describes, are not traced thereafter. These features warrant that the term *emporion* connotes for Naukratis something like the imperfectly articulated *polis* I have sketched: the community is formed by Amasis' compulsory concentration of Greeks in Egypt on the site, and not by a form of *ktisis*; the centres of communal life are sanctuaries remaining under control of their founding cities, Miletus, Samos and Aegina; the main cult site of the Hellenion is jointly controlled by a group of trading *poleis* in the manner of an amphictyony; and the Hellenion, administered the commercial facilities. Other likely characteristics support: no evidence for a *chora*; a large Egyptian community sharing the site; outside self-identified Naukratitai, other residents seeming to retain identification with *polis* of origin. Hansen dismisses the issue of Egyptian control by invoking his shibboleth of *autonomia*.⁴⁴ One does not, however, face at Naukratis some umbrella of hegemony and financial exploitation, but rather an Egyptian presence substituting its administrative processes for those of a *polis* and in which Greek and local modalities of authority may well have interpenetrated on a site with an Egyptian town co-located.

Hansen next describes the absence of Archaic evidence for *emporion*, noting a seeming absence of the term in Hecataeus, but admitting the hypothesis that chapter 67–68 of [Scylax], with details on *emporion*, may derive from a late Archaic source. There is some special pleading here, as in the argument that Emporion in Spain was differently named earlier. Accordingly, an *emporion-polis* is a dependent *polis* for which the *emporion* was a prominent feature either as a fact of social history or contextually in the perspective of the one using the term. I suppose that it is unrealistic to expect a semantic study to confront characteristics of partial social and political structure, atypical adaptation to the facilitation of trade between Greeks and non-Greeks, and cultural and/or institutional hybridity. Hansen is on firmer ground investigating whether the distinction between agricultural colonies and commercial colonies is to be equated with that between *poleis* and *emporion*. This conceptualisation has been useful to colonial historians in coping with discrepancies in chronology. One sympathises with his commentary on Pithekoussai. One risks, however, confusing the possession of a *chora* with the different question of the possession of a usable hinterland. Absence of a *chora* entailed absence of *polis* boundaries and the spatialisation characteristic

⁴⁴ A comparison with Corinthian *epidamiourgoi* at Poteidaia (Thucydides 1. 56. 2) cannot be ap-
posite parallel, even were it not *obscurum per obscurius*.

of the *politeia* of a *polis*. If 5th-century BC Athenians could reduce *polis*-structure in cleruchies, no conceptual taboo forbade 6th-century Milesians in the Black Sea or early 5th-century Aeginetans in the upper Adriatic. Hansen's conclusion reiterates his findings. I underline his concession that 'trading stations' existed without *chorai* as being an important interpretative point to be juxtaposed with his separation of this finding from the semantics of the *emporion*.

It stands greatly to the credit of Hansen's intellectual integrity that he admits the existence of a non-*polis* *emporion* at Pistyros and at other places within the Odrysian kingdom on the basis of an important inscription SEG 43. 486. Without this discovery, one would be tempted to think that Bistiros and Pistiros noted by Stephanus as respectively a *polis* and an *emporion* were doublets (*Ethnika* 171. 6; 524. 11), and that this was the *polis* Pistyros (Herodotus 7. 109. 2), although it now seems located elsewhere than the inscription. So one would have doubted that an *emporion* could be a partial *polis* with adaptations for trade. Besides Pistyros and other Thracian *emporia*, Naukratis and Emporion, I offer as possible such *emporia* those of western Sicily (Herodotus 7. 158. 2), added to the Pontic stations of Milesians (cf. Herodotus 4. 17. 1) and Adriatic establishments of the Aeginetans (Strabo 8. 6. 16 C376). This piece is a striking example of the strengths and deficiencies of the methodology of Polis Centre. This skilled synthesis is likely to become an important scholarly resource on its subject.⁴⁵

In 'Colonies and Ports-of-Trade on the Northern Shores of the Black Sea: Borysthene, Kremnoi and the 'Other Pontic Emporia' (pp. 107-16), John Hind addresses several topics. He explores identification of the *emporion* of the Borystheneitai (or Olbioi) in Herodotus 4. 17. 1 (cf. 4. 24), and determines that it refers to Olbia itself and not to the community on Berezan. Second, he argues that the *emporion* at Kremnoi (Herodotus 4. 20. 1, 110. 2) is Panticapaeum under an earlier name. This is possible, but it is surprising there are no other good traces of that naming. On the other Pontic *emporia* in Herodotus 4. 24 and 4. 108. 2, the possibilities are Tyras and Karkinitis. For Hind, *emporion* was not synonymous with *polis*, but *poleis* as trade centres could be termed *emporia*. This judgment is made rather incongruous by the chief misjudgment, the author's curious recourse to the term 'ports-of-trade' in title and in text (pp. 107, 113). Ordinary readers are given no clue that this is a term of art in economic history, being left entirely without clarification except an equally enigmatic reference in the last footnote (n. 26, p. 116). 'Port of trade' refers to a special type of medial or interstitial commercial centre at the interface between two cultures and economic systems. That an *emporion* would have the same structure as a full-fledged *polis* would therefore stand against expectation for one familiar with the usage of 'port of trade' by Karl Polanyi and his followers.⁴⁶

Flensted-Jensen in 'Some Problems in *Polis* Identification on the Chalkidic Peninsula' (pp. 117-28) also tackles separate problems about the Chalcidice. She first determines whether there was only one *polis* Apollonia, that being the well-attested city south of Lake Bolbe. To do so, she must analyse Xenophon *Hellenica* 5. 3. 1-2 consistent with a location

⁴⁵ Revised and reprinted as 'Emporion. A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods'. In G.R. Tsatskheladze (ed.), *Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Overseas Settlements*, vol. 1 (Leiden 2006), 1-39. Compare Tsatskheladze's Introduction to this volume: 'Revisiting Ancient Greek Colonisation', pp. xxiii-lxxxiii, especially xl-xli.

⁴⁶ See T.J. Figueira, 'Karl Polanyi and Greek Trade'. *Ancient World* 10 (1984), 15-30, for scepticism.

35 km north of Olynthos. Second she, examining the Skapsaioi, known from Attic tribute lists, and barely attested by a coin find, is not overly impressed with attempts to place them in the western Chalcidice, nor to equate with Kampsa (Herodotus 7. 123. 2; Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnika* 370). Next, she turns to Skithai (Theopompus *FGH* 115 F 375), wondering doubtfully whether to equate it with Kithas of the tribute lists (probably in the Krousis), and with Kissos (Strabo 7, fr. 21; *SEG* 40. 542?).

Next is Nielsen, 'Triphyliā. An Experiment in Ethnic Construction and Political Organisation' (pp. 129-62). Nielsen's thesis is that Triphyliā was a construct of the 390s BC. Literary evidence, in which Polybius bulks large, identifies Triphyliā as an Arcadian district, lying in the western Peloponnese between the Neda and the Alpheios. A determination that its towns were *poleis* in the later 5th century BC is well grounded. In the 5th century, the region was variously described as a part of Elis (Thucydides) or, in the case of some towns, as Minyan (Herodotus). An identity as Arcadian seems likely (Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnika* 672; [Apollodorus] 3. 8), while the Kaukones were associated with Makiston, and the Paroreatai, another *ethnos*, are attested. The Eleans subjected Triphyliā, with Thucydides' account of Lepreon's dependency on Elis a clear case. War between Elis and Sparta stripped these dependencies, although doubts exist over affiliation of surrendered towns. Perhaps Nielsen errs in scepticism about concluding that Triphyliā could not be Arcadian in the 5th century BC or earlier, since an ethno-linguistic specification would not exclude belonging to the Eleioi as political status, any more than the Plataians stopped being Boeotian just because of rights as Athenians. And it is far from clear various Triphylian identities, such as Minyan or Kaukonian, were inevitably competing, and not complementing, or tenable concurrently. So must we endorse that they demonstrate that 'ethnic identity and political organisation could be created in the Classical period'?

Clearly a Triphylian state, made up of *poleis*, attested by epigraphy, existed after 400 BC and embodied Triphylian ethnicity. Not all Triphylian communities need have belonged to this polity, Skillous possibly being independent. Nielsen is rightfully critical of the theory that stressed Spartan initiative in creation of the Triphylians. How the Triphylians related to the Arcadians after Leuktra, and particularly the status of Lepreon, an undoubted Arcadian adherent, is difficult. This period may well have fixed Triphyliā as Arcadian in ethno-geographical terms. An 'epilogue' compares Triphyliā with Arcadian *sub-ethnoi* (my term) like the Mainalians and Parrhasians. Whether division of these *sub-ethnoi* into *poleis* was primary or secondary is uncertain (I add), perhaps occurring after a tribal polity created some *polis* institutions, for example for military and diplomatic purposes. This sensible treatment is a little disappointing for failure to start with examining the central, possibly insoluble, question of the threefold nature of the Triphylians, and with offering suggestions for the identity of the three constituents. Once again, I stress the oddity of a discussion on ethnicity failing to offer evidence on dialect and script affinities found in inscriptions (for example, the significance of the dative plural in $-\omicron\iota\varsigma$ as in *SEG* 35. 389).

Last is Jeannette Forsén and Björn Forsén, 'The *Polis* of Asea. A Case-Study of How Archaeology can Expand Our Knowledge of the History of a *Polis*' (pp. 163-76).⁴⁷ The au-

⁴⁷ Cf. J. Forsén, B. Forsén and E. Østby, 'The Sanctuary of Agios Elias – Its Significance, and Its Relations to Surrounding Sanctuaries and Settlements'. In T.H. Nielsen and J. Roy (eds.), *Defining Ancient Arkadia* (Copenhagen 1999), 169-91 (= *Acts* 6), with *AWE* 6 (2007), 306.

thors' current excavations rest on the foundation of work of E.J. Holmberg, not only at Asea, but also at the cult site of Ayios Elias. A treatment of a surface survey of the town, that yielded Archaic, Classical and Roman pottery, substantiates an extent of 13 ha, and opens the possibility of a larger site, subsuming areas covered by later alluvium. Remains of walls and houses are not too helpful for setting a pre-Hellenistic date, possibly correlating with references in Xenophon. Speculations about chronology are assisted by extra-urban shrines: Ayios Elias has a temple *ca.* 500 BC, the first temple at Vigla is *ca.* 630-620 BC, a suburban shrine at Ayios Ioannes (of the *Mētēr theōn*?) is datable to the 6th century, and a peri-urban sanctuary (perhaps of Demeter) has Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic pottery. The Asea Valley Survey has found 20-30 sites, the most substantial of which were villages at Ayios Georgios and Ayios Athanasios, which bracket Asea itself, standing up- and downstream along the Alpheios. Two other villages at Nekrotapheion and Paleochora lie on more elevated sites north of Asea. By estimate, Asea had a territory of 60 km², an urban area of *ca.* 26-27 ha, with 2000-3000 people in the *asty* and 2500 to 3500 total inhabitants.

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NEW BOOKS ON ETRUSCAN MYTH AND RELIGION

L. Bonfante and J. Swaddling, *Etruscan Myths*, The Legendary Past, The British Museum Press, London/University of Texas Press, Austin 2006, 80 pp., 53 figs. Paperback. ISBN 10: 0-7141-2238-6/13: 978-0-7141-2238-6 (British Museum). ISBN 10: 0-292-70606-5/13: 978-0-292-70606-4 (University of Texas)

N.T. de Grummond, *Etruscan Myth, Sacred History, and Legend*, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia 2006, xvi+270 pp., illustrations (+ CD with supplementary images). Cased. ISBN 1-931707-86-3

N.T. de Grummond and E. Simon (eds.), *The Religion of the Etruscans*, University of Texas Press, Austin 2006, xiv+225 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-292-70687-1

J.-R. Jannot, *Religion in Ancient Etruria*, translated by J.K. Whitehead, Wisconsin Studies in Classics, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison 2005, xviii+229 pp., illustrations. Cased: ISBN 0-299-20840-0. Paperback: ISBN 0-299-20844-3

Writing centuries after the events concerned, the Roman historian Livy (5. 1. 6) found it necessary to account for certain aspects of the late 5th-century BC conflict between early Rome and Etruscan Veii by explaining that the Etruscans were '... a people more concerned than any other with religion, and all the more so because they excelled in its practice'. His observation is confirmed to some extent by the archaeological and artistic record in Etruria of temples, sanctuaries, religious iconography and ritual equipment: but, as in other sectors of Etruscan studies, the major impediments to our own appreciation and understanding of Etruscan religion and its practice are the absence of contemporary native written accounts of beliefs and usage and the existence of later foreign sources (mainly Latin, and unsympa-

thetic). All told, it is perhaps not surprising that there has been no monographic treatment of this crucial topic since 1975.¹ In 1992, however, Livy's words were reflected in the title of a major colloquium held in Paris² that signalled both a resurgence of interest in the specifically religious aspects of Etruscan civilisation and an effective clearing of the decks for further work. That no fewer than four books in this subject-area can now appear more or less simultaneously, barely a decade since the publication of the Paris colloquium, and in English, is a remarkable and welcome result of solid and ongoing Italian and international scholarly progress in the study not only of Etruscan religion but also of *Etruscologia* as a whole.

New readers, and visitors from adjacent areas, would be well advised to begin with Jannot's wide-ranging and well-illustrated introduction to the whole field of Etruscan religion, first published as *Devins, dieux et démons: regards sur la religion de l'Etrurie antique* (Paris 1998). His Chapters 1-4 deal with the Etruscan polytheistic system and the *Etrusca disciplina* of rules and rituals laid down by prophets for the consultation of the gods, rites of divination (often involving entrails and thunder), and the religious aspects of death and burial. By Chapters 5 and 6, we are ready for a valuable survey of the principal Etruscan sanctuaries and their buildings, which leads naturally to the worshippers (Chapter 7), the gods (Chapter 8) and finally to the specifically Etruscan concept of 'the Divine' (Chapter 9). It is hard to see how this survey could be bettered: well informed, well organised, and provided with useful notes and glossary, it has been admirably translated by an English-speaking Etruscan specialist in such a way that the author himself declares in his Preface that 'In fact, this is a second revised edition of my French book... If I have to produce a second French edition, I wonder if it would not be convenient to translate the American edition.'

A careful reading of Jannot's book prepares us for eight despatches from the research front that were originally presented at a conference at the Florida State University, Tallahassee in 1999: the history of the study of Etruscan religion (de Grummond); the relevant Etruscan inscriptions (L. Bonfante); prophets and priests (de Grummond again); the Etruscan pantheon (Simon); the grave and beyond (I. Krauskopf); votive offerings (J.M. Turfa); ritual space and boundaries (I.E.M. Edlund-Berry); and sacred architecture (G. Colonna). There is a great deal of reliable and up-to-date information here, some of it not available elsewhere in English – such as Colonna's account of his recent work at the 'new' (south) sanctuary at Pyrgi, adjacent to the 'old' one that yielded the famous gold tablets with their quasi-bilingual Etruscan and Phoenician inscriptions. Not everyone will agree with every statement by every contributor, and indeed the contributors themselves do not invariably agree with each other. I found this stimulating rather than worrying, and entirely appropriate to discussions of work in progress that involve re-reading the seriously unsatisfactory literary tradition in the light of the now burgeoning material record. Two appendices of permanent value are particularly welcome: Turfa's edition (Greek text, English translation and commentary) of John the Lydian's 6th-century AD translation of the Etruscan brontoscopic calendar previously published in Latin by Publius Nigidius Figulus, a contemporary of Cicero; and the similar treatment accorded by de Grummond to a wide selec-

¹ A.J. Pfiffig, *Religio etrusca* (Graz 1975).

² The proceedings of the colloquium were published five years later: F. Gaultier and D. Briquel (eds.), *Les Étrusques, les plus religieux des hommes: état de la recherche sur la religion étrusque* (Paris 1997).

tion of Latin and Greek sources. Regrettably (but not fatally), we must look elsewhere for a concordance of the inscriptions cited throughout this book with H. Rix, *Etruskische Texte* (Tübingen 1991).³

The appearance of these two excellent books on Etruscan religion is of far more than local significance. Quite apart from their value to Etruscan specialists, they show the world (West and East) what Etruscology at its best really is, what the best Etruscologists actually do – and why their achievements are important to the mainstream of Classical, Mediterranean and European studies. In addition, and naturally enough, the renewal of interest in Etruscan religion has repercussions for the study of Etruscan myths. Here too the lack of Etruscan narrative texts inhibits both exposition and exegesis. But we have a great deal of Etruscan art, and this is the basis on which Bonfante and Swaddling offer an account of Etruscan interpretations of Greek mythological scenes, and of the ways in which they reflect the nature and priorities of Etruscan religion. Their contribution appears in an attractive British Museum series of booklets designed to acquaint the general public with the myths of many cultures, and has the merit of preparing readers at all levels for the broader, deeper and altogether more original account of the same subject that is proposed by de Grummond. Her book, the first major treatment of Etruscan mythology in any language, is characterised throughout by a point of view that is firmly Etruscan. In other words, Etruscan myth, along with the inseparable subjects here defined as ‘sacred history’ and ‘legend’, is seen from the inside rather than through Greek and Roman eyes:

This policy may bring disappointment to those who want to start by asking which Etruscan gods corresponded to the various gods of Greece or Rome and who are looking for stories or deities that have a clear, familiar identity. To a certain extent such an exercise is successful... [b]ut the various discussions of these gods in their relevant chapters will show how very different the Etruscan deities could be. It is important to remember that Etruscan gods did not inhabit an Olympus, but dwelled instead in particular houses of a 16-part sky. Their cosmos was radically different from that of the Greeks...

This book, then, is planned to demonstrate that the Etruscans did have a mythology of their own, whereby they narrated stories that had a sacred character and helped to explain why the universe was as it was, as well as how to approach the gods by means of prescribed rituals (p. xiii).

A particularly convincing result of this approach, also apparent elsewhere in these books, is the final rejection of the all too familiar hypothesis of ‘banalisation’, which supposes that Etruscan artists made ‘mistakes’ in their depictions of Greek mythological ‘facts’ because they did not really understand them (and that when Greek vase painters concocted their own deviant representations, ‘it was only because they knew their vases were destined for a market of ignorant Etruscans’: pp. 235–36, with references)!

By the time we get to this point, de Grummond has set the scene by introducing us in her Chapter 1 to the geography and chronology of the Etruscans and noting that some stories represented in their art are completely non-Greek; next, in Chapter 2, come accounts of the prophets who had recorded the immutable will of the gods for men and women. Chapter 3 is in many ways the most significant part of the whole book: in it, the complex Etruscan view of creation, time and the universe is set out with laudable clarity – a procedure that demonstrates both the problematic nature of Etruscan mythology and the need

³ See now <<http://www.utexas.edu/utpress/excerpts/degrel-concordance.html>>.

for caution in making generalisations. Chapters 4-7 review the pantheon of Etruscan gods and spirits; some of the latter are known to us only by the inscribed Etruscan names that accompany representations of them. Heroes and heroines follow in Chapter 8, which tells us a lot about the Etruscan variants of the Greek myths of Heracles (Etr. Hercle). These include a probable Etruscan addition, one Mlacuch, to the already impressive list of his amorous conquests elsewhere. The episode, depicted on a bronze mirror (*ca.* 480-470) now in the British Museum, provides a good example of de Grummond's refreshingly unpretentious and well-informed attitude to the evidence:

Many attempts have been made to identify Mlacuch with some Greek heroine or other, or with a Roman goddess (the Bona Dea), or even to argue that her name comes from the Phoenician word for queen, *mlk*, but no theory has won the day. Why can we not simply say that here, as with Cacū, Epiur, Pava Tarchies and Lasa Vecu, we have an Etruscan myth, the heroine of which story is a lady named Mlacuch? (p. 188).

Chapter 9 treats foundation myths and is therefore brief, because 'there is little if any evidence of what the Etruscans believed themselves about the founding of their cities and their people' (p. 201). It might have been worth referring in this connection to D. Briquel's weighty (and in my view convincing) demonstration that the notorious Lydian hypothesis transmitted by Herodotus (1. 94) was deliberately fabricated in the Hellenised milieu of the court at Sardis in the early 6th century BC for reasons connected with Lydian foreign policy at the time.⁴ Finally, Chapter 10 reviews the relationship with mythology in Etruria that is revealed by the archaeological and literary evidence for rituals and beliefs associated with the afterlife and the underworld. All these good and thought-provoking things are supported by a generous selection of printed illustrations, rearranged and extended on an accompanying compact disc that thus carries an invaluable and much larger archive of Etruscan mythological images.

As in the case of the other books treated in this review, not everyone will agree with every statement in de Grummond's monograph.⁵ No matter: her eminently readable text and carefully compiled set of images present us with a powerful new agenda that cannot be ignored. Her realistic attitude to 'the Greek problem' (see especially pp. 12-15) follows hard on the heels of another scholar's thoughtful characterisation of the Sicilian colonial context in terms of 'hybridity' rather than unidirectional Hellenisation, a concept that I believe can also be safely rejected in favour of 'interaction' to describe the relationship between Greece and Etruria in the Early Iron Age.⁶ However this may be, readers who work their way through *Etruscan Myth, Sacred History, and Legend* with anything like the care and attention that have gone into its preparation will find themselves thinking constructively about the Etruscans in their own right and on their own terms – and, best of all, beginning to under-

⁴ D. Briquel, *L'origine lydienne des Étrusques. Histoire de la doctrine dans l'Antiquité* (Paris/Rome 1991), esp. 3-89. It is simply not true that 'the authority of Herodotus is involved': H.H. Scullard, 'Two Halicarnassians and a Lydian: a note on Etruscan origins'. In *Ancient Society and Institutions* ([Studies Ehrenberg] Oxford 1966), 226.

⁵ See already B.B. Powell's review, *BMCR* 2007.06.16.

⁶ C.M. Antonaccio, 'Excavating colonization'. In H. Hurst and S. Owen (eds.), *Ancient Colonizations: analogy, similarity and difference* (London 2005), 97-113; D. Ridgway, 'The Italian Early Iron Age and Greece: from Hellenization to interaction'. *MedArch* 17 (2004 [2006]), 7-14; see too D. Ridgway, *The World of the Early Etruscans* (Jonserved 2002), 21-31.

stand why L. Bonfante once felt able to define them as 'a ranking civilization which played an important role in the history of the world, both in its own time and through its influence on Rome'.⁷

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ON THE MARGINS OF THE EUPHRATES

T.J. Wilkinson, with contributions by N.F. Miller, C.D. Reichel and D. Whitcomb, *On the Margin of the Euphrates: Settlement and Land Use at Tell es-Sweyhat and in the Upper Lake Assad Area, Syria*, Excavations at Tell es-Sweyhat, Syria vol. 1, Oriental Institute Publications 124, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago 2004, lii+276 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 1-885923-29-5/ISSN 0069-3367

T.P. Harrison, with contributions by D.L. Esse, A. Graham, R.G.V. Hancock and P. Paice, *Megiddo 3: Final Report on the Stratum VI Excavations*, Oriental Institute Publications 127, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago 2004, xxxii+255 pp., illustrations and a CD. Cased. ISBN 1-885923-31-7/ISSN 0069-3367

Tony Wilkinson's contributions to environmental and landscape archaeology have been enormous. He has transformed our understanding of the dynamics behind the changing patterns of settlement in Syria and south-eastern Turkey during the Holocene period, and has firmly planted the study of ancient rural landscapes of the Near East on solid foundations. This volume is no exception. It presents the results of the Sweyhat Survey, which formed part of the greater Tell es-Sweyhat project that comprised part of the salvage operations in the Lake Tabqa (now Lake Assad) area. The survey was carried out during three years (1974, 1991 and 1992) over an area approximately 60 km² around the site of Sweyhat.

The book comprises nine chapters, three appendices – 'Sweyhat Survey Site Catalog', 'Site Gazetteer', 'Selected Soil and Sediment Descriptions' – and an index of geographical names. A useful discussion of earlier surveys and a summary of the history and archaeology of the area are presented in the Introduction. This is followed by a detailed discussion that is augmented by maps, plans, diagrams and CORONA satellite images of the physical environment (Chapter 2), which concludes that the active geomorphology, including sedimentation and erosion, along the Euphrates valley in the upper Lake Assad area, may account for the relatively small number of sites, when compared with the Balikh valley, for instance. The diversity of the habitats, perhaps not readily obvious in such a marginal environment, in the Sweyhat area is presented in Chapter 3 on 'Land Use and Agricultural Economy'. Topics such as irrigation agriculture, risk management, soil degradation and pastoralism explore the prospects available to the ancient inhabitants. Useful points of methodology and definition, including terms of site morphology, are presented in Chapter 4 and 5 ('The Ar-

⁷ L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* (Baltimore/London 1975), 1.

chaeological Landscape' I, and II). Then comes a full ceramic sequence from survey sites and the knotty problems of phasing and terminology (Chapter 6). More data are presented in Chapter 8 devoted to biological remains.

Drawing all this together, we are led to some significant concluding interpretations (Chapter 7 and 9). Looking at the entire Holocene period, W. notes cyclic periods of colonisation and abandonment within the Sweyhat Survey area. It seems that the plain was deserted up to the end of the Chalcolithic, after which it witnessed its first wave of sedentary settlement that lasted from the Early Bronze Age to the initial phase of the Middle Bronze Age (*ca.* 3000-1900 BC). This permanent peopling of the area, W. insightfully remarks, corresponds chronologically with the collapse of the Uruk centres at Habuba Kabira South and Jebel Aruda (p. 151), though he is cautious at this stage not to link directly the two events. Then there is another period of desertion during the 2nd millennium BC, followed by another period of settlement from the Iron Age to the Early Islamic period (*ca.* 1000 BC to AD 900/1000). The last period of abandonment occurred between AD 1000 and 1200.

The University of Chicago's large-scale excavations at Megiddo (Tell el-Mutesellim) carried out between 1925 and 1939 represent a milestone in Near Eastern archaeology. Although it may be said that the directors and backers of the project were too ambitious in their attempt to excavate completely this large mound in the Jezreel valley by digging each horizontal city level, their plan to uncover a settlement through investigations on a grand scale has left a legacy of rich information. The onset of the Second World War, however, precluded the final season of excavations and delayed the publication of results. We must then commend T.P. Harrison, and D.L. Esse, his mentor, who initiated the Megiddo VI publication project before his untimely death in 1992, for their patience and tenacity. Although many decades have past since the Chicago team worked at Megiddo – other teams have carried out many campaigns since then – the report on Stratum VI is timely, because of the bearing it has on the intense and often passionate debates on the Iron Age of the southern Levant and the formation of the kingdom of Israel.

The volume has seven chapters: 'History of Excavations', 'Stratigraphy and Chronology', 'The Architecture', 'The Pottery', 'Elemental Analysis of the Stratum VI Pottery', 'The Small Finds', and a 'Cultural and Historical Synthesis'. Four appendices follow these: locus index, pottery register, small finds register, and a digital archive on a CD. This Archive contains not only electronic copies of the photographs and drawings, but also the primary field records and shape files in Arc View GIS to make possible the spatial analysis of finds.

Harrison shows that Stratum VIA and Stratum VIB are, in fact, sub-phases of the same stratum and constituted a flourishing town, whose destruction '...must have occurred towards the end of the eleventh century, or possibly a little later, in the early part of the tenth century' (p. 13). This places Megiddo VI squarely within the Late Iron I period *ca.* 1150-1050 BC (there is an apparent typographical error on table 1, p. 13, which lists the Megiddo VI time range as 1150-1100 BC). H. anchors his chronology to two broad data sets. First, there is a wide range of comparative ceramic material – Philistine, Phoenician, Cypriot and early Israelite. The closest parallels are found with Yoqne'am XVII. Key indicators at Megiddo VI are the disappearance of Late Bronze Age painted tradition, the appearance of Philistine bichrome pottery and an abundance of collared-rim storage jars generally associated with early Israelite settlements. Second, are the extensive and new radiocarbon dates, obtained from short-lived seeds from Tel Rehov, which point to the destruction of

Rehov V occurring about 940-900 BC, and that of Rehov IV around 880 and 836 BC. That Rehov V has strong affinities with Megiddo VA/IV B has enabled some scholars, H. among them, to suggest that the Egyptian Pharaoh Shoshenq I destroyed both cities *ca.* 925 BC. Accordingly, Megiddo VI must be earlier, contra to the view of Israel Finkelstein, who has argued that Shoshenq destroyed this town (and not Megiddo VA/IV B). Following the general consensus, H. argues that King David was responsible for the destruction of Megiddo VI, though it is just as likely to have been destroyed by an earthquake.

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THE IRON AGE IN LURISTAN

E. Haerinck and B. Overlaet, *Djub-i Gauhar and Gul Khanan Murdah. Iron Age III Graveyards in the Aivan Plain*, Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran, The Excavations in Luristan, Pusht-i Kuh (1965-1979), The Ghent University and the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels, Joint Expedition Directed by Louis Vanden Berghe (†), Luristan Excavations Documents vol. III, Acta Iranica 36, Textes et Mémoires vol. XXII, Peeters, Leuven 1999, 245 pp., colour and black-and-white illustrations. Cased. ISBN 90-429-0718-5

B. Overlaet, *The Early Iron Age in the Pusht-i-Kuh, Luristan*, Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran, The Excavations in Luristan, Pusht-i Kuh (1965-1979), The Ghent University and the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels, Joint Expedition Directed by Louis Vanden Berghe (†), Luristan Excavations Documents vol. IV, Acta Iranica 40, Textes et Mémoires vol. XXVI, Peeters, Leuven 2003, x+668 pp., colour and black-and-white illustrations. Cased. ISBN 90-429-1243-X

These two volumes continue the series of the reports of the Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran (BAMI), which conducted excavations in Luristan, in the region of Pusht-i Kuh between 1965 and 1979.¹ These 15 campaigns, conducted under the auspices of Ghent University and the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels, and led by the intrepid Prof. Louis Vanden Berghe, have provided an indispensable record of Iranian archaeology. Although there is a vast literature on the antiquities of Luristan, devoted mostly to its bronzes held in museum and private collections that have been acquired from dealers who provide unreliable provenances, very few studies on the archaeology of this western region of Iran are concerned with systematic archaeological research in the field. In this regard, we are much indebted to Vanden Berghe and his team, who, despite the harsh environment and precarious tribal governance of the region, managed to lay trustworthy foundations for Luristani archaeology.

Taken together these two volumes provide an overview of the Iron Age in Luristan. It is perhaps best to start with Bruno Overlaet's book (vol. IV) first, because it deals with the Iron Age I-II cemeteries. Like others in the series, this is an excellent excavation report, and

¹ See my review of Haerinck and Overlaet's earlier volume in the series, *Chamabzi Mumah. An Iron Age III Graveyard* (Leuven 1998) in AWE 3.2 (2004) 428-29.

is based on the author's PhD thesis that was supervised by E. Haernick. The volume is packed with information, replete with crisp illustrations and photographs – the black-and-white images of the excavations are particularly noteworthy – but, above all, it is an intelligently set out and user friendly report. A good number of final reports, when they are eventually published, can be tiresome creatures, which require the reader to disentangle masses of data and then reconstitute them in some comprehensible form. Not so this report, or the others so far published in the *Luristan Excavation Documents*.

The first section, on the Belgian Mission's research in the Pusht-i Kuh, begins with a succinct presentation of the fieldwork organisation, and is followed by a discussion of chronological issues and the Early Iron Age discoveries of the project. In delineating the chronology of the Iron Age for north-west Iran, Overlaet prefers to refine the traditional scheme first proposed by T. Cuyler Young some 40 years ago and later adapted by L. Vanden Berghe (1973).² Accordingly, he does not believe the Luristani data sit comfortably with the revised framework suggested by R.H. Dyson and Young in the 1980s, which pushes the Iron Age I back to ca. 1450-1250 BC. Instead Overlaet assigns this period in the Pusht-i Kuh to the Late Bronze Age, when painted pottery was the norm. Then, ca. 1300/1250 BC painted wares were replaced by a buff pottery horizon that marked the beginning of the Iron Age IA period, which lasted until 1000/900 BC. The timeline of the two subsequent periods are 1000/900-800/750 BC (Iron Age II) and 800/750-600 BC (Iron Age III). Unlike the rest of north-west Iran where grey ware marked the advent of the Iron Age and buff ware characterised the Iron Age III, in the Pusht-i Kuh it was the other way around – the buff ware of the Iron Age I-II was followed by grey ware in the Iron Age III. The Belgian Mission excavated 121 Iron Age I-II tombs spread across 11 sites, which yield a total of 1550 objects.

In the next section, we have an historical overview on field research on the Luristan Bronzes (pp. 14-57). The first few paragraphs make fascinating reading and provide a vivid image of the diplomacy early investigators must have exercised in winning the trust of the tribal khans, whose power and wealth were sourced by the illegal excavations of the cemeteries.

Two hefty sections follow. One, a 'Discussion of the BAMI Graveyards' presents an overview of the typological and chronological development of tomb architecture, and an ample report on all the grave-goods, which are clustered into artefact types – ceramics (divided into technological and typological groups), metal work, and various other smaller categories. The bulk of the finds (63%) is pottery, but the large number of metal objects, mostly bronze, ranging in types from daggers through spike butted axe heads to arrowheads and many more provide much needed trustworthy data on metal work. Clear drawings, plans and photographs are accompanied by easy to follow charts; compare, for instance, the chart on pp. 216-17 showing the chronological development of metal finds with similar schemes based on objects from collections without any provenance. The final section, 'Survey of the BAMI Graveyards', is a detailed tomb-by-tomb analysis. A description of each graveyard, the condition of the tombs prior to excavation, and a presentation of the excavation results themselves are accompanied by plans, drawings of the grave-goods, inventory lists and so on.

² *De iconografische betekenis van het Sassanidisch rotsrelief van Sarab-I Qandil (Iran)* (Brussels).

The volume on the Iron III graveyards at Djub-i Gauhar and Gul Khanan Murdah, excavated in 1977 and 1978 respectively, is co-authored by Haerinck and Overlaet. It is of the same high quality both in terms of the information itself and its presentation and accessibility. The report is divided in two. Following a brief Introduction on the Aivan plain, each cemetery is discussed separately. Standardised plans of tombs and inventory lists and full documentation, which includes comparative material, accompany drawings of objects. My only hesitation is the assumption that grave-goods, such as anklets, can be used to identify the sex of the skeleton (p. 11). To be fair, however, the authors are aware of the pitfalls of such a gender based approach (p. 156), and, in the case of Gul Khanan Murdah, it was used because no bones were preserved. As for Dub-i Gauhar, I suspect that its skeletons, like those found at Chamahzi Mumah,³ may not have been readily available for a physical anthropological analysis.

Haernick and Overlaet are to be congratulated for their commitment and splendid reports, and we wish them every success in bringing to a successful completion the remaining volumes in the *Luristan Excavation Documents*.

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THE IRON AGE IN ANATOLIA

A. Çilingiroğlu and G. Darbyshire (eds.), *Anatolian Iron Ages 5. Proceedings of the Fifth Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium held at Van, 6-10 August 2001*, BIAA Monograph 31, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, London 2005, 240 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-898249-15-6/ISSN 0969-9007

M. Novák, F. Prayon and A.-M. Wittke (eds.), *Die Außenwirkung des spätethitischen Kulturraumes. Gütertausch – Kulturkontakt – Kulturtransfer*, Akten der zweiten Forschungstagung des Graduiertenkollegs 'Anatolien und seine Nachbarn' der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen (20. bis 22. November 2003), Alter Orient und Altes Testament 323, Ugarit-Verlag, Münster 2004, 496 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 3-934628-63-X

The ongoing series of volumes dedicated to the Iron Age of Anatolia continues with this publication of the fifth Iron Ages colloquium, held in Van in the summer of 2001. A time interval of four years following the conference may seem quite lengthy but the inevitable complexities in assembling and editing a collection of 27 highly diverse papers mean that such a time-lag is all but unavoidable (I speak as co-editor of the previous volume in this series), and indeed previous Anatolian Iron Ages volumes have generally appeared four years after the date of their respective colloquia. All congratulations to the editors and staff at the British Institute at Ankara, then, on producing this attractive contribution to an important and ever-broadening field of study.

The theme of Anatolian Iron Ages might at first glance seem a rather thin topic to stretch out over now five conferences spanning more than 20 years, but a general point to

³ See my review, as in n. 1.

be made from reading the volume under review is how the field benefits immensely when the spotlight is focused intensely and repeatedly upon a set of related topics in this manner. First, the remarkable richness and diversity of the Iron Age societies of Anatolia are fully capable of maintaining a high degree of investigation, consideration and publication in this way. Secondly, the ways in which interpretations and analyses change through time, sometimes through ongoing fieldwork, other times through the application of new approaches and ideas, are nicely highlighted by many of the studies in this volume as compared with those in other volumes in this series. There is never a last word on any of the topics, sites, materials, or issues featured in this series and so one gains a genuine insight into the processes of investigation and learning through reading this volume in the light of its predecessors.

Not surprisingly several of the papers relate to key excavated sites that form the backbone of our understanding of human society and settlement in Anatolia through the 1st millennium BC. Among such sites those of Gordion, Tavium, Boğazköy and Ayanis feature especially prominently in this volume. A major benefit of having the papers in one collected publication is that one can detect especially clearly the ways in which discoveries or rethinking at one site impact upon those from other sites. These networked issues, relating particularly to central and western Anatolia, are brought out especially fully in the paper by Karl Strobel on Anatolia in the Early Iron Age. Indeed, the Early Iron Age features prominently, with a welcome review by Hermann Genz of the origins of the Iron Age in Central Anatolia and its apparent cultural connections with much earlier, Early-Middle Bronze Age, pottery traditions of the region, even if the exact mechanisms for maintaining this continuity remain obscure.

Another thriving field of study, neglected for far too long, is that of the Iron Age state of Urartu of eastern Anatolia and adjacent regions. Centring on ongoing excavations at Ayanis, always a site with important results to report on, almost half the total number of papers in this volume deals with some aspect of ancient Urartu, most fittingly given the location at Van of the 2001 colloquium. The tremendously exciting work in the temple on the citadel at Ayanis, conducted and reported here by Altan Çilingiroğlu, is impressively matched by the pioneering contribution from Elizabeth Stone on the outer town at the same site, the first systematic investigation of an Urartian non-citadel site, while the broader study by Paul Zimansky of the cities of Rusa II and the end of Urartu provides a useful academic context for these and other site specific studies. This brings me to a general point: the papers are presented in alphabetical order according to the authors' surnames, a device that makes sense in some respects but has the unfortunate effect of dispersing closely connected studies. Thus, the papers by Çilingiroğlu, Stone and Zimansky referred to above are widely scattered amongst the two dozen other contributions. Given the strong Urartian theme to this conference it might have made more sense to group the papers thematically, with a major section on 'Urartu and its neighbours', and one on 'Central-western Anatolia' (to include Phrygia, Gordion, Tavium, Boğazköy, Amasya), with other papers under 'Miscellanea'.

The volume has been expertly edited and produced, with extremely few typographical errors. There are Turkish and English abstracts for each paper, and there are many fine illustrations in the form of line drawings and half-tones. The tendency to restrict half-tones to a single column of text means that several of them, especially broad landscape views, are too small for proper effect. Space currently taken up by blank or semi-blank pages could at little or no extra cost have been devoted to some larger half-tones in many of the articles. In sum, this publication makes fascinating reading for anyone interested in the Iron Age of Anatolia

and, more broadly, the archaeology of Turkey and adjacent countries. Above all I congratulate the editors for so successfully compiling and steering this array of fine research and writing to a most satisfactory conclusion.

The Neo-Hittite or Late Hittite states of south-east Anatolia and north Syria in the Early Iron Age are amongst the less studied cultural phenomena of the ancient Near East. One reason may be sought in the fact that their physical remains today lie distributed along the border zone between the modern states of Turkey and Syria, with the key site of Carchemish, in particular, in such a sensitive location as to be immune from archaeological investigation for almost a century since its initial exploration by Leonard Woolley in the years prior to the First World War. The volume edited by Novák *et al.* takes as its starting point the Neo-Hittite cultural zone and traces its impact on and interaction with adjacent regions.

Published with exemplary speed this volume has appeared barely 12 months after the research seminar that provides its substance. It is very smartly produced with significant quantities of appropriate charts, tables, maps and figures. In all there are 28 papers in the volume, all in German and all logically assigned to an introduction and four distinct sections. In the introductory section there is a consideration by the three editors of the concept and definition of a 'späthethitische Kulturraum' followed by an outline of the major research questions which centre on the inter-cultural situation and broad regional context of the Neo-Hittite states. There follows an eloquent anthropological study by Amir Gilan of the concepts of 'Kultur' and 'Außenwirkung', drawing heavily on studies by Barth, Even-Zohar and Friedman. The next four sections are arranged geographically. Part 1 comprises papers considering the impact of the Neo-Hittites on societies of early Italy and Greece, including studies of east Mediterranean ports and Etruscan sculpture and architecture.

Part 2 considers the impact and context of the Neo-Hittites within Central Anatolia and Cyprus, with detailed appraisals of ceramics and chronologies for the Iron Age of the region, taking off from excavated materials recovered from key sites such as Gordion and Boğazköy, and including a superb overview by Wolfgang Röllig of languages and scripts of the region, with a most useful map illustrating their geographical distribution. In Part 3 the focus is on Neo-Hittite impact on Assyria, Urartu, the Levant and Egypt, with studies of palaces, wall reliefs and religion. Part 4 comprises three short summaries and overviews of the external impact of the Neo-Hittites, including Peter Haider's study of Central Anatolia and Syria to Winfried Orthmann's consideration of Assyria, Urartu and Phrygia, with a final perspective from the three editors. An extremely useful index completes the volume.

This publication is an exhaustive treatment of a quite specialised field of study and it will be frequently consulted by all with an interest in the Iron Age of the Near East. At a stroke it demonstrates the great strength and depth of German scholarship in this field as well as tremendous skill and enthusiasm in producing such an informative and accomplished volume with such speed and efficiency. All involved deserve our warmest thanks and congratulations.

REMEMBERING THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

- J. Curtis and N. Tallis (eds.), *Forgotten Empire. The World of Ancient Persia*, The British Museum Press, London 2005, published in America by The University of California Press, Berkeley, 272 pp., 32 black-and-white and 543 colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 10: 0-7141-1157-0/13: 978-0-7141-1157-5 (British Museum). ISBN 10: 0-520-24731-0 (University of California)
- L. Allen, *The Persian Empire. A History*, The British Museum Press, London 2005, 208 pp., 50 black-and-white and 100 colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-7141-1154-6
- V.S. Curtis and S. Stewart (eds.), *Birth of the Persian Empire*, The Idea of Iran 1, I.B. Tauris in association with The London Middle East Institute at SOAS and The British Museum, London/New York 2005, vi+147 pp., 19 black-and-white illustrations. Cased. ISBN 1-84511-062-5

Has the world forgotten the Persian empire? Three new publications approach this question from different angles. Despite what their titles imply, the British Museum's landmark 2005 exhibition, 'Forgotten Empire. The World of Ancient Persia', and catalogue of the same name have aimed to reclaim the Persian empire not from oblivion but rather from its reputation, founded upon Hellenocentric and Eurocentric biases, as a 'nest of despotism and tyranny', and to illuminate its 'true character' as a remarkably tolerant and cohesive imperial power that embraced cultural variation (pp. 6, 8). One could say that the Persian empire has not until now been forgotten, but remembered and recast in different ways over the centuries. That is, in fact, a central point of L. Allen's new survey of Achaemenid history, *The Persian Empire. A History*, which also explores the self-conscious 'remembering' of earlier Near Eastern dynasties by the Achaemenid kings themselves. The papers collected in *Birth of the Persian Empire* demonstrate in their own way how ideas about the Achaemenid past are shaped and reshaped by modern concepts of culture and national identity.

Forgotten Empire's reassessment of the legacy of ancient Persia is timely, as is the international collaboration of museums and scholars that lie behind it. The exhibition brought together, for the first time ever, key pieces of Achaemenid art from the British Museum, the Louvre, the National Museum of Iran and the Persepolis Museum. Contributions to the catalogue (henceforth *FE*) come from leading scholars in Britain, France, Iran and the United States. Following four introductory chapters on history, language and archaeology, eight chapters on different aspects of Achaemenid culture provide background and context for the 473 catalogue entries, which are grouped thematically in intervening sections. Technical reports and short summaries of specific topics such as satrapal coinage punctuate the catalogue portions. This organisation recreates a physical journey through the exhibition, with introductory articles at the entrance to each new 'room' and occasional explanatory panels among the objects. The abundance of illustrations and their generally high quality (the majority of them in colour) heighten the immediacy of the objects for the reader by capturing the glow of luxurious materials, the sheen of polished architectural surfaces, and

the sharp textures of cuneiform texts.¹ Even a reader who (like this reviewer) has not attended the exhibition can feel the excitement of 'turning the corner' from the Cyrus Cylinder to find architectural fragments from Persepolis, then glazed bricks from Susa, then gold jewellery from the Oxus Treasure, a glass rhyton from Persepolis, and so on. This exhibition and its catalogue have assembled a truly unprecedented, all-star cast of Achaemenid monuments and artefacts. It is therefore disappointing that the accompanying texts (both the chapters and the catalogue entries) do not work together to create a coherent account of Achaemenid history and culture.

Inconsistencies in the level of analysis and in the integration of text with the catalogue are the biggest problems of the book. The first three chapters are solid and promising: P. Briant provides a concise historical survey that stresses the strength of the empire even in its decline and places the end of Achaemenid rule not with the defeat of Darius but the death of Alexander; I.L. Finkel provides a fascinating narrative of the history and process of the decipherment of 'Old Persian' cuneiform inscriptions; and M.W. Stolper outlines the diverse languages of Achaemenid texts and inscriptions and explains their Near Eastern origins and ideological implications. From Stolper's survey emerges the key theme of cultural variation – a potential unifying thread for the catalogue as a whole. This thread is lost, however, in the following two chapters on archaeology and palatial architecture, the first by J. Curtis, the latter by J. Curtis and S. Razmjou. Curtis synthesises Achaemenid-era archaeological evidence in the Persian 'heartland' as well as the greater empire, with separate sections for regions such as Syria, Anatolia and Egypt (the last contributed by N. Spencer). The survey is primarily descriptive, like a gazetteer listing finds of the Persian period, with little analysis of origins or context. In some cases Curtis acknowledges that Achaemenid-style objects from the far reaches of the empire may owe as much to local as to Persian traditions, but others he describes simply as 'Persian'; or, as with the Pazyryk burials, he notes Achaemenid 'influence' or 'connections' (p. 48), without explanation. This is precisely the kind of survey that M. Root, 15 years ago, enjoined scholars of Achaemenid archaeology to abandon in favour of critical analyses of cultural significance.² It is partly justified by the discussion of architectural traditions in the following chapter, but the reader is not alerted to the overlap, and that chapter has its own weaknesses. Curtis and Razmjou present 'The Palace' in archetypal terms, describing its wall construction and roofing techniques generally, without reference to the specific evidence which allows us to make these reconstructions, and with few references to the associated catalogue entries or relevant plans in the previous chapter. Assyrian, Egyptian and Ionian elements in Achaemenid architecture and palatial decoration are noted, but their significance for Achaemenid ideology is not discussed. Greek influence is severely downplayed here and in the accompanying catalogue entries, where bead-and-reel and egg-and-dart decoration on a pivot-stone from Persepolis is described simply as 'floral design in low relief' (p. 98).

The remaining seven chapters also range widely in interpretative approach and level of integration with the catalogue. St J. Simpson offers a useful synthesis of archaeological and

¹ Only one image of low resolution stands out from the rest (fig. 34, a detail of the tomb painting from Karaburun in Lycia).

² M.C. Root, 'From the Heart: Powerful Persianisms in the Art of the Western Empire'. In H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kurht (eds.), *Achaemenid History VI. Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire* (Leiden 1991), 1-30.

textual evidence for banqueting in the Achaemenid world, but more emphasis could be placed on important observations about centres of production for typically 'Achaemenid' wares outside the Persian heartland. Provenance is an issue here and in the following chapter on jewellery, by J. Curtis. Most of the pieces in these sections of the catalogue are 'said to be from' particular places in the Persian empire, and many are from the Oxus Treasure. It is regrettable that the complex issues surrounding the history and interpretation of the Oxus Treasure are not discussed here, or anywhere in this book, especially given the detailed attention paid to some of the Oxus Treasure material in technical reports by B. Armbruster, within the catalogue entries. Even when questions of authenticity are acknowledged, as for the silver phiale inscribed with the name of Artaxerxes I (cat. 103), a full-page photograph may lend its own aura of legitimacy. Simpson aims to counteract the provenance problem by grounding his discussion of the catalogued pieces within the larger context of Achaemenid-era drinking vessels not included in the exhibition (though many of them are also unprovenanced). N. Tallis, too, in his survey of 'Transport and Warfare', considers a wide range of textual and representational evidence; some of his most interesting points concern items outside the exhibition. Catalogue and text are most closely linked in A.R. Meadows's chapter on administration and communication. He begins by comparing the Persian and Athenian empires, with respect to their inclusion and tolerance of subject peoples' religious, linguistic and cultural differences. The accompanying catalogue entries present seals and sealings, weights, cuneiform and Aramaic documents (including some of the Persepolis Fortification tablets), and coins, most of which are integral to Meadows's discussion. Additional summaries of different aspects of Achaemenid coinage within the catalogue complement Meadows's chapter with more detailed, and in some cases alternative perspectives (as with the 'satrapal' coinage in Asia Minor). A. Villing extends Meadows's comparison of Persian and Athenian imperialism and synthesises evidence for the presence of Greeks and Greek objects in Persia, representations of Persians and the idea of Persia in Greek art and literature, and emulation of Achaemenid styles in Greek ceramics and clothing. Here again, as in Tallis's piece, the accompanying catalogue entries (including the so-called 'Penelope' from Persepolis) comprise only a small part of the evidence discussed. S. Razmjou makes a commendable effort to incorporate material from the catalogue as a whole into his survey of 'Religion and Burial Customs', but at the same time overlooks some relevant pieces in this section of the catalogue (such as a cylinder seal showing a 'Babylonian priest' and symbols of Marduk next to a 'Persian Royal Hero,' cat. 208). His summary of Achaemenid religion is clear but perhaps too tidy, glossing over controversies in the scholarship on Zoroastrianism and Mithraism, and his discussion of burial traditions is also somewhat problematic. Though he finds little evidence for proper Zoroastrian ossuaries, he interprets burials in rock-cut tombs or sarcophagi as Zoroastrian strategies to avoid contaminating the earth with corpses; at the same time, he uses Xenophon's anecdotal report of Cyrus the Great's burial wishes as evidence for an alternate form of royal Achaemenid burial, even though they seem to contradict these beliefs and were not apparently followed in the actual Tomb of Cyrus. The final chapter, fittingly, details the 'Legacy' of the empire – V.S. Curtis outlines the use of Achaemenid iconography and references to the Achaemenid past in later Persian, Parthian, Sasanian and European sources, the history of tourism at Persepolis, and the Shah's 1971 celebration of 2500 years of Persian monarchy. While the chapter brings together a wide range of sources and information, it lacks interpretive discussion of how the idea of the Achaemenid past transformed over time. The accompanying

catalogue entries include Sasanian coins, illustrations made by early travellers, and Iranian currency commemorating the 1971 celebration, but few of these are referenced in the chapter, even when they are directly mentioned.

More aggressive referencing of catalogued items overall would make *FE* more useful and coherent. The catalogue entries, moreover, are not consistent in depth and detail. We are told in the Editors' Foreword that these entries, composed by the editorial staff from a range of sources, present 'some of the latest thinking on much-debated issues' in the field of Achaemenid studies (p. 3), but most of the entries are descriptive rather than analytical and few contain more than one bibliographical reference. Some texts are translated, others are not. Some entries offer interesting ideas not found in the accompanying chapters that could easily be missed (like the suggestion that the coins from the foundation deposit of the Persepolis Apadana reflect the 'boundaries of the empire': p. 58). Others leave obvious anomalies or peculiarities unexplained. For instance, on cat. 35, a relief fragment from Persepolis showing a bearded man leading a camel, the hair and beard appear to be unfinished and traces of claw chiselling are readily apparent, but these features are not mentioned in the catalogue entry.

Though *FE* assembles a vast amount of evidence for Achaemenid history and culture and its lavish illustrations are sure to make it a favourite image source-book for teachers and scholars, its usefulness for research, whether beginning or advanced, is hindered by the lack of an index and selective referencing of sources. Footnotes vary in length from chapter to chapter but are usually economical, limited to one recent source. As a result, some crucial earlier sources are left out of the bibliography altogether.³ On the other hand, older sources are sometimes referenced even when more recent scholarship, relevant to a point made in this book, exists.⁴ The presence or absence of footnotes in some chapters, moreover, seems not to depend on the type of information or idea presented. Reference features in the back matter, including a timeline of Achaemenid kings, glossary and concordance of British Museum inventory numbers, are helpful, but the glossary could be more consistent – *daric* appears but not *siglos*, *akinakes* but not *kidaris* or *kandys*. Definitions of 'Persian' and 'Median' dress would also be appropriate here, if not in a separate section within the catalogue. These designations appear throughout the book but are discussed only briefly in Tallis's chapter (p. 216), and the terminology is not consistent – the soft cap of the 'Median' riding costume is called a *kidaris* in cats. 318-326, a 'Persian headdress' in cats. 376-377, and a 'turban' on p. 152. Incongruities like these are predictable in a volume with multiple authors and editors, but nevertheless avoidable.

Beyond minor technical problems, like a missing footnote in Chapter 12 ('Legacy') and a few typographical errors (including the inconsistent spelling of two contributors' names), *FE* also contains some errors in content. The entry for cat. 277, the silver phiale from the

³ For example C. Nylander, *Ionians in Pasargadae. Studies in Old Persian Architecture* (Uppsala 1970).

⁴ As is the case with Tallis's reference to M.A. Littauer and J.H. Crouwel, *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East* (Leiden 1979) for the so-called 'Graeco-Persian' reliefs from Daskyleion as evidence for chariots adapted to convey coffins. M. Nollé, *Denkmäler vom Satrapenstiz Daskyleion. Studien zur graeco-persischen Kunst* (Berlin 1992), 88-92, has interpreted the wheeled vehicles in these representations as covered carriages, or *harmamaxae*, which Tallis himself (p. 212) discusses as a means of travel for the Persian court.

sarcophagus excavated on the Acropolis of Susa, claims that decoration is 'visible only from the underside' of the bowl, but the interior view clearly shows a lotus bud-and-flower chain encircling the raised omphalos (p. 178).⁵ As W. Messerschmidt points out in his *BMCR* review of the book, additional errors occur in J. Curtis's description of the Persepolis Apadana reliefs and the sarcophagi from Sidon.⁶ The 'Satrap Sarcophagus' from Sidon is further misrepresented in S. Razmjou's chapter, where it is included in a paragraph detailing evidence from 'western Asia Minor' as 'another example of Persian nobility buried in a sarcophagus' (p. 152) – this not only misrepresents the location of Sidon, it also overlooks the monument's Phoenician and Greek elements.⁷

The interpretative angle that is lacking in some of the contributions to *FE* is one of the strengths of Allen's *Persian Empire* (henceforth *PE*), published by the British Museum concurrently with the exhibition. A. discusses many of the items included in *FE*, but in a very different way. A comparison of A.'s caption for fig. 2.15 with the entry for *FE* cat. 72, a cylinder seal from Iraq, is particularly telling. While *FE* gives a purely descriptive account of the seal's paired human-animal combats and notes its Greek stylistic affinities, A.'s caption identifies one of the human figures as 'Babylonian' and the other as 'Persian' and suggests a pointed juxtaposition of the Babylonian and Persian royal hero – the former fighting a bull, the latter fighting a lion and 'perhaps overpowering the higher status opponent' (p. 53). She also places the image in the wider context of Mesopotamian dynastic art and symbolism, as an expression of royal power over chaos. Despite the suggestive caption, however, the seal is not discussed or even referenced in the accompanying text, though it serves to illustrate a point made on the very same page: 'The symbolic struggle against human evil or natural chaos in the maintenance of civilisation was a core ideal of Near Eastern kingship' (p. 53). The case of this cylinder seal thus demonstrates both a benefit and weakness of A.'s book.

The main strengths of *PE* are its lavish illustrations, its accessible written style and its interpretive approach. It is a colourful and thoughtful introduction to Achaemenid history, illustrated to win the hearts of beginning scholars, who may find Briant's comprehensive volume too daunting,⁸ or those in other fields, such as classics. But a lack of integration of these illustrations with the textual narrative presents a major difficulty. Some important issues or ideas are alluded to only in image captions, not in the relevant portion of the chapter text; or no reference to the image is made when the issue is discussed in the chapter (as with the cylinder seal mentioned above). It thus seems that many of the illustrations were added after the text was complete (and the uncommonly neat totals, 50 black-and-white and 100 colour images, may also speak to this).⁹ As a result, there are two ways to read this

⁵ This appears to result from a misreading of the entry for the same bowl in P.O. Harper, J. Aruz and F. Tallon (eds.), *The Royal City of Susa. Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre* (New York 1992), 244, no. 170, where it is suggested that the bowl's heavy weight and the fact that 'the relief decoration of the exterior is not visible on the interior' may indicate that the piece was cast.

⁶ W. Messerschmidt, 'Review of *Forgotten Empire. The World of Ancient Persia*'. *BMCR* 2006.05.21.

⁷ I. Kleemann, *Die Satrapen-Sarkophag aus Sidon* (Berlin 1958).

⁸ P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander. A History of the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake, IN 2002).

⁹ Further evidence for the lack of integration of text and illustrations are inconsistencies in terminology—for example the name for an area of Hamadan/Ecbatana is translated ('Hegmataneh hills') in the caption for fig. 3.4 but transliterated ('Tappeh-ye Hekmataneh') in the chapter text and in the caption for fig. 3.5.

book: by following the text from beginning to end or by browsing the images and their captions, which present a narrative of their own. This reviewer found it difficult to decide how to proceed upon turning each new page – whether to continue the sequential text or ‘read’ the images, for fear the continuous text would not signal a moment to do so.

PE consists of seven chapters, a brief introduction, notes, bibliography, index and a timeline of Achaemenid kings. The Introduction defines the terminology of Achaemenid studies and raises some of the methodological problems inherent to the field, like the use of texts (both Greek and Near Eastern) that operated within ideological constructs. But recognition of such constructs is not the endpoint of A.’s investigation – she attempts to understand and explain them when possible, and this shapes her discussion throughout the book. For example, rather than discounting the ‘creative, novelistic, even romantic tone’ of Xenophon, Ctesias and other classical authors who describe the Persian royal court, she notes a similar tone in Hebrew and Avestan sources and wonders whether it ‘represents truthfully the imaginative perspectives and preoccupations of the multi-ethnic society encircling the court and administration of the empire’ (p 11). Observations like these, though speculative, enrich the historical survey.

The main chapters, despite thematic titles, are arranged chronologically and so achieve an historical narrative while shifting thematic focus over time. In Chapter 1, ‘The Roots of Persian Rule’, A. stresses Assyrian and Median precedents for Achaemenid imperial administration and palatial building and the Near Eastern background for Achaemenid ideology, themes that are implied but not fully explored in *FE*. In her discussion of the rise of Cyrus the Great, she balances Greek historical memory of Median expansion with Near Eastern evidence. Chapter 2 (‘Conquest and Politics’) narrates the reigns of Darius I and Xerxes I, based on Herodotus, Persian royal inscriptions and Babylonian documents. The following chapter, ‘Royal Capitals’, provides an archaeological and literary tour of Ecbatana, Susa, Persepolis, Babylon and Pasargadae (which had already been described in some detail in Chapter 1). With its analytical bent, this general survey proves to be more effective than the chapters on archaeology and palaces in *FE*. Chapter 4, ‘The Rivals: Regional Rulers and Reflections of Power’, widens the scope of the historical survey to include outlying satrapies (though the focus remains on the Persian court and nobility) and continues the narrative thread of court succession through Darius III. The title of the next chapter, ‘Peoples, Communication, and Religion’, gives the impression that it will fill in this wider picture of the empire with information about the peoples that comprised it, and that is partly achieved by A.’s discussion of Achaemenid administrative and communication networks, but much of the evidence considered is still largely royal or elite. This is also true in the final section of the chapter, on religion, which is oddly placed and could stand on its own. Two more chapters chronicle the end and afterlife of the Persian empire. ‘Alexander and the End of Empire’ presents a sweeping, romantic narrative in keeping with the leading full-page image (Albrecht Altdorfer’s 1529 painting of the Battle of Issus) and others that grace the chapter (including beautiful illustrations from mediaeval manuscripts of Nizami’s *Iskandernama*). The final chapter, ‘Legends, Language, and Archaeological Discovery’, covers much of the same ground as the chapters by I. Finkel and V.S. Curtis in *FE*. This reviewer found Finkel’s account of the linguistic discoveries clearer than the brief survey provided here, but A.’s discussion of the transformation and evolution of thought about Achaemenid sites and history achieves precisely what is lacking in Curtis’s ‘Legacy’ chapter. A. draws interesting parallels between the Achaemenid use of earlier Mesopotamian royal iconography and palatial styles

and the reuse of Achaemenid monuments and motifs in post-Achaemenid Iran: the 'ruin [of Persepolis] became a stage for rulers to proclaim their powers, while conscientiously meditating on the mortality of their predecessors' (p. 165). And while Curtis describes the Shah's 1971 celebration of Persian monarchy rather matter-of-factly, A. reflects on the events of the festival as 'gestures of doomed extravagance' (p. 183). A. also ventures, unlike Curtis, to take her survey of Achaemenid legacy beyond 1979, quoting Ayatollah Khamenei and addressing (if somewhat elliptically) the current archaeological climate in Iran.

PE contains several minor and two major typographical errors, the latter involving numerical dates with the first digit transposed by a century: 429 instead of 329 for Alexander's first visit to Pasargadae (p. 85); and 274/3 instead of 374/3 for Artaxerxes II's campaign, against Nectanebo I (p. 105). It is also worth noting that the volcanic material that covered Pompeii was not lava (fig. 6.4) but ash and stone, and that we should not necessarily expect to find the remains of Persian casualties at Marathon (fig. 2.12: 'the large numbers of Persians said to have fallen by Herodotus are phantoms, yet to be located in the archaeological record'). Most of the photographs are very high quality, though a few are dark (for example fig. 2.10) and one has poor resolution (fig. 2.14). Seven colour maps locate important sites mentioned in the text.¹⁰

A final problem with A.'s book is its varying level of accessibility. While much of the writing is introductory, other aspects of presentation speak to an advanced readership, already familiar with Achaemenid history and geography. For instance, when Persepolis is introduced in Chapter 2, it is done obliquely, without naming the site: 'On the fringe of the Marv Dasht plain, a raised stone hall and large columned audience hall were planned and raised...' (p. 43). Persepolis is named in the caption for fig. 2.7 on the following page, but nowhere else in the chapter (and the figure itself is not signalled in the text). Acquaintance with sources like Herodotus is also sometimes assumed – oblique references to particular episodes are used to make a point, but since the details of the episode are not given, the reader unfamiliar with Herodotus may not follow the logic. While some of the footnotes are friendly to beginning scholars (noting, for instance, when a cited source is in a foreign language), citations are not always specific (as for the newly discovered fragments of Simonides' *Persian War*, mentioned on p. 187, n. 43, but with no source given)¹¹ or comprehensive (for example, a footnote on the date of the Persian conquest of Sardis [p. 186, n. 36] refers only to the Babylonian chronicle, not to other written sources or to archaeological evidence from Sardis itself).¹² On the other hand, some of the lengthier footnotes contain important ideas, such as the suggestion that the seasonal mobility of the Persian court may be seen as a means of 'reinforcing power' (p. 188, n. 3). The bibliography is stronger in some areas than others, with notable absences including the recent *Ars Orientalis* volume on Medes and Persians.¹³

¹⁰ Most have helpful captions, but two do not: the initial map on pp. 12–13 and the one facing p. 51, though it appears from the gap in figures numbers in this chapter that one had been planned for the latter.

¹¹ This is cited properly by A. de Jong in *Birth*, 86, n. 14

¹² See, most recently, N. Cahill and J.H. Kroll, 'New Archaic Coin Finds at Sardis'. *AJA* 109 (2005), 605–08.

¹³ M.C. Root (ed.), *Medes and Persians. Reflections on Elusive Empires* (Washington, DC 2002). Other relevant recent works that would strengthen the bibliography and Allen's discussion include

Birth of the Persian Empire (hereafter *Birth*) contains six papers delivered in 2004 at the London Middle East Institute of the School of Oriental and African Studies in a series of lectures called 'The Idea of Iran: from Eurasian Steppe to Persian Empire'. An introductory chapter by the editors, V.S. Curtis and S. Stewart, summarises the papers and how they fit into past and current scholarship, as well as the aims of the new publication series, *The Idea of Iran*, of which this is the inaugural volume. The series title, after G. Gnoli's 1989 collection of essays by the same name, allows future volumes to cover a broad chronological and cultural range of topics pertaining to the national identity of Iran, and several of the papers presented here respond directly to Gnoli's ideas. This collection demonstrates how Iran's national identity has been shaped by, and has shaped, Achaemenid studies and modern ideas about ancient Persia; but at the same time, the new series aims to carry the field of Iranian studies beyond 'contemporary geopolitical boundaries' and to disengage them 'from contemporary pressures to reinterpret the past in ways that conform to present norms' (p. 1). The papers in *Birth* also illuminate many of the controversial issues that are smoothed over or only alluded to in *FE* and *PE*; many of them challenge traditional scholarship on Achaemenid history, culture and religion.

Fittingly, the lead paper reassesses key pieces of evidence for the cultural heritage and ancestry of the early kings of the Persian empire and challenges the traditional terminology and chronology of its 'birth': D.T. Potts argues that the Anshanite state ruled by Cyrus was culturally Elamite, not Persian, and that the Achaemenid Persian empire did not actually begin until the accession of Darius, descendant of Achaemenes. Potts situates Elam and Elamite culture in time and place and aims to elucidate the Elamite contribution to Achaemenid culture. In the final paper of the book, J. Curtis approaches the same goal from an archaeological perspective, with a wider view that encompasses Assyria and Media as well as Elam. He incorporates new readings of evidence, including his own rethinking of the ritual destruction and chronology of Tepe Nush-i Jan. Media also figures prominently in the paper by A. de Jong, who questions the common assumption that *magi* were Medians and argues that the Achaemenid kings were not Zoroastrians, as often stated. He finds the main contributions of the *magi* to Achaemenid culture in the realm of theology, especially concepts of time and its divisions. P.O. Skjærvø, on the other hand, compares Achaemenid royal inscriptions and documentary texts involving gods and priests with Avestan literature and finds striking parallels, especially in the role and imagery of the king and the sacrificer, that make it 'hard to conclude that [Zoroastrianism] was *not* the religion of the Achaemenid kings, at least from Darius onwards' (p. 53). He maintains that the *Avesta* reached the Iranian plateau in the 9th or 8th century BC, with the migration of Iranian peoples, and that Avestan ideas provided the theological basis for Darius' rise to power. F. Grenet, meanwhile, argues that the *Avesta* reflects a time *before* Media and Iran were part of the Zoroastrian landscape, since these regions are not represented among the places listed in the *Vidēvdad*. He tries to match place descriptions in the *Vidēvdad* with known locations

D. Stronach, 'Of Cyrus, Darius, and Alexander: A New Look at the 'Epitaphs' of Cyrus the Great'. In R. Dittmann *et al.* (eds.), *Variatio Delectat: Iran und der Westen. Gedenkschrift für Peter Calmeyer* (Münster 2000), 681-702, and E.R.M. Dusinberre, 'King or God? Imperial iconography and the "Tiarate head" coins of Achaemenid Anatolia'. *AASOR* 57 (2000), 157-71. These are also absent from *FE*'s bibliography.

based on topography, climate and etymological evidence and concludes, as Gnoli had, that the Iranian plateau is absent. A.S. Shahbazi, on the other hand, challenges Gnoli's suggestion that the 'idea of Iran' as a national entity was first forged in the Sasanian period and traces it all the way back to the time of Darius. He also demonstrates that Gnoli's idea was not a new one, but existed already in the 19th century. While Shahbazi's main points are probably correct, he must use *argumenta ex silentio* to make some of them, and others rely on evidence of questionable relevance for the period under consideration (such as Plutarch's account of Darius III's prayer to the 'gods of his race' as evidence for the concept of an 'Aryan nation' during his time, p. 103). Shahbazi's paper, though, provides for the book a crucial centre-point, illustrating how the act of naming figures in the construction of identity – a theme implicit in the series title and inherent to many of the issues discussed in the other papers. Each paper in *Birth* is followed by footnotes with up-to-date references, and a common bibliography is found at the end of the book. The lack of an index is not surprising for a collection of papers, but regrettable given the overlap of subject matter. The black-and-white illustrations included with some of the papers are adequate, and technical errors are few.

As the papers in *Birth* attest, consensus remains elusive for many aspects of Achaemenid culture, especially religion. With divergent views on the same subjects collected in a single book, however, it is clear that the 'point' lies not always in reaching a consensus but in exploring the possibilities and shades of interpretation. This is easier to achieve in a collection of scholarly papers than in an introductory medium like an historical survey or museum catalogue. In *PE*, A. commendably balances introduction with interpretation, if at times speculative; and what *FE* lacks in interpretive analysis it makes up for in range of viewpoints and wealth of evidence (and images). These three new publications bear witness to a thriving, international field of Achaemenid studies and illuminate an empire that is far from forgotten. Together, they also illustrate the ideological frameworks in which the field has emerged and continues to evolve.

University of Richmond, VA

Elizabeth P. Baughan

P. Alexandrescu, *La zone sacrée d'époque grecque (Fouilles 1915-1989)*, Histria VII, Institut de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Académie Roumaine, Institut d'Archéologie 'Vasile Pârvan' de Bucarest, Editura Academiei Române, Bucharest 2005, 551 pp., 64 figs., 129 pls., 15 plans. Cased. ISBN 973-27-1171-X

Histria has become the most important of Black Sea sites largely through the energy of Romanian archaeologists who have uncovered it over nearly a hundred years of excavation, and especially through their diligent, if sometimes delayed, efforts at providing total publication – a rarity anywhere in the Classical World. Petre Alexandrescu has taken the lead in this in recent years and must be congratulated on this latest contribution.

'Sacred areas' may be more informative about the history of a site than their cemeteries, which are seldom completely excavated. That at Histria is large and complex, punctuated by a major destruction associated with Darius' Scythian expedition of 519/512 BC, and another in the second half of the 4th century BC, whose exact date and cause is less clear –

either Philip II or Lysimachus on the occasion of the revolt of Kallatis. There are Temples of Aphrodite, Archaic and Hellenistic, of Zeus, of Apollo Ietros, of Theos Megas, a propylon, altars, a stoa, although not all attested with the same degree of detail, and the final destruction comes in the mid-1st century BC, first with events related to Rome, then the invasion of Burebista. The historical and religious aspects of the site are explored as fully as the archaeological, which are as complete as most scholars could wish.

Among the finds several catch the attention. The temples of both Aphrodite and Zeus yield, albeit in scraps, some fine architectural mouldings of the latest Archaic period, to add to the better known from Ionia, as well as some architectural terracottas. The Aphrodite temple appears to have been the repository for a cache of weapons, presumably votive, including decorated bronze discs and what are taken to be shields. The pottery finds, very fragmentary, offer the expected East Greek range for the Archaic period, Classical and Hellenistic, mainly plain, but also a near complete Ptolemaic faience vase with figure decoration. The terracotta figurines from Archaic to Hellenistic include a few rarities, including an Egyptianising Archaic seated female figure. The epigraphical evidence for the dedications is reviewed, and everything well illustrated in drawing and/or photograph. An important addition, for a site which has been so long in the digging, is an analysis of the closed deposits and contexts observed in the area. Petre Alexandrescu, and his colleagues in the publication, notably the architect Anisoara Sion and Alexandru Avram, are to be thanked and congratulated.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

Z.H. Archibald, J.K. Davies and V. Gabrielsen (eds.), *Making, Moving and Managing. The New World of Ancient Economies, 323-31 BC*, Oxbow Books, Oxford 2005, viii+368 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 1-84217-157-7

This is an important new contribution to the study of ancient economies. The greatest advantage of this work is that it brings into focus types of evidence that have not played so far an important role in the discussion of Greek economic history: coinage and ceramic products. Numismatists and specialists in pottery have devoted an enormous amount of effort to studying coins and pottery respectively, but there has been little productive dialogue between these specialists and those studying Greek economic history (the situation though is much better in Roman economic history). The reasons are mainly that specialists tend not to ask more general questions and the economic historians tend to misunderstand the nature of the evidence and the methodologies used by the specialists and thus to misuse it. This volume brings together successfully both the methodological issues involved in collecting and interpreting the evidence and the wider questions that the economic historians wish to ask. In addition to this, other articles in the volume explore novel forms of evidence and issues that have received little interest from economic historians so far.

The volume opens with an Introduction by Archibald. The numismatic contributions include chapters by A. Bresson, who examines ancient Greek writings on minting and coinage supply, and shows how Greek closed-currency systems were dependent on international supply and why the Greeks largely abstained from debasing currency, as opposed to the

Romans; F. de Callatay attempts to calculate the amount of coins produced by city and royal mints during the Hellenistic period; and P.G. van Alfen examines the various forms of imitative and counterfeit coins, the various agents that might have produced them and the economic and political reasons that might have urged them to do so.

The ceramic contributions include chapters by A. Chaniotis, who examines the inscribed clay objects from Hellenistic and Roman Crete, showing that the decisive change and expansion took place only in Roman times; L. Hannestad examines the proportion of local, regional and long-distance pottery from a rural settlement in the Crimea; M. Lawall shows the fallacies created by putting disproportionate emphasis on amphora-stamps, argues that we should study total amphora production and shows how different centres (Athens, Ephesus, Ilion) show different distributions of local and imported amphorae; and J. Lund examines the origins and distribution of Eastern Sigillata A pottery.

In addition, G.G. Aperghis argues that the building of cities by the Seleucid rulers did not have mainly political and military reasons, but aimed at intensifying economic activity and generating more silver revenue from an under-monetised economy; J.K. Davies examines the potential costs of constructing and maintaining a Hellenistic palace, its effects on local economies and the reasons for which Hellenistic rulers undertook such projects; in an important contribution, V. Gabrielsen shows how cities, temples and individuals created new forms of providing credit which depended on their close collaboration and resulted in a wider availability of credit supply; G. Reger examines the economic aspects of perfume making and consuming; and G.F. Stolba argues that the export of cereals from Chersonesus in the early Hellenistic period was on a low level and examines various reasons that might account for it.

A number of interesting points emerge from reading these articles. The first is the role of *politike oikonomia*: the role of the state in managing, directing, milking and supplying the economic processes. Davies deals with the economic effects of state expenditure and Aperghis looks at state measures to create economic development and increase state income. But it is even more fascinating to see state intervention in the very economic process for other reasons: Bresson looks at the creation of closed-currency systems as a means of supervising the coin supply and having some control over credit supply; Gabrielsen documents how states took increasing measures to make sure that credit was easily and cheaply available and the state could generate income by both avoiding direct taxation and supplying credit; and van Alfen raises the issue of why state authorities would create imitative issues of other well-known coinages.

A second point concerns the importance of space: Lawall shows that different distributions of amphorae between different cities are evidence for their different position and function within wider networks of exchange; and Hannestad shows that different forms of pottery are supplied by networks of varying spatial range. One should also congratulate the editors that so many of the chapters refer to the Black Sea; there has been a long tradition of dissociating the Black Sea from Hellenistic studies and this emphasis on the wider Hellenistic world is surely welcome and will hopefully set the trend. But if the Hellenistic world is characterised by its spatial expansion compared with the Classical period, it is also important in this respect to pay attention to cases of isolation or contraction. Chaniotis provides a good example of Crete's continuing isolation from the wider networks, which only breaks down in Roman times; while Stolba argues for economic contraction in the case of Hellenistic Chersonesus.

A final comment: although the editors state that they wish to study 'the producers, the organisers and the transporters', there is very little indeed in this volume about the individuals and the communities and groups of individuals that undertook these functions. This does not diminish the value of this remarkable volume, but raises one very important aspect, which future studies will have to address.

University of Nottingham

Kostas Vlassopoulos

B.T. Arnold, *Who were the Babylonians?* Society of Biblical Literature, Archaeology and Biblical Studies No. 10, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2005, xii+148 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 90-04-13071-3/ISSN 1570-5986

For some years the Society of Biblical Literature has been publishing books in a series entitled 'Archaeology and Biblical Studies'. According to the society's web site,¹ the series 'includes archaeological, sociological, and historical studies that illuminate the Bible, Israelite religion, or the culture of biblical peoples'. In the volume under review, the author, Bill T. Arnold (Professor of Old Testament and Semitic Languages at Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, Kentucky) aims 'to trace briefly the geopolitical realities' of references to the Babylonians in Herodotus, Berossus and the Bible 'in light of the most recent Assyriological data and, more broadly, to present a compendium of our knowledge of the ancient Babylonians' (p. vii).

The volume is clearly aimed at students and one would think, more particularly, at seminarians. It is divided into six chapters: 1. 'The land and its people'; 2. 'Babylonia before the Babylonians: The third millennium B.C.E.'; 3. 'The Old Babylonian period – a new world power'; 4. 'The Middle Babylonian period'; 5. 'The early Neo-Babylonian period'; and 6. 'The Neo-Babylonian period'. Each chapter is referenced using endnotes, with full bibliographical citations, while a section entitled 'For Further Reading' (pp. 107-12) gives a commented bibliography of some works recommended to students for consultation. A glance at the endnotes and the suggested reading gives the reader confidence that even though Arnold may be an Old Testament scholar attempting to write a book on Babylonia, he has consulted a wide range of authoritative literature and is not likely to have got much seriously wrong. Nevertheless, within the space of 105 pages of main text there is little opportunity to do more than skim the surface of Babylonian history, economy, society and religion, and there are statements which it might have been better to omit. Though innocent enough, assertions like, 'The story of human civilization begins here' (p. 2) and 'this area of southern Mesopotamia became the stage upon which humankind's grand drama was to begin' (p. 3), are neither factually correct nor particularly illuminating, misleading students into believing that Mesopotamia was the fountainhead of all civilisational development in antiquity. It is curious to read that 'The Babylonians, together with their predecessors in the third millennium B.C.E., the Sumerians, may be credited with establishing the ideological and social infrastructure for ancient Mesopotamian culture' (p. 9), with no mention whatsoever of the Akkadians! Fortunately, in spite of this *lapsus*, the

¹ <<http://www.sbl-site.org>>.

Akkadians are in fact dealt with later (pp. 23-27). Arnold notes that 'a proper scribal academy existed at Nippur as early as the Neo-Sumerian period' (p. 15), but can there be any doubt, based on the work done by Englund, Damerow, Nissen and Green on the Archaic Texts from Uruk, that scribal education and a rigorous attention to the transmission of texts – think only of the lexical texts and their forerunners – is a much older phenomenon in Mesopotamia? It is questionable whether a discussion of the Sea Peoples and the collapse of Bronze Age civilisation in the eastern Mediterranean (pp. 75-77) really sheds much light on Babylonia after the Kassites.

It is difficult to know just how to evaluate such a book since its success or failure depends not so much on its content as on its utility. There are so many other works on the market for students, written by Assyriologists – Postgate, Brinkman, Van de Mieroop, Kuhrt, Hallo, just to name a few – that the basic factual history rehearsed by Arnold can be acquired in a dozen other, more authoritative secondary sources. It is also not the case that Arnold's work makes a particularly notable attempt to use Babylonian history or culture for furthering a student's understanding of the Bible. As a book to be judged on its own merits, there is nothing glaringly wrong here, apart from a few comments, noted above, which could easily have been excised without compromising the content. But nor is there much to recommend this volume which must, if it is to be considered a success, have substantial sales amongst seminaries and theology or religion departments in the English-speaking world. Otherwise, it is just another summary of much that is well known and accessible elsewhere in the literature.

University of Sydney

D.T. Potts

P. Bichler, K. Grömer, R. Hofmann-de Keijzer, A. Kern and H. Reschreiter (eds.), *Hallstatt Textiles: Technical Analysis, Scientific Investigation and Experiment on Iron Age Textiles*, BAR International Series 1351, Archaeopress, Oxford 2005, vi+189 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-697-9

Over the last 20 years textile studies have developed into an important new field of archaeology. Numerous recent publications on the topic are demonstrating how much we can learn about the culture, society, technology and economy of the ancient world through textiles, while a proliferation of conferences on archaeological textiles shows an emerging interest in the topic. These conferences include the annual/triennial meetings of the North European Symposium for Archaeological Textiles, Centre International d'Études des Textiles Anciens, and the International Symposium on Textiles and Dyes in the Ancient Mediterranean World, whose proceedings are published in a regular fashion. In addition, various topical conferences have been held, the most recent of which include the 1999 Lattes colloquium 'Archéologie des textiles des origines au Ve siècle',¹ and the conference 'Ancient Textiles: Production, Craft and Society', held in Lund/Copenhagen in 2003.² To this group

¹ D. Cardon and M. Feugère (eds.), *Archéologie des textiles des origines au Ve siècle* (Montagnac 2000).

² C. Gillis and M.-L.B. Nosch (eds.), *Ancient Textiles: Production, Craft and Society* (Oxford 2007).

can be added the first symposium on Hallstatt textiles, which took place in June 2004 in Hallstatt, Austria. The publication of its proceedings provides an overview of recent research projects on old and new textile finds from this important site.

While textiles rarely survive in archaeological contexts, salt mines have an environment conducive to the preservation of organic materials such as textiles. More importantly, such conditions preserve fibre and weave structure as well as dyes. In Hallstatt, a region famous for salt-mining since the 5th millennium BC, textile remains have been found embedded in the salt minerals from the 19th century onwards. Today, about 230 fragments survive from the mines, while additional textile remains were preserved as mineralised traces on metal objects found in the famous cemetery, which is eponymous with the Early Iron Age period (800-450/400 BC) in Central Europe. These two groups of archaeological textiles provide a unique opportunity for the comparison of finds from two different yet contemporary contexts.

The papers in *Hallstatt Textiles* have been organised around three main topics. The first part focuses on the site of Hallstatt and its textiles and the new research conducted mainly since 2000, presenting new analyses of fabric, wool, dyes, weaving and sewing techniques (pp. 1-80). While most of these textiles date to the Hallstatt period, there are also groups pertinent to the Bronze Age (1400-900 BC) and the La Tène and Roman periods (110 BC-AD 200). It is thus important to keep in mind the difference between Hallstatt period textiles and textiles from the site of Hallstatt.

The second part of the publication deals with experimental archaeology (pp. 81-116). Reconstructions of textiles and experiments with tablet-weaving, dyeing, weaving and weaving tools such as warp-weighted looms and spindle whorls are described by the Austrian scholars. The publication of such experimental work is crucial for textile archaeologists and scholars of ancient economies as it provides a much clearer understanding of the various production processes.

The final part of this collection puts the textiles from Hallstatt into a broader context by considering research on contemporary textile finds from neighbouring regions. Hallstatt textiles housed in museums throughout Europe are discussed in one article, which also summarises the current knowledge on both the chronology and typology of Hallstatt and later La Tène textiles (pp. 133-50). Another contribution compares the textiles found in Hallstatt to a corpus of recent finds from Hallein-Dürrenberg, Austria (pp. 161-74). The comparative analysis of both groups indicates differences in the organisation of textile manufacture: while in Hallstatt textile production was carried out on the individual household level, Dürrenberg textile production was much more centralised, as is suggested by the uniformity of the surviving fabrics. Another intriguing recent find of male clothing, discovered in northern Italy and dated to the Early Iron Age, is also considered in connection to the Hallstatt material (pp. 151-60). Finally, an article on the La Tène textiles from Slovakia and Moravia highlights important evidence from an area frequently absent in studies of Central European archaeology (pp. 175-89).

While Anglophone readers will benefit from the fact that most of the essays have been translated into English (with extensive summaries in German), the volume would have benefited from more scrupulous editing by a native English speaker. The absence of an index presents additional problems. These shortcomings, however, are minor, particularly in light of the impressively rapid publication of the conference proceedings. Black-and-white illus-

trations provided throughout the text are generally of good quality, if somewhat dark. Additional colour plates appear at the end of the volume.

Many of the papers in *Hallstatt Textiles* utilise technical details of textile analysis but these can be 'avoided' easily by those unfamiliar with the jargon. The authors' wide spectrum of approaches to the study of Hallstatt textiles and their contextualisation within broader frameworks makes this an accessible and useful volume not only for textile scholars but also for non-specialist readers. Both audiences will find this collection of essays helpful in appreciating the incredible advances of textile studies as illustrated by research on the finds from a single site. The information presented here offers new and important insights into the chronology and typology of Hallstatt textiles, ancient textile technology, as well as the organisation of textile production, the ancient economy and the modes of exchange. This volume will become standard reading for all those involved in the studies of Hallstatt textiles, replacing the disparate collection of outstanding but now outdated articles by Hans-Jürgen Hundt and other scholars of previous generations. Lise Bender Jørgensen has noted at the end of her contribution that 'The study of ancient textiles is a Pandora's box just waiting to be opened' (p. 139) – the authors of *Hallstatt Textiles* have done just that.

University of Copenhagen

Margarita Gleba

J. Boardman, *Classical Phoenician Scarabs. A Catalogue and Study*, Studies in Gems and Jewellery II, BAR International Series 1190, Archaeopress, Oxford 2003, 142 pp., 65 pls. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-556-5

Ce volume est le second de la série. L'intégralité du catalogue complétée de quelques illustrations est mise en ligne sur le site internet: [www:beazley.ox.ac.uk/gems](http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/gems). Dans cet ouvrage, John Boardman établit le corpus des scarabées en jaspe vert découverts dans l'ensemble du bassin méditerranéen, scarabées produits de la fin de la période archaïque grecque et pendant l'époque perse (fin du VI^e au IV^e siècle avant J.-C.). La plus grande partie des scarabées ici catalogués a été trouvée en méditerranée occidentale et si le titre de l'ouvrage révèle l'adhésion de l'auteur à l'hypothèse d'une production orientale, B. propose en fait une réflexion plus nuancée, en tendant justement à nuancer la dichotomie Est-Ouest.

Ces sceaux envisagés comme un groupe homogène soulèvent en réalité un certain nombre de questions que l'auteur s'est appliqué à poser clairement en faisant état des différentes recherches. Il convient en effet de souligner le grand souci qu'a eu B. de réaliser un instrument de travail lisible et maniable dans sa mise en pages en commençant par d'indispensables et concises, peut-être trop parfois, indications concernant la chronologie, la provenance, le matériau, les montures et les ateliers tout en tenant compte des aspects techniques. Après une intéressante notice sur la matière première employée et sur la couleur verte du jaspe, B. s'attache à la forme même de ces scarabées, en particulier sur leurs dos, sujet qui jusqu'à présent n'a guère retenu l'attention. De même, les montures font l'objet d'un descriptif pratique pour qui s'intéresse aux bijoux de manière générale. L'étude précise de ces montures peut en effet apporter des indices non négligeables aussi bien sur la localisation des ateliers d'orfèvres qui les ont produits que sur la chronologie. Toutefois, pour chaque type mis en évidence et décrit, il aurait été fort utile de renvoyer aux numéros du catalogue.

En ce qui concerne le catalogue proprement dit des scarabées en jaspe vert, l'auteur choisit une articulation selon quatre axes stylistiques: des scarabées égyptisants, des scarabées phéniciens, des scarabées hellénisants et enfin les scarabées de styles composites.

À l'intérieur de ces groupes stylistiques, B. regroupe les 1502 scarabées et 401 matériels divers comprenant par exemple les sceaux taillés dans d'autres pierres dures que le jaspe vert et les empreintes sur *bulla* de scellement, tout d'abord par thèmes iconographiques puis par région ce qui, dans l'optique d'une recherche iconographique particulière, guidé par une table des matières très précise au début de l'ouvrage, permet d'aboutir rapidement au résultat escompté. Les bagues font l'objet d'un catalogue séparé constitué de 69 objets. Rappelons que B. est le premier à avoir étudié les bagues à chaton fixe en métal précieux et à en établir un classement très utile pour leur datation. C'est en présentant simultanément les scarabées en jaspe avec les autres productions contemporaines qu'il fournit les éléments permettant non seulement de définir les caractéristiques du groupe des 'Classical Phoenician Scarabs' mais aussi des phénomènes plus généraux. Ainsi, la présentation de la production de bagues comme phénomène parallèle à celle des scarabées permet d'appuyer la thèse concernant l'hellénisation de l'aire méditerranéenne orientale. L'auteur montre ainsi que ce phénomène qui s'opère fortement sur les sceaux est en étroite relation avec l'iconographie des bagues et que le style grec est largement adopté. Dans ce catalogue dont la base de classement retenue est stylistique et iconographique, on regrettera cependant que les illustrations ne recouvrent que 40% des entrées, hormis les bagues qui sont presque toutes représentées.

À la fin de l'ouvrage, l'index des sites permet de réaliser facilement une recherche par provenance, toutefois, du point de vue du conservateur de musée, l'absence d'index par lieu de conservation se fait sentir. La bibliographie d'expression minimaliste présente quelques omissions. Petit ajout bibliographique récent: l'un des scarabées égyptisants décorés de la triade Osiris, Isis et Horus (musée du Louvre, Bj 1205 = Boardman 2003 11/18), remonté au XIXe siècle à partir d'éléments antiques, était présenté dans l'exposition sur les Bijoux de la Collection Campana (musée du Louvre, 21 octobre 2005-16 janvier 2006).

Ce travail qui réunit un matériel dispersé dans de nombreuses collections et dans de multiples publications constitue un nouvel outil pour tous les chercheurs qui œuvrent dans le domaine de l'archéologie méditerranéenne, orientale et occidentale.

Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour

Hélène Le Meaux

J. Boardman, *The World of Ancient Art*, Thames and Hudson, London/New York 2006, 408 pp., 651 illustrations, 12 maps. ISBN 10: 0-500-23827813: 978-0-500-23827-1

Sir John's latest book is a veritable *tour de force*. His immense experience as an excavator and interpreter of ancient art must have fired this attempt to look at the visual creations of mankind as a global phenomenon. Extensive travels undoubtedly enhanced the comprehensive perspective. Yet, to pursue this vision over time represented a real quandary. By skilfully resuscitating a hypothesis first developed by Greek philosophers and geographers such as Pythagoras, Eudoxus of Cnidus and Posidonius, whose theories of the 'zones' subdivided the globe into frigid, temperate and torrid belts, Boardman stresses the importance of the envi-

ronment on human creativity and marvels at the ingenious responses to the challenges posed by the need to adapt to nature and neighbours, and to assuage the supernatural forces believed to inhabit the universe. He also emphasises throughout the important fact that art was functional for most of the several thousand years covered by the book. In a thoughtful Preface, B. lays out the plan for the book, readily admitting that his approach with its focus on art differs from comparable comprehensive attempts (for example Toynbee or Braudel) and does not allow a straightforward narrative. In an Epilogue, a glance is cast on Renaissance and Modern art. B. points out that it was with the Romans that connoisseurship enters upon the scene, a perspective utterly alien to earlier art. A balanced case is being made – much against current trends – for the mostly selfless work of researchers, interpreters and collectors.

The book is subdivided in four major sections of uneven length: 'Early Days and the Primitive', 'The Arts of Urban Life', 'The Northern and Nomadic, and Interfaces', and 'The Tropical Arts'. Part I is brief and sketches the factual and the possible spiritual background of the art produced by gatherers and hunter-gatherers. The second (and longest) part which is segmented along time lines, comprises the 'elite arts' of China, India, Central Asia, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, early Greece and Egypt, followed by the Levant and the West, the Persian empire, the Hellenistic kingdoms, Italy and the Roman world, and terminates with Central America (Maya and Aztec) and South America (Peru and the Incas). The three sections of Part II are each introduced by meditations of a more abstract character than the descriptions of the figures – the meat of the volume – which follow. Similar subdivisions occur in Parts III and IV. In Part III: the Interface Phenomenon, the Northern and Nomadic, Asia, Europe, North America. In IV: South America, Africa, Australasia. B.'s prose is terse, often allusive and constantly challenges and engages the reader; this is exactly what art should elicits from the viewer.

The illustrations – many of them in colour and generally of very high quality (340 and 383 are sub-standard) – are individually commented on. Helpfully, dates, measurements and the present location of the pieces are mostly – though not always – given in the captions. When drawings are reproduced, the draughtsman is often named, however not the publication from which it was taken. There is a brief source list for the illustrations, but the majority remains unreferenced.

The layout of the illustrations is generally satisfactory, a difficult task, considering the wealth offered. Though measurements are given, the scale of the photographs is sometimes confusing, for example fig. 178 versus 179. The layout of p. 245, with figs. 419–421, is jarring.

A number of comments in the text and captions call for greater precision, correction or revision. Fig. 27: The Mauryan pillar is in the state of Bihar, India; 'near Nepal' is somewhat loose. Fig. 115: the 'Stone bust' is in the museum in New Delhi, not in Karachi. Fig. 135, drawing of a painting in the Ajanta caves; a triple set of tusks marks the elephant as an incarnation of the future Buddha. Page 135: the 'tomb of golden King Midas' is now no longer considered his and the dates have been revised (*cf.* fig. 222). The tomb-owner may have been Midas' father Gordias. Page 173: Hoplite warfare is now thought of as having developed in Greek Asia Minor in response to incursions by mounted nomads such as the Cimmerians. The box, p. 178, calls the Greek sculptor 'Polyklitus'; in the caption to fig. 301 and the index, he is 'Polykleitos'. Fig. 292: Chiusi, the findspot of the 'François Vase',

is in central Italy, not in the north. Fig. 315: the Kul Oba *kurgan* is near Kerch, Crimea. Fig. 319: the bronze figure from Qatna '(near the upper Orontes)' is in the vicinity of Homs (ancient Emesa). Fig. 354: Pergamum is situated inland, above the Caicus in western Turkey rather than 'on the east coast of the Aegean'. Fig. 369: the Alexander mosaic, now in Naples, did not decorate a wall but a floor in the Casa del Fauno in Pompeii. Fig. 429: the Nile mosaic in the Palestrina Museum shows also phantastic animals. Fig. 458: the date of the Maya pot must surely be revised, as well as that of fig. 488. Pages 302-03: Tiwanaku (Tihuanaco) lies in Bolivia, not in Peru. Fig. 541: figures on a gate at Tiwanaku are called 'winged warriors', the same type is a 'bird-headed demon' in fig. 554. Fig. 560: Filippovka is situated in the foothills of the Urals rather than 'north of the Caspian'. Page 332: Odessa does not lie on the Dniester (Tyras does). Page 349: The Heuneburg is in Baden-Württemberg, not 'a site near Munich'. Fig. 640: the marks on head and body of the wooden Nigerian statuette do not represent tattooing, they are scars produced by incisions.

For a work of such scope and amplitude, misprints are admirably few. 'Further Reading', mostly works in English, is somewhat disappointing (there is no bibliography) and the indexes ('Genera' and 'Places') are all too brief. This book is a visual treasure trove; its intellectual stimuli are immeasurable.

Many of the captions stimulate additional observations, one of the merits of the book. Fig. 185: front and back of the early 2nd-millennium figure of a goddess with water jar are shown. The large counterweight for her pectoral on her back deserves mention. Fig. 378: the 'Tazza Farnese' was once in the possession of an Islamic ruler, as attested by a Persian drawing of it. Fig. 494: the 'wooden figure of a kneeling priest' (Maya) is indeed rare; another such stunning piece is the figured wooden drum from the late Aztec cave temple at Malinalco (State of Mexico) in the Museo Antropologico in Mexico City.

University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Elfriede R. Knauer

P. Bogucki and P.J. Crabtree (eds.), *Ancient Europe (8000 BC-AD 1000): Encyclopedia of the Barbarian World*, 2 vols. Vol. 1: *The Mesolithic to Copper Age (c. 8000-2000 BC)*, xxxiv+485pp., illustrations; vol. 2: *Bronze Age to Early Middle Ages (c. 3000 BC-AD 1000)*, xxvi+658 pp., illustrations. Charles Scribners' Sons, New York/ Detroit/San Diego/San Francisco/Cleveland/New Haven/Waterville/London/Munich 2004. Cased. ISBN 0-684-80668-1 (set); 0-684-80688-X (vol. 1); 0-684-80670-3 (vol. 2)

In recent years, many disciplines, archaeology included, have seen a sudden increase of major multi-author, multi-volume encyclopaedia-type publications. Despite a certain degree of overlap, archaeological encyclopaedias have made accessible to students and the general reader a huge amount of information. Certain regions such as Egypt and the Classical World are particularly well served in this regard. Not so for continental Europe, whose accomplishments, though well documented in some excellent introductions, are still rather shadowy to the general Anglophone readership. Moreover, none span the millennia covered by these two volumes. The decision to extend the coverage to AD 1000 is not only highly appropriate, defining as it does the end of prehistory in Eastern Europe and Scandinavia, but also most welcome, because it offers a breath of coverage rarely seen even in an encyclo-

paedia. Overall, then, this work is a resounding success. The publisher should be congratulated for conceiving the idea and for the editors for their hard work.

This encyclopaedia is organised into seven parts. The first part, 'Discovering Barbarian Europe', deals with key concepts and issues of methodology such as survey and excavation, dating and chronology, status and wealth with specific reference to Europe. The following six parts are focus on periods in chronology order: 2. 'Postglacial Foragers, 8000-4000 B.C.'; 3. 'Transition to Agriculture, 7000-4000 B.C.'; 4. 'Consequences of Agriculture, 5000-2000 B.C.'; 5. 'Masters of Metal, 3000-1000 B.C.'; 6. 'The European Iron Age, c. 800 B.C.-A.D. 400'; 7. 'Early Middle Ages/Migration Period'. Each of these parts comprises a mixture of discussions on regions, horizons, or themes that range across the whole of Europe. There are also separate feature essays that accompany these discussions, which are devoted to specific sites and peoples, the latter restricted to Part 7. It is particularly gratifying to this reviewer to see the Caucasus, which not infrequently gets overlooked in overviews of both the Near East and Europe, allocated a couple of entries. Clear maps, plans, drawings and photographs enhance the two volumes. As a further aid to accessibility, we have a glossary of terms and a detailed index.

One of the difficulties in bringing together such a diverse range of material is the connection between entries and the approach to the data. Thanks to the editors there is a clear sense of continuity throughout the two volumes. Approach is more diverse and perhaps one way of controlling it (if this is desirable) is to structure the discussions of each entry around topics. C. Tolan-Smith, for instance, in 'The Mesolithic of Northwest Europe' (pp. 144-50), provides a clear outline of the period under the themes of technology, subsistence, settlement patterns, settlement structures, and symbolism, ritual and burial. In a feature essay, Paul Mellars provides a lucid account of the Star Carr, which can be a 'classic' site for northern European Mesolithic both for its history of cutting-edge methodology, initiated by the late Sir Grahame Clark in 1949, and for the richness of its finds. Reinvestigations in the late 1980s uncovered a segment of a carefully built wooden track, which can boast being the earliest evidence of controlled carpentry so far recorded in Europe.

Some of the essays tackle major debates head-on and make a reasoned judgment based upon the evidence. One such knotty problem is the issue of Indo-Europeans covered in 'Archaeology and Language' (pp. 101-09) by no less an authority than David Anthony. After a succinct introduction on the origins of the discipline of Indo-European studies that can be traced back to the now famous lecture by Sir William Jones to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, we are informed on the basic tenets and procedures of historical linguistics, which are used in the reconstruction of early languages in prehistory. Anthony then discusses how the evolution of languages for which no written texts survive can be reasonably dated with the assistance of archaeological material. Dating textless early languages is the weakest link in the historical linguistics chain and one that Colin Renfrew cleverly exploited some years ago. However, Anthony does not buy Renfrew's idea of an Anatolian homeland, preferring instead the North Pontic region. Moreover, he proposes the appealing view that instead of trying to link a specific material culture with a language, we should focus instead on 'frontiers', which incorporates not just ceramics but a whole range of other correlates such as architecture, settlement plans, tomb types, economy, and so on. For Anthony one such frontier that existed *ca.* 5800-3500 BC was the Dneiper-Dneister frontier.

The 'Celts' and related topics, including 'Hallstatt and La Tène', and 'Celtic Migrations' (vol. 2, pp. 140-50), are covered by Susan Malin-Boyce under useful themes such as Historical Depictions, and Romanisation and Resistance and so on. The 'Bronze Age of Transcaucasia' (vol. 2, pp. 101-07) and 'Iron Age Caucasia' (vol. 2, pp. 303-11) are well covered by Laura Tedesco and Adam Smith respectively. Like the archaeology of many regions that were part of the former Soviet Union, the cultural sequences of the Caucasus are undergoing some major reinterpretations. Less well known is the palaeo-vegetational history of the Caucasus, which has significant implications for understanding socio-economic developments. Emerging evidence published after this encyclopaedia indicates that forests largely covered southern Georgia, including the Tsalka Plateau.¹ From the Neolithic to about 1500 BC the forest comprised an oak and juniper canopy and was accompanied by a gradual increase in temperatures. Not only should we consider these in relation to the economic strategies of the Kura-Araxes culture, but we also need to think of how this canopy affects our understanding of the sites in their current settings. For instance, the well-known *kurgans* of the Tsalka region are today conspicuous monuments situated on a grassy terrain, but in their day they would have been barely visible, unless the surrounding area was extensively cleared. Indeed it could be argued that their size and the 'roads' may have deliberate attempts to make them more noticeable.

This encyclopaedia provides easy access to a wide range of disparate information and it is destined to become a well used reference work for the beginning student, general reader and even professionals who work outside the field.

University of Melbourne

Antonio Sagona

D. Braund (ed.), *Scythians and Greeks. Cultural Interaction in Scythia, Athens and the Early Roman Empire (Sixth Century BC – First Century AD)*, University of Exeter Press, Exeter 2005, xii+254 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-85989-746-X

This collection of papers is intended to be a celebration of Sir Ellis Minns's mammoth book of the same title, published in 1913. It is also the published version of a colloquium, held in January 2000 at the University of Exeter. Of the papers delivered there 12 are reproduced in formal and expanded form here, and a further three have been added to arrive at the present total of 15. Sadly, of the Russians involved in the project, one, Vinogradov, died without producing a paper, soon afterwards, and another, Zolotaryov, has subsequently died after producing a substitute contribution.

The opening item is one of the longest – an account of the friendship between Minns and the great Russian ancient historian, Mikhail Rostovtzeff, as shown by their correspondence, through the years 1917 to 1924 and again in the early 1950s (Bongard-Levin, pp. 13-32). It seems that Rostovtzeff came to regret his somewhat hasty and dismissive review of Minns's *magnum opus*, that it was mainly compilatory and too uncritical of his,

¹ S.E. Connor, I. Thomas, E.V. Kvavadze, G.J. Arabuli, G.S. Avakov and A. Sagona, 'A survey of modern pollen and vegetation along an altitudinal transect in southern Georgia, Caucasus region'. *Review of Palaeobotany and Palynology* 129 (2004), 229-50.

Rostovtzeff's own, Russian former colleagues. On Minns's much later work, 'The Art of the Northern Nomads',¹ he was both privately and in public laudatory. The next two papers are on the broad perspective of the pre- and proto-history of the Scythians. Murzin (pp. 33-38) shows how shadowy still are the origins and identity of the Cimmerians. He traces the Scythians' movement from the northern Caucasus to the Ukrainian steppes, and on into their tripartite dispersion into the Crimea, the Lower Dnieper region and the Dobrudja in the Hellenistic period. Alexeyev (pp. 39-55) bravely attempts to identify some of the major burials found in the steppe country (*kurgans*) with known kings of the Scythians. Recent more precise dating of certain types of trade amphora has aided the chronology of the major Scythian burials of the 4th century BC. But there are still many unknowns, including kings mentioned but unnamed in the sources and other completely 'unknown-unknowns', omitted by ancient writers totally. Furthermore the identification, made here, of the battling warriors (two Scythians and one Thracian?), represented with their horses on the gold comb from Solokha, may seem plausible (pp. 50-53), but it has already been observed that the rider and the unhorsed figure on the comb are not equipped in the way one would expect to fit this interpretation.² It is safer not to try to link this scene with Herodotus' portrayal of the protagonists in the confrontation between the sons of the Scythian king (Herodotus 4. 78-80).

Two papers are concerned with the toreutic art and jewellery produced by and for the Scythians. Treister writes on the workshops operating in the Bosporean cities (at Panticapaeum: pp. 56-63); Ustinova discusses the motif of the serpentine- or vegetation-limbed goddess (pp. 64-79). Braund (pp. 80-99) revisits the theme of Athens's impact on the cities and peoples of the Black Sea area, and the reverse influence on Athens, exerted by imports of goods and people from the region, especially after the Persian Wars, and, in reinforced fashion, after Pericles' expedition into the Black Sea ca. 437 BC. The appearance of 'Scythian-style' archers depicted on Attic vases, not necessarily all 'Scythian' in intention (Ivantchik, pp. 100-13), and the oddity of a state-owned police force at Athens, made up of Scythians, in the late 5th and 4th century (Babler, pp. 114-22) receive welcome reassessment.

Four papers by Russians and Ukrainians bring new information and new perspectives on the cities of the north Black Sea littoral. Kryzhitsky throws reasonable doubt on Vinogradov's view that Olbia lay under a Scythian 'protectorate' in the 5th century (pp. 123-30). Bylkova, in the most overtly archaeological item, studies in detail the riverine settlements found on the lower reaches of the Dnieper, suggesting that the influence of Olbia, even its occupation of a sort of 'frontier territory', embraced at least the southern group along the river (pp. 131-47). Zolotaryov's paper (pp. 148-52) attempts to demarcate the spheres of influence enjoyed by the three Greek cities of the Crimea, Chersonesus, Theodosia and Panticapaeum/Bosporus with an additional look at Olbia's reach into the north-western Crimea at Kerkinitis and its adjacent coastal settlements. Maslennikov (pp. 153-66) outlines the results of his many years of study of the rural settlements in the Kerch Peninsula (*chora* of Panticapaeum, Nymphaeum and Theodosia). For the Roman period

¹ E.H. Minns, 'The Art of the Northern Nomads', *ProcBrAc* 38 (1942), 47-99.

² H. Heinen, *Antike am Rand der Steppe. Der nördliche Schwarzmeerraum als Forschungsaufgabe* (Stuttgart 2006), 24-27.

Saprykin treats the first emperors' 'parallel policies' in dealing with Thrace and the Cimmerian Bosphorus (pp. 167-75), and Zubar studies again (pp. 176-80) the well-known inscription of T. Plautius Silvanus, connecting his expedition to the Crimea (dated here to AD 63-66) with the historian Josephus' mention of Rome's forces in the Pontus Sea (40 ships and 3000 troops). The book closes with substantial notes to the chapters (pp. 181-218) and an extensive bibliography and index (pp. 219-54).

The volume is handsomely produced, though illustrations are provided only with the most obviously art-historical or archaeological chapters. The map of the Black Sea area (p. xii) indeed does duty for the whole book, but several chapters would have benefited from local maps of the area, or the sphere of operations, discussed.

Scythians and Greeks gives a good selection from post-Soviet Russian and Ukrainian archaeological studies. If they stray into speculative reconstruction on occasion, they are based on sufficiently open and detailed programmes of excavation and research for the reader to exercise his own, occasionally sceptical, judgment.

Leeds, UK

J.G.F. Hind

T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, New ed., Oxford University Press, Oxford 2005, xx+554 pp., 4 maps. Cased: ISBN 0-19-927908-X. Paperback: ISBN 0-19-928132-7

As the Michigan Hittitologist Gary Beckman wrote in his review of Bryce's *Life and Society in the Hittite World* (Oxford 2002): 'Trevor Bryce is the most successful – and responsible – popularizer of Anatolian studies active today.'¹ The volume under review is testimony to the validity of that observation and the fact that it is a revised edition of a volume published only in 1998 suggests that B.'s popularisation of Anatolian and more specifically Hittite civilisation is finding a wide audience.

In his Preface B. notes that the bibliography of the new edition contains nearly 300 titles not cited in the first edition, most of which have appeared in print since 1996 (p. xviii). It is not my intention, however, to go through B.'s text explicitly with the goal of discovering those places where he has changed his mind, corrected something on the basis of a review or a re-think, or otherwise made alterations to the 1998 edition. Rather, I should like simply to underscore one area where, in my opinion, more work remains to be done while acknowledging at the outset what an excellent piece of work this is. Although Chapter 1 is entitled 'The origins of the Hittites', only a few paragraphs are devoted to 'Anatolia in the Early Bronze Age', 'The Early Bronze Age Kingdoms', and 'The Indo-European Presence in Anatolia' (pp. 8-12). Admittedly, B.'s book is explicitly historical rather than archaeological, but it becomes clear, both in reading this chapter, and in the focus of Chapter 2, 'Anatolia in the Assyrian Colony Period', that B. is unable to bridge the earlier periods of Anatolia and the Hittite era. Although he devotes more space to a discussion of language and ethnicity, the problem of ethnogenesis is overlooked entirely. In effect, he offers no clue as to whether or not Hittite civilisation generally owes something culturally to the anonymous archaeological cultures of the Anatolia which precede the historical period. This, in my

¹ *BMCR* 2003.11.22.

opinion, is a topic crying out for attention. It is not necessarily something which B. himself ought to contend with, given that he is not an archaeologist, but it seems obvious to a non-specialist that one can scarcely begin the story of the Hittites with a chapter on the Assyrian colonies.

A few bibliographical additions may be suggested. On the matter of diplomatic marriage (for example p. 311), readers should also consult F. Pintore, *Il matrimonio interdinastico nel Vicino Oriente durante i secoli XV-XIII* (Rome 1978). A work which may have appeared after the completion of B.'s revised edition is Mario Liverani's *Myth and Politics in Ancient Near Eastern Historiography* (London 2004), which contains English translations of two older articles of Liverani's, both of which are relevant to B.'s work: 'Shunashura, or: on reciprocity' (pp. 53-81),² and 'Telipinu, or: on solidarity' (pp. 27-52).³ On copper and tin, with particular reference to B.'s discussion of the Old Assyrian caravan trade, see K. Reiter, *Die Metalle im Alten Orient unter besonderer Berücksichtigung altbabylonischer Quellen* (Münster 1997).

One final point which may not at first strike the reader concerns the notes. In the original edition, published under the imprimatur of the Clarendon Press, the footnotes appeared within the text, whereas in the present case we are given endnotes. Apart from the fact that this hinders comparisons between the two editions – something which scholars might like to undertake in order to see exactly where B. may have changed his views or amplified or excised material – it is simply less user-friendly and as such is to be lamented, notwithstanding the fact that B. himself seems to prefer the endnote system (p. xix).

In conclusion, this is an admirable revision of a book, the first edition of which has been highly regarded since its initial appearance in 1998. It is to be hoped that the author continues to produce many more contributions to Hittite history for they are greatly appreciated by all students of the ancient Near East.

University of Sydney

D.T. Potts

A. Brysbaert, N. de Bruijn, E. Gibson, A. Michael and M. Monaghan (eds.), *SOMA 2002: Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology*, Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of Postgraduate Researchers, University of Glasgow, Department of Archaeology, 15-17 February 2002, BAR International Series 1142, Archaeopress, Oxford 2003, vi+172 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-514-X

The table of contents shows the wide scope of interest in this field of young scholars who have studied in British universities. R.S. Bhattal writes on the problem of ethnic identity in archaeological perspective, A. Brysbauer on experimentation in the archaeology of technology, M. Camps i Calbet on Palaeolithic Iberia, K. Deckers on the Cyprus geoarchaeological survey, T. Gambin on chapels and navigation in mediaeval Gozo, M. Georgiadison on the

² Originally published as 'Storiografia politica Hittita. I: Šunaššura, ovvero: della reciprocità'. *OrAnt* 12 (1973), 267-97.

³ Originally published as 'Storiografia politica Hittita – II. Telipinu, ovvero: della solidarietà'. *OrAnt* 16 (1977), 105-31.

burial landscape in LB III Karpathos, A. Lindenlauf on the way of constructing general meaning of the Persian Wars in Athens, A. Livieratou on the problem of religious continuity between the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age in Greece, R. Metawi on the Egyptian goddess Raettaui, A.S. Michael on nationalism and archaeology in Cyprus, A.C. Mientness on pastoral sites in modern Sardinia, E.C. Pieler on Cycladic idols on the Greek mainland, U. Rajala on the landscape of the Il Pizzo site near Rome, O.P.N. Satijin on modelling the post-Roman landscape in Lazio, and L.H. Sollars on rural settlements. H. Tomas concentrates on the meaning of identity in Roman Imperial representations. D. van Hove writes on an integrated GIS approach to the human landscape, and E. van Rosenberg on his study of the deposition of bronzes in northern Italy. Finally, A.B. Knapp closes the volume with suggestions for further research – he considers especially important island archaeology, insularity and maritime interaction, and the unity and diversity of Mediterranean studies and the Mediterranean cultural heritage.

The two first contributions focus more on anthropology and similar disciplines near to post-processual archaeology; the third has a slightly more traditional Palaeolithic approach; the fourth is more devoted the field of soils and geology; the fifth, on Gozo, tries to trace the worshipping in harbours as a common phenomenon from prehistory until modern times. The use of land for burials in Karpathos is studied from the point of view of landscape marks, which the tombs of the ancestors undoubtedly were. A. Lindenlauf writes more from an historian's point of view on the oral and written memory. A. Livieratou points out the importance of Kalapodi but, as with many her predecessors, overlooks the fact that it only starts in LH IIIC, a period of transition, in which the 'classical' Mycenaean civilisation underwent many changes and destructions, and in which the foundations of Iron Age Greece were laid, under various impacts both from the Near East and Europe. The analysis of Raettaui seems interesting, though she apparently was a goddess of only marginal importance. That archaeology helps often to create the national legend of ethnic identity is well known, especially from the 19th century, but in Fascist Italy and National Socialist Germany it reached the peaks of manipulation. The evidence from pastoral settlements on Sardinia brings interesting ideas about how to interpret similar archaeological sites – the Cycladic idols on Greek mainland could hardly all have been imports. The remaining papers are on archaeological landscapes, certainly an area of study where still much can be done. Helen Tomas studies Minoan and Mycenaean literacy; of course the Minoans were much more educated than the Mycenaeans. The self-identity in Roman portraits is an ever-green and not much new can be brought to it.

So far so good. Certainly most of the papers are by very young scholars, some of whom seek to reinvent the wheel; in many cases they seem to neglect the detailed study of artefacts from autopsy (admittedly, the present situation is such, notably in Greece, that it is difficult to get detailed access). Sometimes they try to approach subjects from a different point of view from the usual one, and this should be welcomed: trial and error is a good way forward. But sometimes one gets the impression that the warning already expressed by Goethe, 'Die Wissenschaft zerstört sich auch zweierlei Weise, durch die Breite, in die sie geht, und durch die Tiefe, in die sie sich versinkt' (science destroys itself in two ways: by dispersing itself too much and by descending too deep), should be recommended to the young scholars of the new generation.

G. Cawkwell, *The Greek Wars. The Failure of Persia*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2005, viii+316 pp. Cased. ISBN 0-19-814871-2

George Cawkwell describes Graeco-Persian relations from the perspective of those other than the Greeks, and particularly his own, beginning with Cyrus' original conquest of Greeks and ending at Alexander's conquest of the Persians. The coherent accounts of these relations come from Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, but he finds none of them satisfactory. National prejudice corrupts them, but for other reasons also they misunderstand the Persian empire, and even the military strategies of their own generals against it. Ctesias also falls short of his professions.

C. makes excellent use of epigraphy, archaeology, Eastern chronicles and other modern scholars' views, but he must still select from these historians for much of his account, and here his criteria of belief produce some startling challenges, such as his inclination not to believe that the Peloponnesians built a wall across the Isthmus against Xerxes' forces. C.'s achievement in this refreshing book is indeed to ask awkward and pertinent questions of the ancient historians.

The main question asked of Cyrus' original conquest of the Greeks in Asia is why the Greeks reacted more strongly against the Persians than the Lydians. Granting that Herodotus is correct in giving us this impression, C.'s answer is not the imposition of tyrants, garrisons or tribute, or even the demolition of walls (which he believes was already a feature of Lydian control). It was the Persians' cultural strangeness and their new habit of settling in the areas they conquered. Major evidence for the latter is Xenophon's *Anabasis* – 'vivid and unequivocal' (p. 36).

Herodotus' account of Darius' campaign beyond the Danube is 'largely fantasy'. He did cross the Danube, but only to wave the flag; Greeks made a campaign of it because they were pleased to see it as a fiasco. The real focus was the conquest of Thrace, and this was achieved. C. remains selective about what he believes. The story of Miltiades' opposition to the tyrants guarding the bridge is a lie that comes from his subsequent trial at Athens, but the 60 days they were asked to guard it is not from the trial and is unbelievable only in the context Herodotus gives it. He must have displaced it: they were waiting for Darius to arrive at the Danube on his way there, not on his journey back.

The Ionian Revolt is full of error. The Greeks were striving for liberty, Aristagoras was a hero and the revolt failed mainly because the Persians dealt with it effectively. Herodotus misunderstands even the relative powers of subordinates and rulers in his account of the quarrel between Aristagoras and Megabates (p. 67): Aristagoras should recognise Megabates' superiority, and Megabates should recognise his responsibility to the king for the expedition's success. Another reader would say that Herodotus is quite believable: it was the heat of their quarrel that made them act so contrary to their obligations.

Chapter 5 analyses the failure of Persia in the main invasions in Thucydidean terms as the product of their errors (rather than the valour of the Greeks or their choice of topography or commander or their ability to forge an adequate unity). It was error that made the Persians fight at Salamis, not a strategic imperative, and another error that made them retreat from Athens. Herodotus' summation of Artemisium (8. 15. 2) as a contest for the Euripus is cited as a nonsense, but account should be taken there of the desire for a balance with Thermopylae (two narrow passes) in that purple patch.

The questions asked of Thucydides' eighth book include whether Persia needed the Spartans, and the effect on policy of the relations between the King and his satraps. Xenophon's *Hellenica* is also challenged. The reason why Cyrus the Younger supports the Spartans so strongly is that he seeks mercenary support for his already developed ambitions for the Persian throne; the gathering fleet that the Spartans thought was aimed at Greece and provoked Agesilaus' campaign in Asia was more likely aimed against Egypt; the ambitions that Xenophon gives Agesilaus are panhellenic claptrap (p. 163).

C. also argues that, despite all attempts from Xenophon, out of prejudice, to conceal the fact, the King's Peaces allowed the Persians to control Greece through fear of military intervention from their inception – except during the Satraps' Revolt. Later history proves that Athens lived in fear of such intervention, and this can be applied to earlier situations such as the re-assertion of the King's Peace when the Battle of Naxos threatened the stability the Persians required of their Greek clients.

C.'s interpretations are provocative and those interested in political and military histories must read them. He does not discuss the ancient historians' views of what constitutes history, but perhaps that would only give them a more respectable reason for their misrepresentation. Of course the story of a Darius in Scythia who crossed his boundaries, went too far and came to grief may still hold sway over a merely effective political and military account of his campaign.

There are useful appendices on a variety of military and political matters to round out the final 70 pages. There is an admirable photographic study of the author on the flyleaf.

University of Auckland

Vivienne Gray

J.F. Cherry, D. Margomenou and L.E. Talalay (eds.), *Prehistorians Round the Pond. Reflections on Aegean Prehistory as a Discipline*, Papers presented to a workshop held in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, March 14-16, 2003, Kelsey Museum Publication 2, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor 2005, xx+180 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 0-9741873-1-3

Some will be surprised that Aegean prehistory should see itself as in a state of crisis. Yet that seems to be so: the origin of this book lies in a challenging question put by one of the editors, Despina Margomenou, to the other two (pp. xvii, 153): has Aegean prehistory 'won the battle but lost its charm?' (on p. 23, 'battle' becomes 'war'). 'Fighting words', the two co-editors rightly comment: but then the whole book turns out to be full of fighting words.

From Chapter 1 onwards, it becomes steadily clearer whom the battle (or war) has been against. The editors themselves set the tone by contrasting the 'fertile grounds of anthropology' (p. 7) with 'an area that was "tainted" by the long presence of classicists and classical archaeologists' (p. 8: though they do put quotation marks round 'tainted'). The message is taken up by most of their contributors: the main exception is Bryan E. Burns (Chapter 6), who points out the radical changes that have come over both classics and classical archaeology and draws some positive conclusions from this.

In two of the other chapters, the authors do produce impressive documentation for what one of them calls 'the overpowering hold of classical archaeology over Aegean prehistory' (Stelios Andreou, p. 73): the first is Andreou's own demonstration of the balance of forces

within present-day Greece itself (Chapter 4); the second is Jack Davis's account (Chapter 5) of the (uniquely flourishing) state of the subject in his own institution, the University of Cincinnati, historically traceable back to an almost forgotten episode in the archives of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, in which the latter institution did try to exert, quite literally, an 'overpowering hold'. But that was 80 years ago. Can it still explain the partially concealed animosity which pervades so many pages of this book? If so, one might expect its influence to be confined to the two countries to which the Greek Archaeological Service and the ASCA belong; but that is not my impression.

From a present-day British standpoint, complaints of an 'overpowering hold' by classics sound rather like complaints of persecution by the Church of England: in each case, the accused is itself an institution in apparently headlong retreat. Maybe that does not preclude hegemonic attitudes; but there seem to me to be so many more positive routes of escape for Aegean prehistory, from its perceived crisis, than that of (often retrospective) denunciations of classics. Indeed, several of the contributors to this book hint at these in passing. Let us look at three or four of them.

It is Andreou, again, who observes that, in Greece, 'research straddling the Greek Bronze Age and Iron Age is still rare' (p. 64). Not just in Greece either. In the first of three responding papers (Renfrew, Fotiadis, Hamilakis, Chapters 8-10), Colin Renfrew makes the same point by saying 'Nor is there reason to balk at [this] academic divide...' (p. 157). I would go further and say that it has become *imperative* for the well-being of Aegean prehistory that this divide be crossed, not just in teaching but in research and fieldwork. Nor should the overlap be confined to the Early Iron Age: as Renfrew again says (p. 158), the methods of Aegean prehistory remain fully applicable in Greek archaeology down to a period as late as the 6th century BC.

A second divide seems to me almost as deep and even more of a deterrent to institutional versatility: that between European and Aegean prehistory. Part of the special attraction of Aegean prehistory has always been as the place and time when 'our Europe was first beginning to think, to be!' (Carlyle, quoted on p. 11). So it was predictable and desirable that, in the past, leading European prehistorians should have crossed that divide from their side (but even in this instance, where are the Jan Bouzek and Anthony Hardings of the next generation?). Far fewer have done so in the reverse direction.

Chapters 2 (Cherry and Talalay) and 3 (Tracey Cullen) deploy a wide range of statistics. Their message is in part to emphasise, respectively, the continuing vitality of the discipline and the under-representation of women in it. But tables 2.3 (p. 38) and 3.3 (p. 48) tell a story that is, to me, even more significant: the linguistic and national divide. Aegean prehistory has become more and more the preserve of English-speaking countries: if Greece is the only major exception, Andreou (p. 86) points out that even here, among Greeks, 'the *Annual of the British School at Athens* has been elevated to the academic journal *par excellence* for Aegean prehistory'. Whatever it is that has failed to turn on more young Germans, French, Italians, Spaniards or Eastern Europeans to Aegean prehistory – even if it is once again the stranglehold of classics – this is an urgent problem for the discipline to address.

The editors and contributors to this book are also predominantly English-speakers; but they are all open-minded modernists as well. I suggest that, instead of rallying only to the cry of resistance to classics, they could look in another direction too for their perceived troubles: to the Old Believers among their colleagues who, disqualified from direct contribution to the volume, must lurk in many of its statistical tables – what one might caricature

as the 'Is it IIIA2 Late or IIIB1 Early?' brigade. There must be many disciplines where narrowness of outlook, whether in this sense or in that of linguistic exclusion, is the real barrier to progress.

University of Cambridge

A.M. Snodgrass

L. Cleland, M. Harlow and L. Llewellyn-Jones (eds.), *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, Oxbow Books, Oxford 2005, xvi+192 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84217-165-8

This edited volume by Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones presents readers with a rich and fascinating range of discussions of clothing styles, body adornment and textiles in the ancient world. The book will be especially useful to scholars specialising in gender studies, fabric manufacture, and the social importance and interpretation of clothes. However, anyone with a general interest in these areas and a healthy sense of curiosity will learn something from every chapter.

The book publishes reworked papers that were presented at the similarly titled conference in January 2002 at the Open University (UK). The aim of this conference, the editors write in their Introduction, was to 'engage with the interdisciplinary nature of the history of dress', moving away from the how-to style of costume recreation and towards sophisticated discussions of the cultural importance of dress (pp. xi-xiii). 'The clothed body was the civilized body', the editors write, and the 15 essays in this book explore those civilised bodies across time and space (Egypt, the Aegean, Homeric Greece, Archaic and Classical Greece, Roman Italy, Byzantium). It is to the credit of the editors that they chose to include a variety of approaches to the study of ancient clothing: the evidence of literature, art and archaeological artefacts is considered in turn.

Part I, 'The Clothed Body in Egypt and the Aegean', opens with an illuminating chapter by Joann Fletcher on the use of wigs and hairpieces in ancient Egypt. Fletcher argues that wigs served a practical as well as a cosmetic purpose, and that they were worn by men and women (challenging modern gender norms with respect to false hair). Llewellyn-Jones's essay on the costumes worn by Hedy Lamarr in her role as Delilah (in Cecil B. DeMille's 1949 film, 'Samson and Delilah') is a delightful, richly illustrated exploration of how contemporary notions of feminine beauty and fashion influenced the costume choices for Delilah (though this was done under pretence of historical authenticity, a point of pride for DeMille). Ariane Marcar's contribution surveys the notoriously tricky area of Aegean Bronze Age fashions, offering new insights into how clothing of the period was tailored and fastened, and urging that more careful attention be paid to textiles (especially construction techniques and fibre types) and to garment typology. The fourth chapter of Part I, Hans van Wees's 'Trailing Tunics and Sheepskin Coats', studies written evidence (via Hesiod and Homer) for dress and status in early Greece. Van Wees offers a nuanced discussion of the literary record and provides important clarification about differences in men's and women's garments, and status signification where rustic/urban, poor/rich dichotomies are concerned.

Part II, 'The Clothed Body in Classical Greece', starts with the outer layers (Mireille Lee on the feminine Greek *peplos*) and ends with that which was worn underneath (Emma J. Stafford on undergarments and especially the ancient bra). Lee uses visual and literary

evidence to argue that ancient texts do not merely record clothing styles but can also construct them, and goes on to examine the social importance of the *peplos* (with the *peplophoros* as the ‘embodiment of traditional [feminine] values’: p. 63). Stafford concentrates on visual representations of women’s breasts, demonstrating that the lack of artistic evidence for bras or breast-bands does not mean that women did not wear these items; breast-bands were necessary garments that also had erotic potential. The three intermediary chapters in Part II look at clothing and character in Aristophanes (James Robson), the semiotics of clothing descriptions in inscriptions (with particular interest in the Brauron Inventories: Cleland), and the significance of ‘rags’ (*rhakos*) in Aristophanes (Silvia Milanezi).

Part III, ‘The Clothed Body in Rome and Late Antiquity’, takes the reader from Republican Rome and the toga *praetexta* (Judith Sebesta) to illuminating examples of preserved textile fragments recovered from 8th-9th-century AD Judaea (Kasr al-Yahud) (Orit Shamir). Shamir’s photographed samples provide fascinating insight into clothing types and shapes from Judaea, and I found myself wanting to know more about the potentials for reconstruction (sure to come after further excavations at the site). Sebesta concentrates on literary evidence and gives a provocative reading of the social categories implicit in the wearing of the toga *praetexta*. The other four chapters in this section – by Glenys Davies, Shelley Hales, Harlow, and Liz James and Shaun Tougher – explore issues of cultural and ethnic identity as represented by clothing in Imperial Rome (Davies, Hales, Harlow) and in Byzantium (James and Tougher).

The book is well illustrated, with an abundance of (black-and-white) photographs, line-drawing reconstructions and charts. Its collection of essays makes a meaningful contribution to the ever-evolving study of ancient costume.

Ann Arbor, MI

Fiona Greenland

L.A. Curchin, *The Romanization of Central Spain. Complexity, Diversity and Change in a Provincial Hinterland*, Routledge, London/New York 2004, xi+300 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-415-28548-8

The region of central Spain known as Celtiberia will need no introduction to Spanish scholars but may present unfamiliar surprises to non-Spanish historians and archaeologists. Lacking many of the obvious monumental markers of Roman culture found in southern Iberian cities, central Iberian towns have not traditionally featured in English-language studies of the spread of Roman influence in the West. Celtiberia has for too long been cast aside as ‘Celtic’ (read: uncivilised) and therefore beyond the pale with regard to assessing what was ‘Roman’ about the Iberian Peninsula. This scholarly lacuna is slowly being filled, with historians and archaeologists such as Simon Keay and J.S. Richardson recognising the importance of the Celtiberian case study to our understanding of how culture changed in the western Roman provinces. Now Leonard Curchin adds to a growing body of English publications on this topic with a stimulating study of the changing social, political and cultural dynamics that lead to that region’s integration into the Roman empire between the 2nd century BC and the 2nd century AD.

From the beginning of the 2nd century until 72 BC, central Spain was a constant battleground, host to T. Sempronius Gracchus’ pacification campaign, Scipio’s prolonged siege

and eventual destruction of Numantia, and the Sertorian Wars of 79-72 BC. The various Celtic-speaking tribes residing on the Spanish Meseta were united against Rome at times, but divided by long-standing territorial grievances at other times, which allowed the Roman armies to whittle away at pockets of Celtiberian resistance despite their own chaotic policy toward the Peninsula. None of this made for a smooth start to the process of 'Romanisation' in the region; nevertheless, by the time of Sertorius' defeat Celtiberians were starting to speak Latin, using Roman-weighted coins with bilingual inscriptions, and living in towns with Roman civic institutions. There were outposts of resistance into the Imperial period, and certain indigenous visual and linguistic predilections never completely died, but Hispania Citerior really was a Roman province in more than official title by the end of the 1st century BC.

Curchin asks how this came to be so, and studies the question through the integration model of change. It is his view that the dominant cultural motif as it stood in the 2nd century AD (the end point of his book) was the result of indigenous and Roman practices coalescing gradually (not always harmoniously). This model is not new (see the various publications by C. García Merino, M. Salinas de Frías, J. Santos Yanguas and G. Woolf, among others), but C. gives the case study its first book-length treatment in English. The book begins with a look at past scholarly methods and frameworks, followed by a chapter on the pre-Roman indigenous culture of central Spain. The Celtiberians (so-called because they were thought by classical writers to have been a racial mixture of Celts and Iberians) spoke a Celtic language and shared some cultural and material practices with La Tène Celts, but they also used social and architectural features that are more Iberian in character. C. concludes that the tribes of central Spain were not La Tène 'invaders' but rather the successors to several generations' evolution after the Iron I period.

Chapters are devoted in turn to the reorganisation of the region after the Republican-era wars; the development of backwater hillforts into cities; shifting personal identities as reflected in nomenclature and civic titles; economic development; new religious institutions and modes of worship; language changes; and, what C. calls the 'Romanization of behaviour'. The author is at his best when analysing political and economic changes in the region. His chapter entitled 'Resource control and economic integration' makes deft use of the physical evidence and puts it all together into a cohesive and interesting model of economic change. The aspects of cultural change that are not pinned down so straightforwardly – namely religious beliefs and funerary customs – are given due attention and bolster the integration model at the heart of the book. I found C.'s piecemeal discussions of visual evidence (particularly the stelai from Lara de los Infantes) rather unsatisfying in that images of human figures from pots and stone slabs are used as veristic representations of Celtiberian sartorial habits with little attempt to tease out the more nuanced levels of identity presented by the figures.

The book is handsomely produced in hardback by Routledge and features maps, charts, graphs and line-drawing reconstructions of ancient sites and objects sufficient in number to illustrate the author's main arguments. The handful of black-and-white photographs are less visually engaging than they would be in colour, but happily C.'s innovative discussion of a fascinating part of the Empire gives ample colour to the book as a whole.

J. Curtis and M. Kruszyński, *Ancient Caucasian and Related Material in The British Museum*, Appendix on metallurgy by A. Pike, drawings by A. Searight, British Museum Occasional Papers 121, The British Museum Press, London 2002, vii+128 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 0-86159-121-6/ISSN 0142-4815

Over 200 artefacts, mostly metalwork of the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age, are discussed in this catalogue. None has a provenance, but all are attributed to the greater Caucasus region on the basis of typology. The volume has five chapters. A succinct Introduction sets the geographical and archaeological parameters, and is followed by a chapter on objects from the central Caucasus (the Koban culture), including the Prince Naourouz Collection and the Dent Collection, acquired in 1913 and the late 19th century respectively. In Chapter 3, the authors group objects that they are confident originally derived from Transcaucasus, whereas the following chapter is devoted to six 'Miscellaneous Objects of Caucasian Type' whose centres of manufacture are less clear. Chapter 5 concerns material of 'Scythian Type', including a few from the Oxus Treasure and Kul Oba. The Appendix by Alistair Pike presents informative metallurgical results pertaining to the use of antimony, arsenic and tin in bronze-work during the Late Bronze Age. But the highlight of this catalogue is the superb illustrations drawn by Ann Searight.

The Introduction is adequate, though more up-to-date and focused references would have made it more useful. Curiously, neither Kushnareva's excellent 1997 survey¹ nor the one she co-edited with Markovin,² particularly good on the Maikop culture, are listed. Likewise absent is the catalogue of the Saarbrücken exhibition of Georgian antiquities.³ Here, it might also be worthwhile drawing attention to volumes of collected essays with pertinent studies that have been published since the British Museum catalogue was printed.⁴ One (Japaridze *et al.*) is a supplement of *Dzhebani*, the journal of the Centre for Archaeological Studies of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, which in 2004 published the first issue of its English-language version – *Journal of Georgian Archaeology*.

Studying objects without reliable provenance and acquired from dealers of antiquities is fraught with difficulties, as Muscarella has shown.⁵ Nonetheless, such collections can be a useful adjunct to better documented assemblages, provided their attribution is approached with caution. The question with regard to the British Museum collection is whether an object is likely to have been produced in the Caucasus, or whether its attribution as 'Caucasian' is based largely on its place of purchase. Despite the problems of Iron Age chronology, some objects such as the elaborately decorated bronze belts (nos. 139-140) have sufficiently

¹ K.K. Kushnareva, *The Southern Caucasus in Prehistory: Stages of Cultural and Socioeconomic Development from the Eighth to Second Millennium B.C.* (Philadelphia 1997).

² K.K. Kushnareva and V.I. Markovin (eds.), *Epokha Bronzy Kavkaza i Srednei Azii: Rannyya i Srednyaya Bronza Kavkaza* (Moscow 1994).

³ A. Miron and W. Orthmann (eds.), *Unterwegs zum Goldenen Vlies: Archäologische Funde aus Georgien*. (Saarbrücken 1995).

⁴ V. Japaridze *et al.* (eds.), *Problems of Caucasian Bronze-Iron Age Chronology* (Tbilisi 2003) (in Georgian); A. Sagona (ed.), *A View from the Highlands: Archaeological Studies in Honour of Charles Burney* (Leuven 2004); A.T. Smith and K.S. Rubinson (eds.), *Archaeology in the Borderlands: Investigations in Caucasia and Beyond* (Los Angeles 2003); Ü. Yalçın (ed.), *Anatolian Metal II* (Bochum 2002).

strong affinities with examples from excavated contexts in the Caucasus, notably Tli in southern Ossetia, to suggest a local manufacture. By contradistinction, the Achaemenid bowl (no. 161) and the iron leaf-shaped spearhead (no. 162) are too ubiquitous in the greater Near East to be certain of its Caucasian pedigree. The most doubtful attribution, however, must be the solid cast bronze figure of a bison with shaggy coat (no. 166), which the authors loosely link to the Maikop bulls of the late 3rd millennium BC.

Another issue that some may not agree with in this Catalogue is the labelling of objects nos 169-201 as 'Scythian'. The tendency to associate historically mentioned ethnic groups with material culture permeates much of archaeology. Indeed, in certain circles of contemporary theoretical archaeology the study of ethnicity is a 'hot topic'. In the Russian archaeological tradition, which is still deeply rooted in Soviet methodology and thinking, this tendency has a rich history and is followed with readiness to this day. Following a quite different theoretical trajectory to Western archaeologists, Russian investigators are particularly keen to link the work of modern ethnographers to archaeology, giving rise to the much misused concept of 'ethnogenesis', which attempts to trace the social organisation and structure of modern communities back to antiquity. The question that could be asked with regard to objects 169-201 is what elements exactly warrant the label 'Scythian'? At the end of the 2nd millennium BC, several communities in the Eurasian steppes developed a specific form of pastoral nomadism that continued throughout the Iron Age. Disentangling Scythian remains from that produced by other nomads of steppes is no simple task, as Ivanchik has shown,⁶ especially given the wide distribution of some of the objects, such as the cheekpieces (for example nos. 189-190). These reservations aside, this catalogue is a welcome addition to the growing body of literature in English on the archaeology of the Caucasus.

University of Melbourne

Antonio Sagona

M.D. Danti, *The Ilkhanid Heartland: Hasanlu Tepe (Iran) Period I*, Hasanlu Excavation Reports II, University Museum Monograph 120, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia 2004, xviii+74 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 1-931707-66-9

The Hasanlu Project, directed by Robert H. Dyson jr of the University of Pennsylvania, was one of the most important archaeological projects ever undertaken in Iran. Although most scholars are familiar with the very rich Iron Age levels at the site, the seasons of 1956-1962 revealed important evidence of occupation which are dated, largely on ceramic grounds – in the absence of either numismatic or C 14 evidence – to the Ilkhanid period (Period I in the Hasanlu sequence).

The present volume is, for the most part, a straightforward presentation of the excavation data, including a description of the architecture and stratigraphy, as well as small finds and, principally, ceramics. Although relatively few sherds are illustrated, the volume is en-

⁵ O.W. Muscarella, *The Lie Became Great* (Groningen 2000).

⁶ A. Ivanchik, *Kimmerer und Skythen* (Moscow 2001).

hanced by six colour plates of sherds from Hasanlu and two of sherds from Takht-e Suleiman and Dinkha Tepe. Comparisons are drawn with roughly contemporary assemblages in Turkey (Tashkun Kale, Gritille) and Iran (primarily Takht-e Suleiman).

Danti describes Hasanlu as 'a prosperous rural settlement at the edge of the Ilkhanid heartland of northwestern Iran' (p. 63). The site's proximity to the more important and better known centres of Takht-e Suleiman, Maragheh and Tabriz places it in an area of undoubted importance during the Ilkhanid period, but not much of an attempt is made to situate the site more firmly in an historical context. There is, for example, no serious discussion of the historical geography of the area, even though a number of studies could have been consulted (for example Schwarz, Minorsky and Krawulsky).¹ Furthermore, although D. notes that, 'In the Ilkhanid period, favorable terms were offered to landowner tenants willing to resettle and improve abandoned lands (*khalisat*) in an effort to boost the ruler's revenues' (p. 66), he has not consulted any of the relevant literature on the agricultural regime in this area.² Given the relative slimness of the archaeological report on Hasanlu itself, some further work on historical and economic questions surrounding the site would perhaps have been rewarding. Finally, the quality of the photographic plates is very variable and several could have been omitted.

Since so many mounds in Iran have Islamic occupational levels on top, it is to be hoped that as older excavations like Hasanlu are published, more and more comparative material will become available from the Ilkhanid period. Historically it is unquestionably a time of enormous interest and Michael Danti is to be congratulated on bringing to fruition this primary publication which rescues from oblivion the archaeological record of an interesting, small settlement close to the heartland of the Ilkhanid realm.

University of Sydney

D.T. Potts

L. de Blois (ed.), *Administration, Prosopography and Appointment Policies in the Roman Empire*, Proceedings of the First Workshop of the International Network: Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, 27 BC-AD 406), Leiden, June 28-July 1, 2000), J.C. Gieben, Amsterdam 2001, viii+271 pp. Cased. ISBN 90-5063-248-3

The title hardly does justice to this book's breadth of focus. Its 17 papers are grouped into three parts: Part I on appointment policies and career structures, civilian and military; Part II on the impact of Roman law; and Part III on social status and mobility (which includes one contribution on Spain in the Republican period). Several papers offer robust critiques

¹ P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen* (Leipzig 1896-1935); V. Minorsky, 'Roman and Byzantine campaigns in Atropatene'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11 (1943-46), 243-65; D. Krawulsky, *Iran – Das Reich der Ilhane: Eine topographisch-historische Studie* (Wiesbaden 1978).

² For example K.E. Abbott, 'Extracts from a Memorandum on the Country of Azerbaijan'. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 8.6 [1864], 275-79; F. Rahimi-Laridjani, *Die Entwicklung der Bewässerungslandwirtschaft im Iran bis in sasanidisch-frühislamische Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1988); M. Schneider, *Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsstruktur und Wirtschaftsentwicklung Persiens 1850-1900* (Stuttgart 1990); W. Floor, *Agriculture in Qajar Iran* (Washington, DC 2003).

of received opinion; others synthesise or reappraise the available evidence; together they make a valuable and important contribution to our understanding of Roman government and its impact on the provinces.

In the opening paper, W. Eck revisits the vexed issue of specialisation (or rather, its absence) in the careers of the elite, emphasising that the success of the imperial government depended on the interplay between these generalists and the *periti* and other experts on whose advice they could draw. S. Demougin reappraises Pflaum's view of equestrian promotion and those of the many critics who have argued for a less formal system. Drawing on evidence published in the last two decades, he recommends a partial return to Pflaum's picture: an essentially stable hierarchy of posts, applied with considerable flexibility. And since appointments depended on the emperor's decision, political events and personal preferences could alter the 'normal' pattern. Olivier Hekster emphasises the continued importance of family ties in choosing emperors designate even during the period of the 'Adoptive emperors'. Pliny's famous praise for Nerva's choice of the unrelated Trajan (*Paneg.* 7) should be read less as a programmatic statement of the senatorial ideal than an attempt to put positive 'spin' on an extraordinary and anomalous near-usurpation.

Michael Speidel considers the relationship between military specialisation and promotion. Technical expertise (such as medicine, surveying or crafts skills) brought privilege but not promotion: specialists (perhaps 10% of soldiers within a legion) received the same pay as their fellows, but gained *immunitas* from *munera graviora*, such as work in the quarries. But writing skill (hardly rare, especially in the legions) brought access to various administrative posts which not only gave *immunitas* but also, especially in the fleet or *auxilia*, could lead to promotion to *principalis* or beyond. Only in the praetorians did technical skills offer similar promotion prospects. Ian Haynes points out significant regional variation in the impact of auxiliary recruitment on provincial societies. In two cases of unquestionably major impact (neither typical of the empire more generally), the effect on the Batavi was to perpetuate their martial and non-urbanised lifestyle, while recruitment from the Ituraeans removed those potentially disruptive to the Roman policy of fostering sedentary agriculture, returning them as veterans who identified with Roman ideas of local responsibility. Rudolf Haensch analyses the recruitment, social position and identities of the soldiers of the two legions of Lower Germany.

In Part II, Michael Peachin takes issue with Frier's suggestion that under the Empire, jurists did much to replace the insecurity and uncertainty that pervaded the judicial system to the end of the Republic, as a result of the constantly shifting praetor's Edict and the power of rhetorical advocacy, through their creation of a large juristic literature which (in principle, at least) allowed 'an abstract body of norms' to be applied consistently in the courts. Instead, he suggests, while some elements of uncertainty persisted or were only partially ameliorated, the role of the emperor in legal decisions introduced a further factor 'which might, on occasion, play havoc with law as prescribed by the jurists' (p. 112). Analysis of ten reports in the *Digest* of decisions taken in the imperial *consilium* shows that in all four 2nd-century cases, the emperor (once Trajan, three times Marcus Aurelius) was persuaded by the jurists, while in the six cases involving Septimius Severus, the emperor's decision was at best partially influenced by the jurists, but mostly flagrantly disregarded them. Though these examples are too few to tell whether this represents a trend, or merely the idiosyncrasy of individual emperors, they suggest that the jurists themselves were under no illusion about the practical efficacy of their advice. Their writings, Peachin concludes pro-

vocatively, are perhaps better conceived as personal *monumenta* in the medium of jurisprudence (instead of, say, history or letters) than a substantive contribution towards the progressive legal enlightenment of the Roman world.

A.J.B. Sirks offers a lucid reappraisal of the functioning of rescripts, suggesting that despite the emperor's authority, their force 'was limited as long as rescripts had not been communicated at large, for example through a collection' (p. 135). Lukas De Blois reviews and refines the reasons for the eclipse of learned jurists at the imperial court after *ca.* AD 241. W.J. Zwalf argues that the problem of Iulius Agrippa's estate discussed by Scaevola must relate to the empress Julia Domna's family. Bernard Stolte suggests that the new mid-3rd-century documents from the Middle Euphrates (P.Euphr.) 'evoke the world of Roman law without exactly corresponding to e.g. the *Institutiones* of Gaius' (p. 175). They thus confirm the picture presented by P.Dura and earlier the Babatha archive from Arabia, and reinforce our existing view that Roman law spread in the provinces (both before and after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*) more by voluntary and opportunistic adoption than as a conscious policy. Finally, Ulrich Manthe discusses the spread of knowledge of Gaius, especially in the Eastern empire.

Opening Part III, Graham Burton provides an overview of the imperial state's impact on the role and status of local magistrates and councillors: while underpinning their authority, it increasingly constrained their autonomy. Jane Gardner argues that the *Lex Irnitana* supports Fergus Millar's contention that the *ius Latii* granted to provincial communities did not create a status of provincial 'Latin' intermediate between *peregrini* and Roman citizens. The 'Latins' mentioned in the Spanish charters were simply Junian Latins and their descendants; while the potential legal problems (marriage, inheritance, etc.) created by the acquisition of Roman citizenship by magistrates and their immediate families were obviated by their retention of full local citizenship alongside their new status. Andreas Kriekhaus investigates the connections between provincial senators and their home towns. J.S. Richardson synthesises the scant Republican evidence for social mobility among *Hispani* into a picture of ambivalence, about how far they themselves wished to become 'Roman', and how welcoming the Roman elite were of those that did. 'There was still a long way to go before social mobility in the Iberian Peninsula was to result in any form of social coherence between Rome and the provinces' (p. 254). This process of gradual integration of the Spanish into the imperial elite is the subject of the final chapter, by A. Caballos, who shows how the heterogeneity of the Spanish provinces resulted in very uneven dynamics of acculturation.

In sum, although there is no editorial attempt to provide an overarching interpretative framework for the book (and, incidentally, no index or bibliography), this makes a stimulating and sometimes provocative collection addressing the most important aspects of Roman imperial government.

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Jane Rowlandson

E.C. De Sena and H. Dessales (eds.), *Metodo e approcci archeologici: l'industria e il commercio nell'Italia antica/Archaeological Methods and Approaches: Industry and Commerce in Ancient Italy*. BAR International Series 1262, Archaeopress, Oxford 2004, iv+305 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-620-0

Archaeological Methods and Approaches is a collection of papers read at the conference of the same name, organised in Rome in 2002 by the American Academy and the École Française. The aim was twofold. The initiators wished 'to reinforce the importance of reflecting upon methods and approaches in research endeavors, and to create a forum in which industry and commerce in pre-modern Italy could be discussed with virtually no boundaries' (p. iii). It is clear from these words that both the subjects (methods and approaches, industry and commerce) and the time-scale covered by the conference (pre-modern times) were no invitation to coherence.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the volume contains what diplomats would call 'a great wealth' of contributions. They range in time from the Bronze Age to the Mediaeval and address many different themes in many different ways. The papers collected in the volume moreover make it patently clear that the terms 'industry' and 'commerce' were not clearly defined in the call for papers that preceded the conference. This was to invite trouble, since there is a notable discrepancy between the meaning of the English term commerce and the Italian word *commercio* and the English term industry (used mostly for production from the industrial revolution onwards) and Italian *industria* (cf. *industria litica* for the production of lithic artefacts during the Neolithic Age). It is therefore doubtful whether the organiser's wish 'to promote greater communication' (p. iii) between the participants in the conference and their fields of study was actually fulfilled.

That said, let us proceed to the various contributions. There is a substantial body of papers on the production of textiles in pre-Roman and Roman Italy. This is interesting stuff because we find so little of these materials in our excavations. Though the papers on this subject vary considerably in quality, they manage to convince the reader of the enormous importance of textile production in ancient Italy. This 'missing craft' (as one of the authors puts it: p. 6) must have been as important in pre-Roman and Roman times as during the Mediaeval period about which we know so much from archives.

The contributions concerning textiles are followed by papers dealing with weights and weighting implements of Bronze Age Italy (Peroni and Cardarelli, for example) and storage vessels dating to the same period (Levi and Schiapelli). These make it patently clear that the Italian Late Bronze Age should liberate itself from the long shadows cast by the contemporary Mycenaean and Near Eastern world. Italy was definitely an important participant in the Mediterranean Late Bronze Age trade networks: although it should be admitted that the south of Italy has no impressive beehive tombs or palaces of Mycenaean or Near Eastern type, it certainly had substantial walled settlements with ample storage facilities and more or less standardised weight systems. This suggests a degree of economic and organisational sophistication that was previously not suspected. The clichéd picture of Bronze Age Italy as the poor little nephew of Mycenaean Greece should certainly be discarded.

Of course, there are quite a number of papers on the production and distribution of pottery in the volume discussed here. Ceramics never fail to attract the attention of archaeologists. Most contributions are of the classic type (for example Di Gennaro on Iron Age kilns at Fidenae, Piergrosi and others on the distribution of so-called Red Impasto ware, and Elia on red-figure pots made at Locri Epizephirii in present-day Calabria). Cibecchini and Principal discuss the black gloss Campana B wares of Late Republican times in an article with the amusing title 'Per chi suona la Campana?'. They warn us against the formerly widespread notion that all the pots currently assigned to one single class should come from

the same production centre. But that is not really surprising since we discovered that Aretine/Italic sigillata was produced not only at Arezzo but also at Pisa, Puteoli, Lyon-La Murette and possibly other production centres. One of the most attractive contributions in the field of ceramics is Gloria Olcese's paper that ventures into the foggy realm of the so-called Graeco-Italic amphorae. It seems that the term is more or less a collective description for amphorae produced in southern Italy and eastern Sicily between the 4th and the middle of the 2nd century BC. Olcese mainly focuses on 4th- and 3rd-century amphora fragments found on the island of Ischia in the Bay of Naples. Specimens with very similar fabric come from other sites of the western Mediterranean. On this basis the hypothesis is formulated that Campanian wine was exported at a much earlier moment (late 4th/early 3rd century) than was previously supposed (late 3rd/early 2nd century BC). However, the enormous variety of fabrics within the large group of Graeco-Italic amphorae has not yet been explored into full detail. In order to tackle this problem effectively very thorough research is needed in which various modern types of technical analysis are applied to the great variety of fabrics from sites of the many districts of southern Italy.

The volume contains 27 papers that vary enormously in their approaches, research methods, quality and subjects. Most are useful. However, it is rather doubtful whether the organiser's wish, quoted above, was fulfilled. It is perhaps telling that the volume has no passages reporting the discussions, and contains no conclusive remarks of the organisers in which they summarise the results obtained during the meeting.

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Douwe Yntema

S. Deger-Jalkotzy and M. Zavadil (eds.), *LH IIIC Chronology and Synchronisms*, Proceedings of the International Workshop held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences at Vienna, May 7th and 8th 2001, Denkschriften der philosophisch-historische Klasse 310, Veröffentlichungen der Mykenischen Kommission 20, Verlage der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2003, 260 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 3-7001-3146-1

What happened in Greece after the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces? How should the beginning of LH IIIC on the Greek mainland and LM IIIC on Crete be defined? How should chronological subdivisions be decided upon? When should we identify new periods? Can synchronisms between the mainland and Crete be established? These are just a few of the questions addressed at the First International Workshop on LH IIIC Chronology and Synchronisms held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in May 2001. It was organised by S. Deger-Jalkotzy, who also edited the publication together with M. Zavadil. This workshop was the first in what is hoped to be a series of workshops focusing on the LH IIIC period.

The collapse of the Mycenaean palatial system at the end of LH IIIB2 was followed by a period of resurgence that begins at the end of LH IIIC early and reaches its height during LH IIIC middle. The main aim of this workshop was to shed light on the early phase of this period. In recent years there has been a greater interest in understanding the importance of this period, and in trying to see what effect the changes actually had on those that survived the collapse. While in the past few decades both cemeteries and settlements of this

period have come to light, it is unfortunate that with a few exceptions such a small percentage has been published. The most useful contribution of these workshops is that unpublished material will now begin to circulate and, thus, we should be better able to grasp the archaeological evidence of this period.

One of the main problems dealt with in this workshop was the chronology and synchronisms of the various sites which are known to have IIIC material. For although in the palatial period there is a general uniformity in the pottery and other traditions, in the post-palatial phase there are greater elements of regionalisms which inevitably have led to a difficulty in comparing pottery from various geographical regions. The main contributions of this workshop were the inclusion of papers examining material from various geographical areas. These included Achaia (Deger-Jalkotzy, Alram Stern), the Argolid (Demakopoulou, Iakovidis), Attica (Gauss, Iakovidis), northern Greece (Jung), Lamia (Dakoronia), the Cyclades (Vlachopoulos), numerous papers looking at Crete (Hallager, Kanta, Karetsou), a few comparing the evidence from Crete with that of the mainland (D'Agata, Rutter), one paper dealing with methodological problems (Ruppenstein), as well as one paper dealing with areas outside the Aegean, namely the absolute chronology of IIIC from the evidence of the Levant (Yasur-Landau). By drawing on a wide geographical span, the contributors to this volume highlighted not only the similarities but also the great differences in the material from the various parts of Greece.

While a summary of the various papers would be useful in this review, it would essentially only provide a summary of the archaeological excavations and their associated finds. A number of questions were addressed and compiled by Jeremy Rutter in the published version of the workshop. They fall under four main categories: Theoretical Issues, Definitions, Interpretation of Survivals, and Interpretation of Cultural Novelties. It is my opinion that these first two themes are of most importance for understanding the period, and it is a shame they were not commented on more by the speakers. The 'Theoretical Issues' questioned how the chronological subdivisions used to define phases should be decided upon. Both Jung and Ruppenstein agreed that chronology should be defined by stratigraphy. As Ruppenstein very clearly states, 'stratigraphy defines chronology of a site and pottery chronology of a region' (p. 252). While Jung's point that one should take the centre of innovation as a guideline can be applied to the palatial period, I do not feel it holds water within a IIIC context. A very important issue dealt with under the heading of 'Definitions' asks how the beginning of the IIIC phase both on the mainland and Crete is defined, and if synchronisms between the two exist. I believe most would agree with Gauss in that the post destruction phases at Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea should mark the beginning of IIIC (p. 253). Most seem to agree that a chronological regional sequence should be initially applied, and then this sequence applied to other pottery assemblages. While this seems to apply well to the mainland, Vlachopoulos notes that on sites such as Naxos, we do not yet have good stratigraphically preserved IIIC early contexts (p. 256). Unfortunately, only Rutter contributed to the final commentary on this matter by stating that at Chania on Crete the start of LM IIIC appears to correlate with the beginning of LH IIIC although he notes that more evidence is still needed (p. 256). Furthermore, a number of scholars deal with their individual local Cretan pottery definitions and compare these to other local Cretan styles. Kanta specifically looks at numerous other defensive sites along with the site of Kastrokephala to show the evidence for early LM IIIC deposits on Crete, while Hallager notes the

similarities between pottery from Khania with that of Knossos. None, however, take it so far as to begin to compare Crete with the mainland in this period (this was touched upon more in the second workshop which took place in 2004).

In sum, the volume offers insight for both new scholars who know little of the period, allowing them to become acquainted with newly published post-palatial evidence, and those who know the material, allowing them to deal with the more specific issues that scholars of the period are struggling with. As the first workshop in this series, this volume offers much food for thought on many important and engaging topics of the period. My only real criticism of the workshop is that, perhaps, more time could have been spent dealing with the larger questions that emerge. Perhaps by the end of this series of workshops, one can be devoted solely to dealing with all the important topics which emerge within each.

New York

Marina Thomatos

G. Dembski, *Die antiken Gemen und Kameen aus Carnuntum*, Archäologischer Park Carnuntum, Neue Forschungen Bd 1, Phoibos Verlag, Vienna 2005, 196 pp., 146 tabs. Cased. ISBN 3-901232-53-2

This is a more than usually important publication of gems from the Roman provinces. While detailed provenances are lacking for most pieces the reasonable assumption must be that the majority are local finds, whether now in the museum or various private collections, whose holdings are included. Unlike almost any publication of material in Italy, except perhaps for Aquileia and excavated gems as from Pompeii, we can be reasonably sure that we are looking at ancient gems, not later copies or inventions. But it also means that the overall quality of the gems is relatively low and it becomes almost a different subject from the usual studies of fine intaglio and cameo engraving of the Roman world.

Dembski has a useful and lengthy Introduction about gems in the Roman empire, notably about materials, techniques, the glass gems (pastes) and the settings, and an overview of subjects. The section on dating problems observes that historically the Carnuntum gems should be dominantly representative of the 2nd/3rd centuries AD, which may prove a useful corrective to assumptions that anything worth looking at must be early Imperial.

One thousand two hundred and fifty-four gems are catalogued with photographs of originals and some impressions, at twice life size, some larger. Descriptions and comparanda are full and all are scrupulously indexed, setting a standard which many may not find the skill or time to emulate. It cannot be too much emphasised that image publication of such collections must be a high priority, for this rather neglected or isolated subject to be able to play the role it can in the study of Roman society and art, on a par with the relatively far easier and more systematic study of coinage.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

J.G. Dercksen (ed.), *Assyria and Beyond: Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen*, Uitgaven van het Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten te Leiden/Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 100, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden 2004, xiii+632 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 90-6258-311-3/ISSN 0926-9568

For almost 40 years, the Danish scholar Mogens Trolle Larsen has been one of the leading names associated with studies of the Old Assyrian caravan trade. To be sure his interests, particularly in anthropology, archaeology and historiography, are much wider, but there can be no doubt that his fundamental studies on the Old Assyrian economy will remain his most enduring contributions to international scholarship.

As the title of the present volume suggests, there is more than just an emphasis on Assyria in this *Festschrift*. It is an eclectic mix of articles by a wide range of scholars and includes contributions on Sumer, the Sumerians and Sumerian literature (R. McC. Adams, 'The Role of Writing in Sumerian Agriculture: Asking Broader Questions', pp. 1-8; B. Alster, 'Gudam and the Bull of Heaven' [with an appendix by Laura Feldt], pp. 21-46; J.L. Dahl, 'The Quest for Eternity. Studies in Neo-Sumerian Systems of Succession', pp. 117-36; and A. Westenholz, 'Have you been near Prof. Larsen too long?', pp. 599-606); Old Akkadian art (I.J. Winter, 'The Conquest of Space in Time: Three Suns on the Victory Stele of Naram-Sîn', pp. 607-28); Egypt and Egyptian history (P.J. Frandsen, 'Aida and Edward Said: Attitudes and Images of Ancient Egypt and Egyptology', pp. 205-28; and K. Ryholt, 'The Assyrian Invasion of Egypt in Egyptian Literary Tradition: A Survey of the Narrative Source Material', pp. 483-510); philology (E.E. Knudsen, 'Amorite Vocabulary: A Comparative Statement', pp. 317-32; and N.J.C. Kouwenberg, 'Assyrian Light on the History of the N-Stem', pp. 333-52); and the Old Icelandic economy (K. Hastrup, 'Destined to defeat: Old Icelandic Commercial Problems', pp. 269-80).

The majority of the papers, however, concern Assyrian and to a lesser extent Babylonian and Anatolian history, economy, archaeology and social institutions (I. Albayrak, '"She will live, eat and be anointed together with them": *ušbat aklat u paššat ištišunu*', pp. 9-20; G. Barjamovic, 'Civic Institutions and Self-Government in Southern Mesopotamia in the Mid-First Millennium BC', pp. 47-98; D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand, 'Prétendants au trône dans le Proche-Orient amorrite', pp. 99-116; J.G. Dercksen, 'Some Elements of Old Anatolian Society in Kaniš', pp. 137-78; V. Donbaz, 'Some Old Assyrian Texts with Rare Terminology', pp. 179-90; J. Eidem, 'In the Names of Aššur!', pp. 191-204; M. Guichard and N. Ziegler, 'Yanûh-Samar et les Ekallâtéens en détresse', pp. 229-48; C. Günbatti, 'Two Treaty Texts Found at Kültepe', pp. 249-68; K. Hecker, 'Beim Tode unseres Vaters...: Der leidige Streit ums Erbe', pp. 281-98; T. Hertel, 'The Balawat Gate Narratives of Shalmaneser III', pp. 299-316; G. Kryszat, 'Wer schrieb die Waklum-Briefe?', pp. 353-58; S. Lumsden, 'Narrative Art and Empire: The Throneroom of Aššurnasirpal II', pp. 359-86; D.J.W. Meijer, 'A Scribal Quarter?', pp. 387-94; C. Michel, 'Deux incantations paléo-assyriennes. Une nouvelle incantation pour accompagner la naissance', pp. 395-420; P.A. Miglus, 'Die Säule in Assyrien', pp. 421-34; N. Özgüç, 'More Cylinder Seals Found in Level Ib of Karum Kanish', pp. 435-44; T. Özgüç, 'Archives of the Karum at Kaniš, Level Ib', pp. 445-50; O. Pedersén, 'The Fish on a Tablet from Babylon', pp. 451-54; J. Reade, 'The Historical Status of the Assur Stelas', pp. 455-74; E. Reiner, 'Runaway – Seize Him',

pp. 475-82; M.W. Stolper, 'The Kasr Texts, the Rich Collection, the Bellino Copies and the Grotefend Nachlass', pp. 511-50; K.R. Veenhof, 'Trade with the Blessing of Šamaš in Old Babylonian Sippar', pp. 551-82; and D.A. Warburton, 'Šamshi-Adad and the Eclipses', pp. 583-98).

All scholars and students interested in Assyria, Babylonia and, to a lesser extent, Sumer and Akkad, will find a wealth of stimulating new insights in this *Festschrift* and it is a mark of the esteem in which Larsen is held internationally that the contributors come from far and wide. Many of the articles gathered here confirm that much remains to be done in Near Eastern studies, in spite of well over 150 years of serious Mesopotamian study. Larsen himself has shown the way in many cases and it is clear that he has been an inspiration to an incredible number of scholars around the world. This is a fitting *Festschrift* for a hugely distinguished and humane scholar.

The volume concludes with a bibliography of Mogens Trolle Larsen (pp. 629-32).

University of Sydney

D.T. Potts

G. Frame (ed.), with L. Wilding, *From the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea: Studies on the History of Assyria and Babylonia in Honour of A.K. Grayson*, Uitgaven van het Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten te Leiden/Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 101, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden 2004, xxvii+293 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 90-6258-312-1/ ISSN 0926-9568

A.K. Grayson is probably the most distinguished Assyriologist Canada has ever produced. He is well known not only for his many important publications, but as the driving force behind the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project to which all students of Mesopotamian civilisation are indebted for the fine series of fundamental translations of royal texts it has produced. In the volume under review, one of Prof. Grayson's most distinguished students, Grant Frame, has brought together more than two dozen scholars of the highest distinction in this excellent *Festschrift*.

As befits a scholar with Grayson's interests, many of the articles in this volume concern Assyrian and Babylonian history (R.D. Biggs, 'The Babylonian Fürstenspiegel as a Political Forgery', pp. 1-6; B. Cifola, 'The Titles of Tukulti-Ninurta I after the Babylonian Campaign: A Re-evaluation', pp. 7-16; V. Donbaz, 'Selected Middle Assyrian Private Letters Housed at Istanbul', pp. 67-80; D.O. Edzard, 'LKA 62: Parodie eines assyrischen Feldzugsberichts', pp. 81-88; G. Frame, 'The Order of the Wall Slabs with the Annals of Sargon II in Room V of the Palace at Khorsabad', pp. 89-102; H.D. Galter, 'Geschichte als Bauwerk: Der Aššurtempel und das assyrische Geschichtsbewusstsein', pp. 117-36; A.R. George, 'Royal Inscriptions from the Folios of Sidney Smith', pp. 137-44; A. Harrak, 'Two Fragmentary Inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II', pp. 145-50; J.D. Hawkins, 'The New Sargon Stele from Hama', pp. 151-64; M.J.A. Horsnell, 'On the Use of Year-Names in Reconstructing the History of the First Dynasty of Babylon', pp. 165-86; W.G. Lambert, 'The Enigma of Tukulti-Ninurta I', pp. 197-202; E. Leichty and C.B.F. Walker, 'Three Babylo-

nian Chronicle and Scientific Texts', pp. 203-12; M. Liverani, 'Assyria in the Ninth Century: Continuity or Change?', pp. 213-26; S. Parpola, 'Desperately Trying to Talk Sense: A Letter of Assurbanipal concerning His Brother Samaš-šumu-ukin', pp. 227-24; J.N. Postgate and R.A. Mattila, 'Il-yada' and Sargon's Southeast Frontier', pp. 235-54; and H. Tadmor, 'An Assyrian Victory Chant and Related Matters', pp. 269-76).

In addition to the Assyro-Babylonian contributions there are essays on Akkad (D. Frayne, 'Geographical Notes on the Land of Akkad', pp. 103-16); archaeology (E. Cooper and M. Fortin, 'Tell Acharneh in the Middle Orontes Valley and the Assyrian Presence in Syria', pp. 17-56; J. Curtis, 'Maceheads from Tell Mohammed in the British Museum', with an appendix by D.R. Hook and M.R. Cowell providing a scientific examination and analysis of three of the maceheads and two armlets, pp. 57-66; and J. Reade 'The Assyrians as Collectors: From Accumulation to Synthesis', pp. 255-68); and Achaemenid matters (T.C. Young jr, 'Darius I, Commander-in-Chief: Bisitun I:35 to III:92 as Military History', pp. 278-88). Finally, the volume includes a biography of Grayson by R.F.G. Sweet (pp. xxv-xxvii), a bibliography of his publications, compiled by H. Grau and J.R. Novotny (pp. 289-93), and a fascinating glimpse of life at the Oriental Institute around the years when a young Kirk Grayson was a research assistant (A.D. Kilmer, 'A. Leo Oppenheim's Children of the Institute', pp. 187-96).

It would be invidious to single out individual contributions in this excellent collection. All in all, it is an unusually coherent *Festschrift* by a group of first-rate scholars honouring one of the great contributors to our knowledge of Assyrian and Babylonian history.

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D.T. Potts

V. Gassner, mit Beiträgen von R. Sauer und B. Kratzmüller, *Materielle Kultur und kulturelle Identität in Elea in spätarchaisch-frühklassischer Zeit. Untersuchungen zur Gefäß- und Baukeramik aus der Unterstadt (Grabungen 1987-1994)*, Velia-Studien 2, Archäologische Forschungen 8, Denkschriften der philosophisch-historische Klasse 313, Verlage der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2003, 436 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 3-7001-3173-9

The Greek site of Elea (Roman Velia) south of Naples had a wide renown for its Eleatic school of philosophers (for example Parmenides). The town was reportedly founded in 535 BC by Phocaeans who fled from western Asia Minor in order to escape Persian dominance. After an odyssey in the western Mediterranean these Phocaeans settled in the lands of the non-Greek Oinotrians between Naples and Paestum. They shared their Phocaean origins with other important settlements in the western Mediterranean, such as Massalia (Marseilles) and Emporion (Ampurias). This Phocaean presence in the western Mediterranean has spawned a huge bibliography. Objects that were believed to refer to the west Mediterranean trade network of Phocaea and its western dependencies have been recognised at sites on the Spanish *costas*, in southern France and on the east coast of Corsica.

Since 1987 the site of Elea has been excavated by an Austrian team. Gassner's volume is the most recent report on this site. Her aim is to provide a new basis for the cultural identity of Elea on the strength of a large and highly significant group of finds from the settlement area excavated between 1987 and 1994.

G.'s study offers much more than the classic excavation report. Although it contains a substantial quantity of shards and fragments, it is certainly not the usual cartload of finds. The book is composed of three rather different parts. The first (A) presents the finds and their contexts from the mudbrick houses in the lower part of the town (pp. 15-172). The second (B) contributes to the study of amphorae and trade in Magna Graecia (pp. 173-234), while the third part discusses the cultural identities in Magna Graecia starting from the Elea sample. In the first part ceramics (both pots and architectural ceramics) are analysed. These stem from contexts of the late 6th and 5th centuries BC. In addition to morphologic analyses, there is a host of archaeometrical research. This results in surprising new data. It appears that the Elea pots decorated with horizontal bands (a class which is commonly indicated as *ceramica di tradizione ionica*) were produced at Posidonia-Paestum (a *polis* with allegedly Achaean! roots) while over 50% of the Black Gloss pottery of Elea stems from the same settlement. This confirms what we already know from south-east Italy, where comparable 'Ionian' ceramics were produced at 'Achaean' Metaponto. The fact that only 5% of the cooking pots found at Elea were locally produced is fairly shocking: cooking wares are almost invariably believed to stem from local production centres in the 6th-5th centuries BC. As for the studies on amphorae, there is a good discussion on the so-called Corinthian B amphorae: in the present state of research they are likely to have been produced in Greek colonies around the Ionian Sea and the Gulf of Taranto (for example Corfu and Sybaris). Gassner presents an interesting subdivision of these amphorae based on the idea that there are several regional schools within the production area.

Part C starts with a general discussion on identity and ethnicity with an ample history of the views on this subject from the 19th century onward, i.e. from Karl Otfried Müller to Jonathan Hall. This passage is followed by an analysis of the foundation stories of Elea. Here the notion that these stories may well be *origo* myths and that such myths are often constructed in order to explain much later situations is basically absent. Generally speaking Gassner seems to perceive identity as a more or less static feature. She does not consider the idea of plural identities or that of identity as a situational construct. From this latter perspective, the question whether the people of Elea perceived themselves 'als Phokäer ... oder eher als Eleaten' (p. 242) is somewhat irrelevant, because they may well have labelled themselves as fellow Phocaeans when they met people from the 'Phocaeen' colony of Massalia, and as Eleates when they made their appearance in the Italiote League or stated their cause in a territorial conflict with nearby Posidonia.

The same part contains an ample discussion concerning Phocaeen trade. Herodotus indeed hints at the existence of a Phocaeen trade network: 'le phénomène admirable' of those pioneering Phocaeans of the western Mediterranean, as Jean-Paul Morel once put it. G.'s very thorough quest for 'Phocaeen' elements shared by the 'Phocaeen' settlements of Phocaea, Marseilles, Ampurias and Elea produced no results. Obviously, both ancient (for example Herodotus) and modern (for instance Morel) myths contributed in a significant way to the construction of this phenomenon. According to Gassner, the material culture and cultural identity of Elea do not differ from those of other Greek towns of Magna Graecia.

Materielle Kultur und kulturelle Identität has many qualities. It brings important news on the production of ceramics (pots, tiles, amphorae) in Magna Graecia (good photographs of fabrics!). It has an excellent discussion on the Phocaeen trade diaspora which – one may

suspect – is mainly invented history. There are some weak spots in the discussions on identity and ethnicity, but the conclusion that a seemingly unusual ‘Phocaeen’ town of Magna Graecia displays the same material culture shared by other Greek towns of Magna Graecia is greatly reassuring.

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C. Gates, *Ancient Cities. The Archaeology of Urban Life in the Ancient Near East and Egypt, Greece, and Rome*. Routledge, London/New York 2003, xx+444 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-415-01895-1

Ancient Cities is a survey volume covering the major urban centres of the Old World (particularly Greece, Rome, Egypt, Anatolia and Mesopotamia), from the Near Eastern Neolithic through to Late Antique Byzantium, including small sections on Mohenjodaro on the prehistoric end of the spectrum, and the early Jewish and Christian monuments of Jerusalem at the other end. Given its broad coverage and urban focus, it is ideal as a stand-alone textbook for those employing a global approach to eastern Mediterranean archaeology, architectural history, the ancient art survey and Old World archaeology, or as a reference source for teachers, students and travellers. I have used parts of it in my course on the archaeology of the Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean, for which a serious textbook integrating the Aegean and the East is lacking. In this regard, it might be useful to also make this book available as two smaller (and less expensive) volumes divided according to Prehistoric/Bronze Age and Classical/Roman periods.

What I most liked about *Ancient Cities*, however, is that it is written from the perspective of students, providing succinct explanations of unfamiliar terms and concepts such as ‘Tell’, seriation, stratigraphy, chronological problems, and other bits of practical information, such as metric conversions. The nearly 300 illustrations depict maps, plans, reconstructions of some buildings, major works of art, and construction techniques, such as vaulting and wall construction. This last is also important, as without a fundamental knowledge of basic construction techniques and descriptive terminology, it is difficult to proceed to sound theoretical and interpretive approaches. While some may find the restriction to black-and-white photographs and line drawings in *Ancient Cities* to be a bit on the dull side, art-historical picture books, Powerpoint presentations and the internet can supplement the text. The line drawings are crisp and richly detailed, whether depicting the palette of Narmer or the orders of the classical canon.

In spite of the book’s many virtues, including a lucid overview of the city at Ugarit, there are also a few shortcomings and drawbacks. For example, the discussion of Cyprus in the Bronze Age is limited to the single site of Enkomi, which is already well represented in numerous introductory texts on Cyprus. It would have been worthwhile to include some information on other urban centres of Bronze Age Cyprus that employ planning and ashlar masonry such as Hala Sultan Tekke or Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios. Likewise, the Philistines and the Sea Peoples receive only a brief mention. The Aegean section also becomes unsatisfying when the author strays from the realm of evidence, to repeating uncritically perpetuated fantasies about the so-called Minoan ‘Palaces’ as sites of ‘royal residences’ and ‘bull sports’. The bibliography for all of the sections could have been strength-

ened, particularly with regard to listing particularly important series and journals, readers may wish to consult.

Those who are (unfairly) expecting a high level of sophisticated analysis will be disappointed with *Ancient Cities* and should turn to more specialised volumes for the various regions under consideration. While some may also object to the book's focus on monumental buildings, with the exception of settlements of key importance to the origins of urbanism, such as Çatal Höyük and later examples of orthogonal planning along with Greek and Roman examples of urban structure, it would be impossible to provide expanded coverage of settlement archaeology without either becoming an encyclopaedia or a specialised text devoted to a single area. As it is primarily focused on data, *Ancient Cities* makes an ideal companion volume to introductory books on method and theory. This is a book that will equip students with the necessary information to research most of the areas touched upon in more depth, thus enabling them to take on the bigger issues involving comparative analysis and interpretation. And, it is an important handbook for those seeking out basic information on neighbouring geographical regions and earlier or later chronological periods than those one focuses on. These features make *Ancient Cities* a must-have addition to any archaeological library.

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A.V. Gavrilov, *Okruga antichnoi Feodosii* (Environs of Ancient Theodosia), Azbuka, Simferopol 2004, 367 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 966-572-571-8

Gavrilov publishes material from rural settlements of the eastern Crimea region around Feodosia, as far westwards as Sudak on the coast and Sary Krym inland, and northwards to Lake Siwash and the Sea of Azov. This is an extensive area of steppe, hills and vales, but the 'nearer territory' of the ancient city (Theodosia) is treated as a rough square of about 400 ha around the city to the west, north and east. Theodosia had a period of autonomy as a Greek *polis*, colony of Miletus, from ca. 500 to 390/380 BC when it was incorporated into the Bosporan state of the Spartocids. The city had a much larger natural harbour than the capital city, Panticapaeum, so it retained an economic importance as a port of export for grain to Athens, as is well attested by the Athenian orators.

The ancient *polis* is overlaid by the modern town on the slopes of Quarantine Hill, and the harbour area is lost to the port installations of the 19th-20th centuries. Excavations in the tumuli on Tete Oba in the late 19th century produced exquisite gold jewellery that has hitherto been the city's main archaeological claim to fame. After some small-scale work in the 1970s (by Zeyest, Peters and Aibabin) a programme of surveys and excavation of ancient settlements in the territory of Theodosia was instituted by the author from 1987 to 2003 (some 66 sites).

Ancient writers give some indication of the occupants of the area in Hellenistic times. Strabo (7. 4. 6) makes them *Skythai Georgoi* (Agricultural Scythians), who paid tribute to the steppeland Scythian nomads, while others mention in the north-eastern Crimea the *Sataarchae*, *Sataukhloi*, *Satorkhaioi*, who may have been the same group under their native name or a tribe arriving in the Hellenistic period. It will be a task of the future to identify

the people represented by this rural population, and to determine their relationship to the Greek and Bosporan settlers of the colony.

The main text is relatively brief (pp. 1-139), presented in seven chapters, first on the geology, flora and fauna of the region, second on the development of archaeological interest since the 1840s by Russian, Soviet and now Ukrainian institutions and individuals, and third a survey of the settlements in the *chora* (rural territory). The last four chapters deal with the rural settlements in the hill country and valley region, their economic base, the ethnic composition of the settled population, and aspects of their religious life. A brief conclusion ends the Russian text, and an English summary (pp. 140-53) presents the findings to Westerners. A number of appendices follow, of which the most important are the catalogue of sites (pp. 154-87), a list of imported amphora-types found at the main excavated site, Novopokrovka (p. 188), and of coins, Theodosian, Bosporan and others of the late 5th century BC to the 4th AD (pp. 189-203).

The volume is profusely illustrated with relief maps of the eastern Crimea, numerous line drawings of sections of imported fine pottery, trade amphorae and local ware, and photographs of coins found (figs. 1-106 on pp. 262-367). The imported amphorae are of types dating from the early 5th century BC through the Hellenistic period – Chiot ‘swollen-necked’, Mendeian, Peparethian, Koan, Thasian, Chersonesite, Herakleiot, Sinopean). Of special interest is the treatment of the ancient Ak Monaisk ‘dyke’ (p. 339, fig. 78, and discussion, p. 41 ff.), which proves not to cut a neat line across the ‘isthmus’, and is no longer traceable in the immediate neighbourhood of Feodosia; the 1941 anti-tank trenches of the ‘Great Patriotic War’ a little to the east are much more satisfactory in that respect (p. 342, fig. 80)!

Remarkable among the finds are the standing terracotta figurine of Kore/Persephone (fig. 50), and the passported finds of early ‘Theodosian coins’ (diobols and hemiobols, and small chalka and dichalka), along with numerous Bosporan ones and the odd stray from Chersonesus, Phanagoria and Colchis. This interesting new material from the early independent phase of the city is also treated in *The Numismatic Chronicle* by S. Kovalenko and A. Molchanov.¹

G. has produced a useful volume that fills out our knowledge of a, previously weakly represented, portion of the ancient coastal region north of the Black Sea. The importance of Theodosia as an attachment to the Bosporan state (outside the Bosphorus itself) from the time of its ruler, Leucon son of Satyrus, now acquires material substance from settlement patterns around the city.

Leeds, UK

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H. Genz, *Büyükkaya I. Die Keramik der Eisenzeit: Funde aus den Grabungskampagnen 1993 bis 1998*, Bogazköy-Hattuša 21, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2004, xiv+80 pp, 84 tabs., 21 figs. Cased. ISBN 3-8053-3310-2

Hattuša will always be famous as the capital of one of the most powerful empires of the Bronze Age world. Understandably enough the Middle and Late Bronze Age levels have

¹ S. Kovalenko and A. Molchanov, ‘The coinage of Theodosia of the 5th-4th centuries B.C.’. *NC* 2005, 15-22.

been the main focus of research for a long time. But Hattuša has a much longer history. It was settled in earlier as well as later periods and the study of these levels, enormously valuable in itself, can also contribute in unexpected ways to the understanding of the Hittite Imperial period.

After a break of almost 40 years the excavations in the area known as Büyükkaya started again in 1993 and continued until 1998. Amongst their most important results was the extension of Hattuša chronology into Chalcolithic times and the proof that there was no hiatus of occupation during the Early Iron Age. Especially the latter fact has far reaching consequences for the reconstruction of Central Anatolian history. Very exciting but preliminary results had already been presented on various occasions¹ and raised a considerable interest amongst specialists and the wider archaeological community. In this respect it was all the more important to present the complete evidence and results as quickly as possible. Hermann Genz has achieved this task in an astonishingly short time. More than 7000 pieces were analysed, meaning that many times the amount of sherds had to be looked through and sorted. Thus, anyone who has had to work with pottery will be truly impressed.

The first chapter gives a survey of the history of research on the Central Anatolian Iron Ages from its beginnings in the 19th century up to the present. Despite its title it does not restrict itself to pottery but includes critical evaluations of stratigraphies and interpretations. Several well-known sites and famous excavation projects are mentioned, such as Gordion, Alaca Höyük and others, but Boğazköy/Hattuša itself always played an important role in research on the Iron Age in Central Anatolia. The first Central Anatolian Iron Age material ever to be published came from Boğazköy and just recently another volume presented the Iron Age Pottery excavated until 1960.² In his survey G. succeeds in demonstrating how little is known about this vast region, where the few known findspots are often separated by hundreds of kilometres. He also convincingly argues that the archaeological data does not support the often repeated 'historical' reconstructions, mainly based on vague written records from distant times and places. G. correctly rejects the various ethnic labels attached to the material, since these 'groups' are often poorly defined and based on very small numbers of pots and fragments. The previous research failed to provide reliable relative and absolute chronologies. G. claims that a solid regional differentiation of the Iron Age in Central Anatolia is missing still. Improvements to this situation can only be provided by the results from excavation projects, such as those at Gordion, Kaman-Kalehöyük or, again, Boğazköy.

The second chapter is dedicated to the description of the old and new excavations at Büyükkaya, including the architecture, the stratigraphy and the results of radiocarbon dat-

¹ H. Genz: 'Die Eisenzeit in Zentralanatolien im Lichte der keramischen Funde vom Büyükkaya in Boğazköy/Hattuša'. *Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi* 3 (2000), 35-54; 'No land could stand before their arms, from Hatti ... on ...? New light on the end of the Hittite empire and the Early Iron Age in Central Anatolia'. Paper presented at the workshop 'Philistine and other "Sea Peoples": Aegean-style Material Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean during the 12th Century BCE', held in Haifa/Beersheva in May 2001; 'The Early Iron Age in Central Anatolia'. In B. Fischer *et al.* (eds.), *Identifying Changes: The Transition from Bronze to Iron Ages in Anatolia and its Neighbouring Regions* (Istanbul 2003), 179-91; 'Thoughts on the origin of the Iron Age pottery traditions in central Anatolia'. In A. Çilingiroğlu and G. Darbyshire (eds.), *Anatolian Iron Ages 5* (London 2005), 75-84.

² E.M. Bossert, *Die Keramik Phrygischer Zeit von Boğazköy* (Mainz 2000).

ing. Although this is only meant as supporting evidence for the pottery analysis, these ten pages, together with their drawings and charts, display a wealth of information that is all too seldom found in final publications of excavation sites.

Iron Age settlements in Boğazköy started right after the breakdown of the Bronze Age empire and they continue throughout the 1st millennium BC. The earliest phases are characterised by a continued use of wheel-made pottery of 'imperial' traditions, side by side with an increasing number of new handmade shapes. G. divides the Iron Age period into eight phases (three for Early, three for Middle and two for Late Iron Age), the youngest of which are represented by architectural remains not on Büyükkaya but elsewhere within Boğazköy. A number of radiocarbon dates from Early Iron Age levels belong to the 12th and 11th centuries, thus supporting the stratigraphic evidence of unbroken settlement continuity. Other C 14 dates place the earliest phase of Middle Iron Age, the so-called Büyükkaya Stage, into the 9th century, thus superseding previous chronologies based on stylistic analysis.

The third chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the 7060 potsherds and complete vessels mentioned above. This number is certainly big enough to guarantee statistical relevance and thereby to add more weight to the results. In this respect G.'s work is a welcome contrast to other, old-fashioned studies of pottery, which focus on small samples of decorated pieces.

It is a sometimes confusing peculiarity that the German language does not allow us to make a distinction between the terms 'fabric' and 'ware'. In English 'fabric' is used for groups of pottery defined by objective technological criteria relating to the production process. 'Ware' in contrast, describes a group of pottery that can be defined by any, even relative or subjective criteria, but usually referring to the appearance. German knows only the term 'Ware' for both meanings. The definition of the 'Waren' used by G. is purely technological, so here the German 'Ware' should be translated as 'fabric'. His definition is based on the coarseness of temper and the firing atmosphere. By giving absolute measurements for the coarseness of temper G. provides objective criteria for comparisons with other pottery from Boğazköy or elsewhere. Objective criteria for important technological features such as size and amount of temper are, surprisingly often, not to be found, even in most recent works on archaeological pottery. Instead, readers all too often are left to wonder how much 'a lot of fine sand' is and how big these fine particles might be. In contrast, G. spares us lengthy lists of clumsy colour descriptions according to Munsell Soil Colour Charts. Frequently on archaeological pottery, including the Iron Age material from Boğazköy, the variation of colours and shades on one vessel is far too large for such detailed description. Instead, G. just uses 'Weiß' (white), 'Beige' (tan) and 'Rötlich-Braun' (reddish-brown), and gives the range of different Munsell terms corresponding to each colour.

With his perfectly clear and systematic approach G. manages to divide all of the Early Iron Age, and much of the Middle Iron Age pottery, into six basic wares (either with oxidising or reducing firing and three degrees of coarseness each). In sharp contrast to the mass-produced pottery of Imperial times, between the 12th and the 8th centuries BC there seems to be little standardisation of wares and hardly any specialised wares for specific purposes.

It is a matter of discussion whether surface treatment, as a part of the production process, is to be considered a defining criterion for fabrics, and most probably the answer can be different for every pottery production centre. Even if the different ways to work with vessels after shaping and before firing are of no importance for the categorisation of the Büyükkaya

pottery, it should be explained why this is the case. Unhappily this discussion is missing. But still it is to be hoped that the standard set by G.'s analysis of the Büyükkaya fabrics will be maintained in subsequent studies.

The typology of shapes and types follows equally systematic lines to the typology of fabrics. The vessels are categorised as basic shapes. G. uses the expression 'Funktionstypen' which should be translated as 'functional types'. These are: shallow bowls (A), deep bowls (B), globular pots (C), pots with neck (D), spouted jugs (E), bottles (F), craters (G), pithoi (H), and lids (I). Additionally, single pieces are subsumed under J and miniature vessels as K. The author is aware that the use of classical Greek shape-names, such as 'crater' or 'pithos' is problematic for non-classical material, because these names always indicate a specific function. This may well not be true for pottery outside classical culture. Therefore, one would have preferred neutral terms, but G. argues that crater and pithos are so widely used for the shapes in question that a change would create too much confusion.

The basic shapes are further divided into types (A1, A2, etc.), mainly according to their rims. Because of the lack of standardisation with handmade pottery G. does not attempt to create a very fine typology. Even so he defines (without groups J and K) 56 different types, not a small number, but certainly not too high for the development of pottery over more than 500 years.

One would have expected to find an equally systematic typology of decorative motifs, but perhaps because decoration occurs almost exclusively in the middle and late phase, the description of painted and stamped motifs is added to the description of pottery from these phases in the fourth chapter.

Here the distribution of pottery types within the three stratigraphical phases of Early Iron Age is discussed. The first of these phases is represented by fewer than 200 pieces, a relatively small number reducing the reliability of statistics. But even so an amount of 31% of wheel-made pots proves without doubt the technological continuity between the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. A contrast between the periods is the fact that the Iron Age material frequently shows traces of burnishing, while the surface of Imperial pottery is usually untreated. It would have been interesting to learn about the correct percentages of burnished versus untreated surfaces. Except for two fragments with incisions the pottery of the first phase is undecorated.

During the two following phases of the Early Iron Age the pottery seems to be almost indistinguishable. Only the percentage of red painted pottery doubles in the last phase (from 2% to 4% of the material in total). In contrast to the first phase, the quantity of wheel-made pottery is greatly reduced. Still, there might be some evidence for the continued use of the potter's-wheel in Boğazköy until the last phase of Early Iron Age.

Charts showing the occurrence and frequency of types in each stratigraphic phase are provided. It might have been useful to provide some graphs the better to visualise the results.

Comparisons for the earliest Iron Age pottery of Boğazköy have been virtually absent up to now. In fact there are at least three recently excavated sites in Central Anatolia that could possibly provide comparisons: Gordion, Kuşaklı and Kaman-Kalehöyük. New results see a gap of about 100 years in the occupation of Gordion. In contrast to preliminary reports, Layer Ib of Kuşaklı is now dated into the Imperial Hittite period and no longer into the Early Iron Age. For Kaman-Kalehöyük the analysis of Early Iron Age levels is still missing.

Troy in the west, Kilise Tepe, Tarsus in the south, and the sites on the Euphrates in the east are much too far away and belong to too different cultures to produce directly comparable material.

The situation seems to be a little better for the two later phases of the Early Iron Age. At Gordion and Kaman-Kalehöyük Early Iron Age levels were excavated. The pottery at these sites is very different from each other and also different from the Büyükkaya material. Some other sites with surface finds or poorly stratified material support the idea of very small regional groups of pottery production in Central Anatolia.

Chapter 5 discusses the Middle Iron Age pottery of the Büyükkaya and Büyükkale II stages. According to G., many of the Early Iron Age types disappear and are replaced by new ones. Here, more specific information and, again, a graphical representation would have been helpful to the reader. The Büyükkaya material is exclusively handmade but produced with a lot of care and craftsmanship. Astonishing is the very high amount of painted pottery. Again no Central Anatolian comparisons outside of Boğazköy can be found for this material. Clearly visible Early Iron Age traditions point to a local origin for this pottery.

Even stronger are the connections between the two phases of Middle Iron Age. The shift between Büyükkaya and Büyükkale II periods seems to be marked by a rather slow, gradual replacement of types and decorative motifs. Also, very few pieces of new fine fabrics of white and grey colour appear. The material of Büyükkale IIb and IIa find enough stratified comparisons at other sites so that firm chronological parallels to Gordion, Kaman-Kalehöyük, Alışar, Kültepe, Maşat Höyük and Porsuk can be established. Some influences, mainly from the neighbouring western-central Anatolian region are detectable. The overall impression is still one of fairly different regional cultures. The very few excavated sites with long distances in between them and the fact that large parts of northern, western and southern Anatolia are virtually unexplored in respect to Iron Age sites does not allow us to draw the borders of these groups. The maps published by G. on pp. 27 and 33 demonstrate how dramatically scarce our knowledge about Iron Age Anatolia is.

The sixth chapter is titled 'Ergebnisse' (Results) but is in fact far more: a careful and critical interpretation of the results won by the detailed study of the pottery from Büyükkaya. The first part is dedicated to the absolute chronology of the settlements at Büyükkaya. Since the first publications of Early Iron Age finds at Gordion, Kaman-Kalehöyük and Boğazköy the old idea of a centuries-long hiatus in Central Anatolia can no longer be upheld. Instead it is perfectly clear that settlement activities continued in several places. As researchers now have an idea about what to look for it is to be expected that the number of Iron Age sites will greatly increase if surveys and excavations are conducted. The partial continuity of Imperial Hittite tradition and technology in pottery production at Boğazköy during the first phase of Early Iron Age makes clear that it must have started during the early 12th century without a break separating it from the previous period.

Much more difficult is the task of establishing absolute dates for the duration and the beginning of the different phases. Archaeologists like to use imports from better-known neighbouring regions to solve such chronological problems. For Anatolia one is tempted to look to Greece, the Aegean, Cyprus and Mesopotamia. But dating with imports is problematic in itself, especially if the imports are luxury items that can be used and kept for a long time. They also may represent a different span of time in the regions where they were made from those regions they were brought to. In any case, considerable numbers of imported

pieces would be needed to establish firm chronological links. As G. points out, such numbers of imported pottery are available only from the 6th century onward in Central Anatolia. During the 7th century only single pieces were found, and in the centuries before imports seem to be completely absent. G. clearly demonstrates that dating the Early Iron Age phases of Central Anatolia is impossible because of the lack of material. One might add that even if imports existed, a critical evaluation would show that pottery chronologies for the Early Iron Age in the regions mentioned above are far from being exact or certain.

Equally problematic is the attempt to date horizons of destruction in settlements with the help of written sources. Destructions by fire can happen for many reasons, and it is rarely possible to prove that a warlike event and not a simple accident was the cause. Even if the destruction was violent, it is hardly ever possible to find out who was responsible for it. Extremely few written records refer to wars in Central Anatolia. None of them is indigenous and most are not even contemporary to the events they report. It seems rather naive to connect every trace of burning at an Anatolian Iron Age site with this handful of sources from abroad. G. is certainly right with his scepticism about the reliability of this traditional approach to date Anatolian Iron Ages. Instead of looking to other regions for absolute dates (and thus to import their chronological problems and uncertainties) local data should be preferred. Dendrochronology is especially promising in this respect and has already served to contest some of the seemingly certain dates based on written sources.³ With the results from Büyükkaya a series of radiocarbon dates is now available for Central Anatolia.⁴ It can only be hoped that this evidence will soon be complemented by reliable dates from other sites.

Pages 37-45 will certainly be the matter of long and controversial discussion among scholars. G. analyses various possibilities for the origin of the Iron Age pottery traditions of Central Anatolia. In the traditional view, following Herodotus and Strabo, the migration of the Phrygians from the Balkans to Anatolia is seen as the explanation for Iron Age culture in Anatolia. Here, written sources seem to support a simplistic migrationist approach that is often mislabelled as 'culture-historical'. To prove a migration there should be similar material to be found at the starting point as well as at the end point of the migration. In the case of the Anatolian Iron Age this is impossible, as it is for the Iron Age of eastern Turkey. The only Iron Age material in modern Turkey with indubitable connections to the Balkans comes from Troy in the very west of Anatolia. All other Early Iron Age pottery, from Gordion or elsewhere that was used as an indicator for migrations, has only the most general technological similarities with material from south-eastern Europe, or, as Genz puts it, for the comparison of pottery from Gordion and Troy: 'the supposed similarity of both pottery assemblages is mainly based on the fact that both are handmade, dark burnished and poorly fired' (p. 39). This is certainly not enough to establish any kind of relationship between them. Other authors tried to show that Middle Iron Age painting motifs from Boğazköy are dependent on painted pottery from northern Syria.⁵ Ignoring the fact that

³ S.W. Manning, B. Kromer, P.I. Kuniholm and M.W. Newton, 'Anatolian Tree rings and a new chronology for the east Mediterranean Bronze-Iron Ages'. *Science* 294 (2001), 2532-35.

⁴ J. Seeher, 'Die Eisenzeit in Zentralanatolien im Lichte der keramischen Funde von Büyükkaya in Boğazköy/Hattuša'. *Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi* 3 (2000), 15-34; 'Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy/Hattuša 1999'. *AA* 2000.3, 370-75.

⁵ Bossert, as in n. 2, 51.

there are no comparisons in settlement pattern, architecture, burial customs, or any other kind of archaeological material except some painted pots, with the help of single ornaments once again population movements are postulated. Thanks to the recent results from Gordion, Kaman-Kalehöyük and Boğazköy it is clear beyond doubt that Anatolia was populated with unbroken continuity. A variety of different groups existed already in the Early Iron Age and therefore migrations are hardly necessary to explain the existence of Middle Iron Age cultures. Thus, G. demonstrates in detail and very convincingly that there is no evidence for Iron Age movements of population into Anatolia from abroad or within Anatolia.

There must be other explanations for the drastic change of culture from Bronze to Iron Ages. G.'s approach is simple and brilliant: instead of looking for comparisons in other regions he checked other times for material that can be compared with his pottery from Büyükkaya. And, indeed, he finds the most striking resemblances in Central Anatolian Early and Middle Bronze Ages. The similarities in shapes as well as in decoration that he points out and displays on four plates within the text (Abb. 18–21) are astonishing and much more convincing than any of the attempts to link the Anatolian Iron Ages to foreign cultures. Even more important, he is able to find such a large number of very different comparisons that his results can impossibly be dismissed as coincidence. There is definitely a revival of Early and Middle Bronze Age traditions of pottery production. In view of this the Iron Age material is firmly rooted in centuries-old local traditions, while the Imperial Hittite pottery looks alien. G. gives two possible explanations that he carefully labels as hypothetical. The first and more convincing is based on the fact that the pottery we know from Hittite times comes almost exclusively from settlements with central functions. Here mass-produced, wheel-made wares dominate (and anything handmade is most likely sorted out as old material). Very little or nothing at all is known about the pottery of rural settlements. It is not unlikely that older traditions survived in these villages. With the breakdown of the centralised economy of the Imperial period the mass production of pottery lost its sense and the traditional handmade wares re-emerged. In this very appealing approach differences in pottery production are not seen as a marker for any kind of 'ethnicity' but instead as symptoms of different social and economic structures. This kind of interpretation might seem unusual to some colleagues, but it is re-assuring that a very similar idea was developed independently for other sites on the periphery of the Hittite empire.⁶

The second explanation given by G. leaves a door open for migrationists. Here the Anatolian Bronze Age traditions survive in the northern regions inhabited by the Kashka and are brought back to Central Anatolia after the collapse of power at Hattuša. The role played by the Kashka during the Late Bronze Age is far from clear. Sometimes they appear as enemies, sometimes, as in the Battle of Kadesh, as allies of the Hittites. Judging from the numbers of Kashka warriors given in Hittite documents they seemed to be a perennial nuisance to the Hittites, rather than a real threat. There is no evidence at all for the often re-

⁶ U. Müller: 'A Change to Continuity: Bronze Age Traditions in Early Iron Age'. In B. Fischer *et al.* (eds.), *Identifying Changes: The Transition from Bronze to Iron Ages in Anatolia and its Neighbouring Regions* (Istanbul 2003), 137–49; 'Norşun Tepe and Lidar Höyük. Two examples for cultural change during the Early Iron Age'. In A. Çilingiroğlu and G. Darbyshire (eds.), *Anatolian Iron Ages 5* (London 2005), 107–14.

peated myth of modern science that Hattuša was once destroyed by the Kashka. The moving of the capital to Tarhuntassa certainly has to be understood as a part of the preparations for the war against the superpower Egypt and not as a reaction to a threat from the 'swine-herds', as the Kashka were called by the Hittites. Most probably they just were not important enough to be subdued once and forever. In any case the archaeology of the Kashka is virtually unknown and any argument about them must remain speculative.

One can but wholeheartedly agree with G.'s concluding words that at the present time it is best to refrain from the use of ethnic labels for the Iron Age cultures of Anatolia.

Extensive summaries in German, English and Turkish complete the text of the book. The plates (75 with drawings, 9 with black-and-white photographs) provide a good overview on the material and are arranged in a clear way. As in the Boğazköy-Hattuša series, all references appear only in footnotes, but still one would have wished for an updated bibliography on the subject.

In conclusion, G. can be congratulated for his solid work and the courage to tread new paths of interpretation. The book is a must-read for any student of Anatolian archaeology and will certainly stimulate fruitful discussions. The monograph is published by Philipp von Zabern, a guarantor of high quality but, unluckily, also of considerably high prices.

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Uwe Müller

F. Giudice and R. Panvini (eds.), *Il greco, il barbaro e la ceramica attica. Immaginario del diverso, processi di scambio e autorappresentazione degli indigeni*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi 14-19 maggio 2001, Catania, Caltanissetta, Gela, Camarina, Vittoria, Siracusa, Monografie della Scuola di Specializzazione in Archeologia dell'Università di Catania III, 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, Rome 2006, 188 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 88-8265-337-4

Fifteen papers on Attic pottery from non-Greek sites, with only in special cases revealing possible evidence for deliberate choice for import (shape, not subject). A dossier of black-figure and red-figure amphorae from 'Etruria campana' and their subjects (Martelli). The narrative composition of the Vivenzio hydria (Cerchiai). Euphronian and other fragments from Castellina del Marangone (Wehgartner). At Gravisca a new votive deposit (Fortunelli) and import models (Fiorini) indicating a penchant for lekythoi. Nereus iconography copied in Etruria (Traficante). Attic from the Adria *chora* (Harari) and the mouth of the Po (Braccesi, Veronese, Montanari). An Attic red-figure kantharos shape derived from Apulia and exported to Ruvo (Colivicchi). Oriental dances on Western imports and products (Todisco). Shape and decoration of stamnoi, Athens and the west (Sisto). Greek figured pottery in native cult sites (Semeraro). Paribeni's archive (Marzi). Neapolitan 19th-century copies of Attic vases (Martino).

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

F. González de Canales Cerisola, *Del Occidente mítico griego a Tarsis-Tarteso. Fuentes escritas y documentación arqueológica*, Biblioteca Nueva, Madrid 2004, 427 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 84-9742-344-5

We are presented with a very detailed up-to-date study which revisits the spread of Greek mythology from the East to the West whilst maintaining its focus on the debate about, and hunt for, Tarsis and combines written and archaeological evidence in this pursuit. It guides us from the end of the 7th century BC, when the first Greek navigators arrived on the Atlantic southern coast of the Iberian Peninsula, to the formation of the first myths with a definite localisation in the Far West, the end of the earth, where the sun sets at nightfall.

The close relationship of Greeks from Asia Minor with the city of Tarteso/Tarsis/Tartessos in the last third of the 8th century BC is well documented by ancient authors. Herodotus writes of the wealth of Tarteso in gold and silver; Pausanias refers to its well-known bronze; and several writers mention the wealth and longevity of its king, Argantonio. Others, such as Avienus in his *Ora Maritima*, Pseudo-Scymnus, Hecataeus and Herodotus, reach agreement on the location of Tarteso in the south of the Iberian Peninsula. This is consistent with the analysis of myths such as Heracles and Gerion and the *Odyssey* that are also located in the Peninsula. With the arrival of the Romans, its exact location is lost, and since then everything has been contradictory and mysterious. The author, after having combined the written sources with widely documented archaeological evidence and undertaken a detailed analysis of all peninsular locations related to the world of Tarteso, considers that there is sufficient validity for placing this city in the south-west of Spain. Many mythical elements are verified in the Far West, surely a response to real contacts,

The book also examines debatable references to Tarsis in the Bible. There are arguments that the Biblical Tarsis/Tarshish refers to some place in the south of the Iberian Peninsula. But is also possible that the name refers to a type of ship that travelled to Ofir, an intermediate port for the trade in British tin, a city in a mining environment, or possibly an anthroponym.

The author, having accepted the localisation of Tarsis in the south-west of the Peninsula, goes further and centres his work on the city of Huelva, in which he believes he sees the old Tarteso, making an exhaustive study of its architecture, urbanism, society, religious practice and, especially, Greek trade. Finally, the remote possibility of some relationship between Tarsis and the Platonic Atlantis is examined.

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Vanesa Toscano Rivera

F. González de Canales Cerisola, L. Serrano Pichardo and J. Llopart Gómez, *El emporio fenicio precolonial de Huelva (ca. 900-770 a.C.)*, Biblioteca Nueva, Madrid 2004, 237 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 84-9742-345-3

Huelva is presented here as an old port city linked with the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, where an Eastern presence has materialised at the most westerly region of the ancient world.

We have here a deep and detailed study of the nucleus of the old inhabited area of the city of Huelva, based on discoveries made during extensive and important excavations con-

ducted with considerable difficulty because of the proximity of the site to the sea. The rich and exceptional material recovered constitutes a sufficiently solid base for confirming a Phoenician presence at Huelva.

The extensive catalogue of ceramics includes items from the Phoenician, Greek, Cypriot, Villanovan, Sardas and local traditions. These have received exhaustive analysis so that they can be presented in the most complete way: they are illustrated, their dimensions and profiles are given, also the detailed composition of some. The study provides a relative chronology that dates the site to between 1320 and 650 BC. It gives us a wide classification of pottery types that goes from well-known fine wares to objects which required meticulous investigation, from bowls, two-handled jars and a perfume burner to candelabra. There is detailed investigation of metal and stone objects, ivory, amber and bone. The study and measurement of pieces of wood provides evidence of the existence of joiners' and carpenters' workshops. Intense archaeological work has revealed information about agrarian activities, cattle-raising and fishing.

After description and analysis of all the material, the discussion turns to the origins of the pottery, who transported it, and its chronological limits; this confirms the appearance and consolidation of an *emporion* at Huelva.

Finally, some interesting work is presented on the geological history of the Tinto-Odiel estuary and the interpretation of the palaeolandscape.

This is a perfect source for discovering the details of the old city of Huelva; it contains all that can be related, from the material remains to the landscape configuration of the area. It is strongly recommended to those interested in knowing the details of a place that is related to the enigmatic and much discussed Tartessos.

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Vanessa Toscano Rivera

T.E. Gregory, *A History of Byzantium*, Blackwell History of the Ancient World, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford 2005, xiv+382 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 0-631-23513-2

This is the latest of various recent attempts to find a replacement for Georg Ostrogorsky's *History of the Byzantine State*¹ that students will actually read, preferably from cover to cover. These attempts (along with translations of sources and other studies) all testify to the growing interest in that civilisation which has for so long been undervalued and indeed denigrated in the West and particularly in the English-speaking world. One trusts that the arrival of such studies will further strengthen the study of Byzantium. Gregory's contribution should certainly help.

The approach is in many ways conservative. G. points out in his Preface that he believes that 'a "traditional" political narrative is essential' and that 'this chronological frame is designed to portray the enormous ... sweep of Byzantine history and to allow readers to see the vast cultural changes that occurred within this same civilization over time.' There is roughly a chapter per century (mainly 20-25 pages in length) with G.'s 'political narrative' being based on the reigns of individual emperors which 'form convenient building blocks of time against which to view broader developments' and with chapter titles generally includ-

¹ English transl. Oxford 1956; 1968.

ing a name of a person or dynasty (Constantine, Justinian, Komnenoi, Isaurian, Macedonian), and even where an individual name is missing the title at first sight looks rather old-fashioned ('The Byzantine "Dark Ages"'). A rather plodding style is not likely to excite a student but G. makes up for this with his clarity. Anyone teaching the subject, who may succeed in exciting students in class by particular emphases and as a result forget to cover some aspects, will be glad to recommend their students to read G. with the confidence that this will not be an onerous task (and so is more likely to happen than with recommending Ostrogorsky) and that the students will find a solid and sensible account, happily lacking the sweeping (and sometimes moralising) explanations that have sometimes provided the verve in earlier histories.

There is, however, much more than this apparent narrative concentration on emperors. In particular there is a valuable section at the end of most chapters which looks at broader issues, either cultural or looking at a longer period than that of individual emperors or at some particular issue or phenomenon, especially on art, architecture and archaeology. For instance the chapter on the Komnenoi ends with sections on 'Changes in Byzantine Society and Culture' and 'The Fourth Crusade'; that on the 'Dark Ages' ends with 'Theological Problems' and 'The Arab Invasions', in each case providing essential information which did not fit neatly into the chronological narrative and placing that narrative in a wider context. There is also a special feature described as 'boxes' which introduce specific examples or intriguing facets which which might seem to be receiving undue emphasis if fitted into the chronological narrative. For instance Chapter 10 on 'The Beginnings of the Macedonian Dynasty' has boxes on 'Byzantine Gold', 'Decoration of the Kainourgion Palace', 'The Mandyion', and 'Liudprand of Cremona in Constantinople'. There are between two and six boxes per chapter and they are a good idea. They allow the student reader who tires of political narrative to find a whole range of fascinating insights into Byzantium, highlighted by being printed against a grey background and so distinguished from the general narrative and presented in such brevity (rarely more than a page in length and at most two pages) that the wandering (and perhaps tired) student reader is likely to be intrigued into reading them. I suspect this may also be a carrot to encourage such a reader to want to read more of the political narrative of this book or else be sufficiently engaged by the topic but dissatisfied at the brevity of treatment to go and hunt hungrily for a more detailed study of whichever of the boxes has taken his/her fancy. Which is just what a good textbook should do.

The publisher's 'blurb' states that 'this book is a concise narrative history of Byzantium from the time of Constantine the Great in AD 306 to the fall of Constantinople in 1453.' In fact G.'s book does more than this, with a useful final chapter entitled 'Byzantium after the Fall of the City' which has sub-sections on 'The Byzantine Survivor States', 'Byzantine Christians under Ottoman Rule', 'Russia', 'The Continuation and Development of Byzantine Culture', 'The Decline of the Ottoman Empire', and 'The "Heirs" of Byzantium', together with 'boxes' on 'Kornaros and Erotokritos' and 'Byzantium and the brothers Karamazov', all this in 18 pages. I draw attention to this chapter because it is unusual in a history of Byzantium in English and I suspect that for many a student it will give Byzantine history a relevance and justification which may encourage them to persist.

There are some less satisfactory aspects. Although each chapter does contain a useful brief bibliography, it would also have been useful to have included some footnotes or references. These might also have helped eliminate or clarify some odd statements such as for

instance (to limit myself to the early period) claiming Constantinople was already both called 'New Rome' and had a university in Constantine's time; dating the Akathistos to the 6th century and Justinian's marriage to Theodora to the early 520s; stating that Belisarius' expedition against the Vandals consisted of about 10,000 (instead of Procopius' figure of 15,000) which is awkward given an accurate follow-up statement on the same page that for the Italian campaign 'the army was only half as large' (p. 136), implying a mere 5000 instead of 7500, a figure which also merits discussion given the standard account of Justinian's supposed eagerness to recover Rome and Italy; or the muddled treatment of the circus factions and rather inadequate treatment of Justinian's codification. There are rather too many spelling mistakes with proper names (for example Belasarius p. 136; Bardaeus p. 139). The index is inadequate. This will cause problems when the narrative implies a figure or topic has previously been raised but the index is no help in finding where or even if this is so.

Where I found the traditional chronological treatment least satisfactory was in the opening chapters but that may be my own idiosyncrasy. A longish Introduction of 20 pages explains sensibly that the Byzantine empire was simply a continuation of the Roman empire and that Byzantine Christianity was a bit different from Western Christianity. Then an initial two chapters ('The Crisis of the Third Century' and 'The Revival under Diocletian') cover the period before the traditional beginning of Byzantine history in Chapter 3, 'The Age of Constantine the Great'. The titles themselves underline a very traditional approach of Diocletian's restoration of the fortunes of the Roman empire after crisis, so enabling Constantine to inaugurate the Byzantine empire. This arrangement assumes Gibbon's dubious 2nd-century Golden Age to precede and lead to the 3rd-century crisis. (The growth in mystery religions is alone enough to suggest that the 2nd century was highly disturbing to many of its inhabitants). Although the narrative provides a sensible enough chronological account of political and military activity, two factors are missing: first the way that period (along with the 2nd century) changed Christianity from being a Palestinian Jewish sect to a religion that had accommodated itself to a Graeco-Roman world and particularly to Greek philosophies and culture, a change which is so fundamental for Byzantium; and second the way archaeologists of particular areas all around the Mediterranean each consider their own 'province' provides the sole exception to a 3rd-century crisis. Once one begins to doubt a 3rd-century crisis, the notion of a Diocletianac revival is undermined, which in turn makes a mess of the whole convenient traditional pattern of the background to Byzantium. (That Constantine's drive to absolute control in fact totally destroyed Diocletian's political solution to the supposed crisis with his tetrarchy is also overlooked.) This is possibly the place where the traditional military/political narrative could best have been abandoned. But this requires a whole new study, so it would be unfair to complain about G.'s traditional treatment.

Despite these reservations I still recommend this heartily as an extremely useful textbook of Byzantine history. Finally each chapter includes in its initial header a figure of *Apolausis* (Enjoyment), a nice touch. G. may well have contributed significantly to students' enjoyment of Byzantium.

E.S. Gruen (ed.), *Cultural Borrowings and Ethnic Appropriations in Antiquity*, Oriens et Occidens 8, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2005, 314 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 3-515-08735-4

These papers arise from a conference at Schloss Elmau in 2003. They are ambitious and wide-ranging, tackling what has become a major and most demanding area for research. Fortunately the writers are experienced scholars and this is not yet another ragbag of *ad hoc* essays. It is a singularly appropriate subject for *AWE* readers.

Stephanie Dalley on the historical Semiramis is important in identifying euhemerism before Euhemerus. The point is often lost on historians who may be over-reliant on texts composed long after the names, events or objects perceived by Greeks had been turned by them into real myth or assumed history. Ronald Hendel on 'Genesis 1-11 and Its Mesopotamian Problem' explores the problems faced from the 19th century on in associating the newly discovered Near Eastern literature, Abraham and the children of Israel. Jan Assmann finds a reflection of Greek curiosity about Egypt in Egyptians' often incurious attitude to the Greeks' *curiositas*. Hans-Joachim Gehrke remarks how Greek heroes, themselves sometimes foreign-derived, help bridge the ethnic gap with neighbours, and Margaret Miller pursues the Greek concoctions of barbarian lineage for Eastern figures like Pelops, Danaos and Kadmos, with art's readiness to treat them as Greeks. Greeks did not impose their myth history on foreigners but the latter were often ready enough to adopt it. The editor considers Persia through Jewish eyes, critical of their apparent benefactors. Josef Wiesehöfer looks at later Iran's views of the Roman empire. Non-Greeks' interpretation of their past as through Greek eyes and myth may reflect Greek unwillingness 'to embrace the past of other peoples' (Andrew Erskine). 'Asianism' even at Pergamum is discerned by Ann Kuttner. Gideon Bohak points out that there are ethnic stereotypes in classical literature too. Irad Malkin shows that Western settling encouraged the Heracles/Melqart equation (far more difficult to explain in the East). Jonathan Hall looks at the dubious Greekness of western non-Greeks own views of their historical/mythical past. The problems of Palmyra seen by some as a 'Greek' city and the opposition of 'civic' and 'tribal' is dissected by Michael Sommer. Finally Fergus Millar at last opens classical eyes to the creation of the concept of 'the Arabs' in the Theodosian world.

These studies are difficult and require a depth of knowledge and understanding of widely different problems; also a facility with both texts and archaeology (in the broadest sense) with which few are gifted. However popular they may be now, most students should be steered clear of them for theses until they have won their spurs. This volume demonstrates what might then follow of broader historical significance, and its authors have given an invaluable example of what should be done and can be done by focusing both in depth and on particulars.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

E. Haerinck and B. Overlaet, *The Iron Age III Graveyard at War Kabud Pusht-i Kuh, Luristan*, Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran, The Excavations in Luristan, Pusht-i Kuh (1965-1979), The Ghent University and the Royal Museums of Art and History,

Brussels, Joint Expedition Directed by Louis Vanden Berghe (†), Luristan Excavation Documents vol. V, Acta Iranica 42, Textes et Mémoires vol. XXVII, Peeters, Leuven 2004, 105 pp., 38 figs., 24 colour and 153 black-and-white pls. Cased. ISBN 90-429-1550-1

Between 1965 and 1979 the Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran, under the direction of the late Louis Vanden Berghe, conducted an historic series of surveys and excavations which Ernie Haerinck and Bruno Overlaet have been publishing in an impressive series of volumes, five of which have now appeared since 1996. Given the vicissitudes of Iranian archaeology since the revolution of 1979, the importance of these magnificently produced studies cannot be overstated. Like Eric Schmidt's volumes on Persepolis, these are benchmark publications which will remain standards in the field for decades to come.

The present volume concerns a late Iron Age cemetery at War Kabud, north-west of Ilam in the Pusht-i Kuh ranges of the western Zagros. No fewer than 203 tombs were excavated here during two seasons, in 1965 and 1966 (pp. 3-5). Both pits and cist tombs were found scattered indiscriminately throughout the cemetery and without any obvious attention to orientation (p. 10). Pottery was found in *ca.* 85% of all graves ('common' ware, glazed ware, fine buff ware and fine grey ware). The metal repertoire included iron weaponry (arrowheads, swords, blades, spears/lanceheads) and tools (adzes, axes), bronze jewellery (bracelets, rings, fibulae) and vessels, and silver and gold hair coils and earrings in small numbers (p. 38). Maceheads occurred in both bronze and iron (pp. 50-51) while a unique quiver plate, in association with 13 iron arrowheads, was made of bronze (pp. 52-53). Whether this latter piece was an Assyrian import, as suggested by Vanden Berghe, remains unclear (p. 53).

Horse trappings were found in Tomb A150. These included a bit as well as various phalerae, buttons, rings, bells and a pin or stake (pp. 54-57). No fewer than 63 bronze vessels were recovered from 60 tombs (pp. 57-62) including a decorated pyxis showing a stylised fortress alternating with a winged *Mischwesen* bearing a female head, wings, animal forelegs and scorpion tail (fig. 21). The curled lock of hair on the head of this 'sphinx' leads the authors to consider Phoenician and north Syrian parallels, noting 'the massive Assyrian deportations of large population groups from Syria to the Zagros could explain the presence of a provincial style in western Iran' (p. 60).

The five fibulae recovered belong to well-known types. A64-6 is a bronze example of Stronach's type I 5, *cf.* Pedde's group B2.4, thought to be of late 8th-/early 7th-century BC date; another bronze fibula, B185-3, with its ribbed and beaded mouldings, belongs to Stronach's type III 7, *cf.* Pedde's group D2.4, was introduced in the 8th century BC, popular in the 7th and continued in use during the Achaemenid period; and B185-9, 10, 11, all of iron, compare to Stronach's type III 7 as well (p. 73). A large variety of beads, some of which have much earlier parallels (for example in Uruk and Early Dynastic Mesopotamia) and may be heirlooms, was found in 37 of the War Kabud tombs, while 8 tombs contained small numbers of lithic artefacts, principally arrowheads (p. 74).

Tomb A102 was unique in containing two cylinder seals and a scaraboid stamp seal, all of frit or faience (fig. 38). The cylinder seals – one of which shows a hunter aiming an arrow at an ostrich, while the second shows two winged sphinxes (?) – may be Assyrian or north Syrian (p. 82).

The volume contains a generous number of colour photographs, both of the excavations and individual objects, and for many tombs individual plans, photographs and drawings of objects all on one page. In addition, there are many photographs of representatives of each class of artefact, along with detailed indexes and tables indicating the complete tomb inventories at War Kabud.

As a primary publication this study is exemplary. Haerinck and Overlaet are to be congratulated, yet again, for their services to Iranian archaeology and the series *Acta Iranica*, and the publisher Peeters, deserve our thanks as well for undertaking the publication of such an important series.

University of Sydney

D.T. Potts

R.J. Harrison, with contributions by F.M. Simon, *Symbols and Warriors. Images of the European Bronze Age*, Western Academic and Specialist Press, Bristol 2004, xii+360 pp. illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-9535418-7-8

This is a thorough monograph on the Extramadura stelai, with a useful catalogue. The first two chapters give an introduction to the subject, the first dealing with the first Eneolithic stelai in Europe and their parallels in other parts of the world, and the second with the Atlantic Bronze Age and its general characteristics. The third chapter discusses the topography of Extramadura, its land use (a large part of it was pasture land), metal sources and other raw materials in the area, the discoveries of the stelai and their setting – positions in the ancient landscape.

Other chapters are devoted to iconographical analyses in general, to the social interpretations of the stelai and their role in society, to the context and the meaning of the stelai, heroic, symbolic and what was behind the symbols. One long chapter discusses the individual motifs on the stelai and Chapter 8 tries to interpret the stelai in the context of European Late Bronze and Early Iron Age religion and society and its ideals in general. Chapter 9 brings a summary of the results of examination of the subject, and the final part brings an exhaustive catalogue of the stelai. This part is especially important for a non-Spanish reader, as other publications of the stelai are often not readily available outside Spain, and here they are easily accessible to the reader in clearly recognisable linear drawings, sometimes supplemented with photographs supplied by his Spanish colleagues, especially by F. Marco Simon.

The stelai were in use between 1200 and 750 BC, and later too. The iconographic analysis starts with a quotation of Ricardo Olmos, who defined the representations on the stelai as ‘a model of the reality itself’ (p. 82). As in any art, there is of course a dialectic relation between art and reality: the art mirrors the reality perceived, and it also gives its model for further perception by its public. The art of the stelai developed from simple signs to the figurative. Sword, spear and shield (usually of the Herzprung type) were the main components of representing the man-warrior, but a helmet (usually the conical variety, with comb-shaped crest) was often added. Sometimes also a lyre, a mirror (a sign of beauty or of access to the other world, as with the Etruscans?), a bow with arrow, a chariot and other symbols more difficult to interpret were added. A number of figures are horned – perhaps

they were wearing horned helmets, but more probably it was just a sign of heroisation. The arms of the figures are normally hanging down, but in a few cases raised, or one of them holds a sword. In rare cases, the figure wears a kind of diadem. As in most other parts of the world, this phase of representation of heroic armed manhood of the deceased went out of fashion in the more 'civilised' societies of the Archaic period, here in Tartessian culture.

This culture of Extramadura stelai had contacts in mainly two directions. One is Atlantic Late Bronze Age, a larger cultural identity developed along the coastal parts of Spain and France up to Britain, and the second the first Phoenician impact, deriving from their – first very small – colonies, whose foundation was dated in later memory *ca.* 1200 BC. The weights on some stelai may show that these men were also involved in trade relations with merchants coming from overseas, much more probably Phoenicians than Greeks.

The self-stylisation of the family through a grave monument with an idealised picture of the deceased *pater familias* had two main periods in prehistoric Europe: the first was in the Eneolithic, the second in the earliest Iron Age. Both periods represent important transition to a new kind of mind. The first was contemporary and connected with what happened in the Near East at the time of the rise of writing and of the first states, the second with the transition from pre-philosophic to philosophic mind. In both periods the heroes, men considered by their contemporaries as being superhuman at least to some extent, were worshipped as mediators between the divine and human worlds, and their graves also venerated. Most of the Extramadura stelai were not those of real heroes; as in Late Geometric and Archaic Greece the monumental tombs under tumuli were rather signs of recollection of an heroic past, of a trend to imitate on a more modest level what was considered really heroic. But in Spain, southern France, southern Germany and Italy the stelai had similar importance, as they had in Cimmerian and Scythian societies in the East. The whole family was proud of its ancestors, and its members were proud of his grave, which was kept and marked by the stele, in its pictorial signs symbolising his importance.

The book is a useful and interesting contribution to the topic, and it remains understandable to the general reader; the inclination of the author to post-processual jargon is only slight.

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Jan Bouzek

E. Herring, I. Lemos, F. Lo Schiavo, L. Vagnetti, R. Whitehouse and J. Wilkins (eds.), *Across Frontiers: Etruscans, Greeks, Phoenicians and Cypriots. Studies in Honour of David Ridgway and Francesca Romana Serra Ridgway*, Accordia Specialist Studies on the Mediterranean vol. 6, Accordia Research Institute, University of London, London 2006, 554 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 1-873415-29-X

This collection of essays falls into three broad categories: 1. Greece, Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean (8 essays); 2. Magna Graecia, Sicily and Sardinia (20 essays); 3. Etruria and ancient Italy (19 essays). Contributions are in English, French and Italian.

The benefits of a volume such as this is that the essays reflect a wide geographic and cultural range – the magnitude of the scholarly world in which the Ridgways shine – and offers the contributors an opportunity to present nuggets of ideas that are pithy and con-

cise. *Across Frontiers* is not disappointing in this regard as the reader is presented with diverse topics from which to draw inspiration. Numerous studies concern an eclectic range of cultural artefacts. Herring's dedication to the honorands¹ encapsulates the overall character of this volume when he writes: 'Both have long advocated the importance of keeping reconstructions of early Italy grounded in the study of artefacts – the stock-in-trade of archaeological research...' (p. 225). Notwithstanding the focus on artefact studies in this volume, there are a few essays that offer an interpretation of archaeological sites and language issues.

Topics that focus on a particular artefact form or decorative technique can often have bearing on the bigger picture of their social or economic context as clearly demonstrated in Souyoudzoglu-Haywood's quaintly titled essay, 'A small pot with big ideas...'. Here wealth and status that were indicated by ownership of metal vessels lead to certain characteristics being imitated in pottery (especially Base Ring Ware) in the Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Or Albanese Procelli's discussion of distribution, date and implications for the east and west cultural contact in the Mediterranean, all argued from the evidence of pilgrim flasks found in Sicily and Sardinia.

Some contributors have returned to the finds from Pithecusa, where David Ridgway's name (with Giorgio Buchner) is inextricably linked to the publications of the necropolis. Here the small, metal artefacts – pendants, pins, other jewellery items and a razor – from the burials are discussed (E. Macnamara). Two papers on fibulae are significant contributions: one establishes their stylistic development, indigenous influences as well as their foreign cultural contacts (F. Lo Schiavo); the other highlights the importance of fibulae as significant chronological markers in Early Iron Age Italy (J. Toms).

Wider issues concern funerary practice. In Phoenician Tyre, al-Bass, the cremation urn burials were preserved *in situ* surrounded by the hallmarks of elaborate graveside rituals (M. Aubet). On Rhodes distinctions that exist between funerary practices as carried out at various centres were identified; the differences in grave goods were indicative of autonomous kinship groups and the compartmentalisation of the island (B. d'Agostino). Age-related practices especially governing deceased children were detected in western Greek societies (G. Shepard). A related topic concerns grave goods or their decorative treatment that reflect rites of passage into death and indicate belief in resurrection, for example: a Pantello mirror depicting Achaeon (J. Carter); lizards, snakes and scorpions that appear in Greek vase painting (prior to the 6th century BC) that often symbolise impending doom (J. De la Genière); iconography of a human female figure on the complex handle of conjoined askoi is linked to the consumption of alcohol and to the divinity in regard to regeneration (F. Delpino).

A number of authors have embraced recent theory discussing aspects of post-colonial hybridity (certainly implied when not explicitly stated as in E. Herring, p. 233) exploring foreign cultural elements, mobility of populations or of individual artisans, ethnicity and indigenous ('native') influences as they are reflected in individual case studies such as Herring concerning iconography with the work of the Prisoner Painter or J. Boardman on the

¹ It is my unfortunate task to record the death of Francesca Romana Serra Ridgway, a wonderful scholar and human being, on 7th March 2008, two days before her seventy-second birthday. This news has devastated her many friends and colleagues. She and David have been strong supporters of *AWE* from the start, and have contributed much to it (Editor-in-Chief).

complexity of identifying Hellenistic and other influences on scarabs found in Sardinia. Gras, too, visits these topics in regard to the nature of the population in the Greek city returning to the early works of Dunbabin amongst other scholars primarily focusing on Megara Hyblaea. Another study examines 6th-century East Greek pottery found at Eshera, Colchis, an indigenous settlement that may point to the site being the landfall of the Greeks and one that fell within the region of ancient Dioscurias (G. Tsetskhladze). N. Coldstream discusses the mechanisms by which pottery shapes are borrowed between Greek and Levantine groups; direct imports and adoption of new 'fashions' have implications for detecting movements of cultural groups. Some of the points raised by the latter are mirrored by V. Karageorghis who considered Cyprus as a source of inspiration for other Mediterranean areas and not just a recipient of foreign ideas; at issue is whether foreign vessels reflect imports or adoption of Cypriot styles in Rhodes or whether there was an actual presence of Cypriot people on the island (see also C. Scheffer concerning the depiction of carion birds; K. Lomas on cultural identity through funerary stelai).

While most would acknowledge that decorated ancient artefacts can be aesthetically pleasing at first glance, the reader is challenged to explore the images in more depth for the underlying meaning that is woven into the compositions. The artistic representations can cunningly reflect the artist's pride in their own work and the recipient's ownership of valued artefacts (L. Bonfante). Variations in how men and women are depicted in Classical works can be read as one might read 'body language', but intriguing is the suggestion that workshops producing these objects may have actually modified their iconography to suit distant markets, even when the subjects depicted were quite alien, which is a fascinating possibility (G. Davies, p. 409), one that adds another complication to the issue of ethnicity (see also E. Rystedt who discusses the consumer and producer in regard to Attic wares).

No less interesting are the observations concerning the archaeological potential of the acropolis at Castelluccio di Pienza, which is arguably an Etruscan site of some significance (S. Haynes). Or the somewhat historiographic papers that reflect on the development of the discipline of Etruscology (see A. Rathje's historic overview or R. Leighton's study of poetic works, both ancient and recent).

Aspects of Classical mythology and legend remain popular themes among the essays in this volume, for example the symbolic role that water played in funerary practice in the ancient world (M. Pearce). It goes without saying that such Classical themes are visited in a number of the artefact studies: for instance, a new, but badly damaged figurine from Xeropolis (Lefkandi) may possibly be a centaur sharing some features with a previous find from the Tomba cemetery (I. Lemos); or the essay dealing with an enigmatic oenochoe from Chania Museum (inv. 295) of uncertain provenance that depicts a warrior scene, perhaps Amazons (A. Johnston).

Normally in a review, I would not draw attention to the minor errors of production, the odd computer glitch that creeps into a work (for example, see fig. 5, p. 258, where 'Iberian Peninsula' has drifted towards Greece or missing page numbers [pp. 226-27]), but one glaring problem does appear in this volume and that is the discrepancy between the article titles as listed in the contents and as they appear at the head of the articles (re: Delpino, Herring, Macnamara, Toms, Orlandini, Shepherd, Bonfante, Mele, Scheffer, Strandberg Olofsson). This is a caveat – a 'reader beware' – as I can foresee citation problems for decades to come when people refer to the papers in this collection (as I discovered when entering the articles

into my Endnote Bibliography file and the contents as listed on the web site: Publications@Accordia!). For those with an interest in ancient Mediterranean cultures, this book will be a welcome addition to their library.

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Claudia Sagona

- I. Hodder (ed.), *Inhabiting Çatalhöyük: Reports from the 1995-99 Seasons by Members of the Çatalhöyük Team*, Çatalhöyük Research Project vol. 4, BIAA Monograph 38, McDonald Institute Monographs, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara/McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, London/Cambridge 2005, xviii+446 pp., illustrations, and CD. Cased. ISBN 1-902937-22-8/ISSN 1363-1349 (McDonald Institute). ISSN 0969-0007 (BIAA)

When James Mellaart published the spectacular finds from his 1960s excavations at Çatalhöyük, he dazzled the discipline and general public with a number of 'firsts'. The impact of his discoveries was heightened by the extraordinary preservation of rich symbolism that added a rare visual insight into a Neolithic society. Beginning in 1961 with a team of modest size (five on-site staff and 25 local employees), Mellaart soon obtained breathtaking results and, to his credit, disseminated them quickly in a series of detailed preliminary reports.¹ In 1993, nearly a quarter of a century after the end of the Mellaart's last campaign, Ian Hodder renewed investigations at this remarkable site, which has re-positioned it once again as one of archaeology's show pieces. At Çatalhöyük where 'there are more specialists per square metre dug than anywhere else',² H. and his collaborators have also established a number of 'firsts'. Well known for their highly self-critical (reflexive) field methodologies, extensive use of sophisticated technology, and the way they package and present the past, the team members are now providing us a wealth of solid data in a series of volumes, this being the fourth of six so far on the results. This book presents and interprets material collected over five years of investigations (1995-1999) relevant to the broad theme of inhabiting Çatalhöyük. Other aspects from these campaigns are covered in vols. 3, 5 and 6.

Forty-two specialists have contributed to the 25 chapters of this report. Here, you will find all you need to know on a huge array of scientific subject matter, ranging from bird bones and stable-isotope evidence of diet through the chemical analysis of floor sediments to the carbon residue on human ribs suggestive of black lungs. Crucial to this book is the introductory chapter by H., which gels together and interprets the dense compendia of data that follow. He explains the scientific results using the formidably difficult phenomenological (the revelation of things in appearance) concepts championed by Heidegger and Ingold, including the notions of 'being-in-the-world', 'being-with-others' and 'being-towards-death', and managing the environment ('taskscape') – hence the title of this book. In particular, H. is keen to promote the view that not only the built environment, but also

¹ For a full list, see J. Mellaart, 'Çatal Hüyük: the 1960s Seasons'. In R. Matthews (ed.), *Ancient Anatolia: Fifty Years' Work by the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara* (London 1998), 35-41.

² I. Hodder (ed.), *Towards Reflexive Method in Archaeology: The Example at Çatalhöyük* (Cambridge 2000), 122.

subsistence activities and use of the landscape were deeply embedded in the cultural and social consciousness of the inhabitants. The bulk of the report is then divided into 4 parts – Part A: ‘Site-Environment Relations’; Part B: ‘Human Lifeways’; Part C: ‘The Settlement and Its Sediment’. Supplementary text, figures and tables for 13 chapters are presented on a CD. Within the limits of this review, I shall comment on only a few chapters.

The earliest residents of Çatalhöyük knew exactly where to establish a new site. In a dry and largely steppe environment, they would have been well aware that the marls of the Konya plain were not conducive to early agriculture. Instead they chose an alluvial tract of land within a wetland environment. The geomorphology and sediments around Çatalhöyük have been well studied, and conclusions derived from these investigations are supported by several different sets of data, including bird bones (Chapter 3) and herbaceous riparian plants (Chapter 8). But it did not take long and the environment began to change probably about 7000 cal BC. According to the analysis of wood (Chapter 10), riverine tress such as willow and elm give way to juniper, as precipitation decreases.

There is no question that the site was occupied year round, but seasonal cycles in certain activities have been noted. So precise is the resolution that micromorphological and microstratigraphical studies (Chapter 19) can detect seasonal activities within the built environment. Examination of wall plaster has revealed the accumulation of soot in certain months, presumably winter, while roof debris has revealed that ovens may have been used on the roof in summer. Long-distant trade has always been associated with Çatalhöyük since the analysis of central Anatolian obsidian and shells from the Mediterranean and Red Sea (Chapter 6), but now we learn that date palm phytoliths may suggest the use of carrying baskets manufactured in Syria, Mesopotamia or the Levant (Chapter 9). Even the analysis of cereal found in dung that was used for lime burning has provided information on seasonal activities (Chapter 8). The analysis of faunal material (Chapter 2) shows that the relationship between animals and humans was quite complex. These new investigations have revolutionised our understanding of cattle at Çatalhöyük. Owing to their conspicuousness on wall paintings and in ritual paraphernalia, cattle were assumed to be both domesticated and predominant. This has not turned out to be the case. Cattle bones found at Çatalhöyük are those of wild bovine animals, and the proportion of the bones even corrected for meat yield is less than those of sheep/goat. These data are tantalising, of course, and throw open the question of why wild animals, including leopards, whose bones have not been found at Çatalhöyük, feature so prominently in the site’s art and symbolism. Much more can be mined in this report – the use of space inside densely clustered buildings, discard and midden analysis (Çatalhöyük must have been high on the noise despite its size), organisation of storage, and burial customs to mention but a few.

When a site is reinvestigated, it is inevitable that one compares the before and after results. We can legitimately ask two questions. To what degree has our picture of this Neolithic settlement changed since the Hodder team began in 1993? To this reviewer, this perhaps best answered by the analogy of taking an eye test for reading glasses. Some images of Neolithic life that were familiar from Mellaart’s publications are still there, but as stronger lenses have been added they are now much sharper and more readable. Other images that we thought we understood have surprised, whereas others still are totally unexpected. Clearly to achieve this high resolution picture must now be costly, but for this remarkable and well preserved site it is well worth it. This volume shows the formidable expertise and state-of-the-art science that can now be marshalled to interpret the human

past. Çatalhöyük is a truly model archaeological project and has continued to dazzle us with a wide range of 'firsts'.

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Antonio Sagona

C. Howgego, V. Heuchert and A. Burnett (eds.), *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2005, xvi+228 pp., 33 pls. and 9 maps. Cased. ISBN 0-19-926526-7

As noted in the Preface, this book is based on the papers delivered at the 17th Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History held on 19-22 September 2002. First of all, credit should be given to the editors for presenting the materials of the symposium not in the form of ordinary Proceedings, as one could expect, but as an original book in which the papers became chapters and the contents are linked together by cross-references. Overall there are 16 chapters, written by 16 specialists from six countries. Despite inevitable variations in style and language, the editors have managed to select and organise the material in such a way that the main subject of the book – *what* is identity and *how* was it expressed on the provincial coins of the Roman empire – gets deep and complex treatment. Making an analogy, one would say that the result is not a cacophony but a harmonious orchestral sound.

Chapter 1, 'Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces', written by one of the editors (C. Howgego), acts as an introduction to the whole book; its aim, to place the notion of identity itself in the context of more general or fundamental cultural and social categories, among them religion, monumentality, the past, time, space and place, language and power (p. 2). With some examples Howgego demonstrates how communal identity could be constructed with reference to these categories. Such an approach allows him to widen the frame of research, which ceases to be the subject of pure numismatic interest and attracts the attention of specialists in other fields.

All the following chapters elucidate, exemplify or confirm individual aspects of the ideas put forward in the first chapter, also offering some interesting new treatment of the problem in a way that to some extent complements the editorial view. J. Williamson ('Aspects of Identity') asks a lot of rather provocative questions about our real ability to settle the problem of how Romans and provincial Greeks understood their identity and what they put into this notion. V. Heuchert ('The Chronological Development of Roman Provincial Coin Iconography') offers an extremely useful general survey or 'introduction to Roman provincial coinage' and an outline of 'key developments in Roman provincial coin iconography from a chronological perspective' (p. 29). P. Weiss ('The Cities and Their Money'), on the basis of complex investigation of coins, epigraphical evidence and inscribed market-weights, studies the organisation of coin production in provincial cities, forms of control over coinage and the place of the city authorities in all of this.

The role of local mythologies in creating identity and of coins as a major key to the peculiarities of local myths are investigated by S. Price ('Local Mythologies in the Greek East'). D. Klose draws a detailed and very interesting picture of wide spectrum of games and festivals used by various cities in order to distinguish and promote themselves ('Festivals and Games in the Cities of the East during the Roman Empire').

Patternal numismatic evidence of various aspects and ways of expressing local identities is proffered by other prominent numismatists, who use to advantage an impressive body of material from various parts of the Roman empire, starting with Western provinces (Britain – J. Williams; Spain – Pere P. Rippollès), and moving through mainland Greece and the hinterland (Macedonia – S. Kremydi-Sicilianou; Thrace and Moesia Inferior – U. Peter) to the East (Pergamum – B. Weisser; Syria – K. Butcher; Palestine – A. Kushnir-Stein; Judaea – M. Goodman; Egypt – A. Geissen).

It is noteworthy that for all the originality of the chapters, one can note some common ideas and suggestions expressed independently by different contributors. This is a clear sign that such ideas may reflect some objective reality or a prospective course of study. One should mention the conclusion on the stabilising effect of city coinage, which not only demonstrated loyalty to the central Roman power but helped to maintain the high personal status of the local elite (Williamson, p. 26; Weiss, p. 68; and Rippollès, p. 90). Understanding coin images as an expression of the local elite's notions of identity is another important shared idea (Heuchert, p. 40; Weiss, p. 68; Kremydi-Sicilianou, p. 100; and Butcher, p. 145). The special role of religious conception and imagery in the construction and preservation of communal identity in the Roman empire is underlined repeatedly (Howgego, p. 3; Williamson, p. 26; Heuchert, p. 48; and Peter, pp. 109, 111). Consideration of Rome as legal successor to the Hellenistic kings, hence the easy transition from deification of Hellenistic monarchs to worship of the imperial cult, clearly reflected on the coinage, is noteworthy (Kremydi-Sicilianou, pp. 97-98; Price, p. 124). Finally, realisation of the importance of a complex approach to the problems of identity, including analysis of numismatic, historical, literary and epigraphical evidence, should be mentioned (Howgego, p. 2; Weiss, p. 58; Price, p. 124; and Butcher, pp. 146-47).

The final chapter by A. Burnett ('The Roman West and the Roman East') provides a conclusion for the whole book. Burnett clearly demonstrates existing difficulties in the formal classification of Roman coins and their use for scientific research. In my opinion, the most important lesson of this chapter, reflecting a new stage of numismatic studies, is its break with the simplistic approach – understanding the fact that a multi-coloured, sometimes ambivalent picture may be closer to the scientific truth than the at first glance correct black-and-white, one-sided representation.

The book is supplied with a very useful apparatus of references, general and geographical indexes. High-quality plates are accompanied with a key, providing all necessary information about the coins illustrated. There is no doubt that this is a very important piece of work, one that opens a new page not only in numismatic but in cultural and historical research as well.

M. Hutter and S. Hutter-Braunsar (eds.), *Offizielle Religion, lokale Kult und individuelle Religiosität*, Akten des religionsgeschichtlichen Symposiums 'Kleinasien und angrenzende Gebiete vom Beginn des 2. bis zur Mitte des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.' (Bonn, 20.-22. Februar 2003), *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 318, Ugarit-Verlag, Münster 2004, 504 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 3-934628-58-3

This volume presents a series of 33 papers given at a symposium convened at the Friedrich-Wilhelm-University in Bonn in 2003. The contributions are published in alphabetical order by author. Although the editors considered arranging them thematically, the texts, they felt, were too varied and oftentimes overlapping to allow a clear-cut division into categories (p. 6).

Nevertheless, readers will be interested to know that by far the majority of the papers here concern diverse aspects of Hittite religion (Alfonso Archi, 'The Singer of Kanesh and His Gods', pp. 11-26; Daliah Bawanypeck, 'Die Rituale der hethitischen Auguren. Zur Bedeutung ihrer Tätigkeit für das Königshaus und zu den Traditionen ihrer Rituale', pp. 31-46; Billie Jean Collins, 'The Politics of Hittite Religious Iconography', pp. 83-116; Amir Gilan, 'Sakrale Ordnung und politische Herrschaft im hethitischen Anatolien', pp. 189-206; Susanne Görke, 'Zur Bedeutung der hethitischen Famileengottheiten', pp. 207-12; Volkert Haas, 'Rituell-magische Aspekte in der althethitischen Strafvollstreckung', pp. 213-26; Joost Hazenbos, 'Die lokalen Herbst- und Frühlingsfeste in der späten hethitischen Großreichszeit', pp. 241-48; Manfred Hutter, 'Der Gott Tunapi und das Ritual der 'Bappi im Huwaššanna-Kult', pp. 249-58; Sylvia Hutter-Braunsar, "'Und Šauška, meine Herrin, nahm mich bei der Hand". Staatsgottheiten und persönliche Gottheiten Hattushilis III.', pp. 259-68; Carol F. Justus, 'What Is Indo-European about Hittite Prayers?', pp. 269-84; Alice Mouton, 'Use of Private Incubations Compared to "Official" Ones in Hittite Texts', pp. 293-300; Norbert Oettinger, 'Entstehung von Mythos aus Ritual. Das Beispiel des hethitischen Textes CTH 390A', pp. 347-56; Franca Pecchioli Daddi, 'LÚ^Uzilupuriyatalla and LÚ^UMUNUS^Uhuwaššannalla. Some Observations on Two Particular Religious Orders', pp. 357-68; Anna Maria Polvani, 'Relations between Rituals and Mythology in Official and Popular Hittite Religion', pp. 369-76; Ian Charles Rutherford, 'Women Singers and the Religious Organisation of Hatti. On the Interpretation of CTH 235.1 & 2 and Other Texts', pp. 377-94; Daniel Schwemer, 'Von Taḫurpa nach Ḫattuša. Überlegungen zu den ersten Tagen des AN.DAḪ.ŠUM-Festes', pp. 395-412; Itamar Singer, 'Questioning Divine Justice in Hittite Prayers', pp. 413-20; Piotr Taracha, 'Fremde Gottheiten und ihre anatolischen Namen. Betrachtungen zur hethitischen Religion der Großreichszeit', pp. 451-60; and Giulia Torri, 'Bemerkungen zur Rolle des DUMU.LUGAL in den hethitischen Festritualen', pp. 461-70).

In addition, there are papers on Indo-European (Emilia Masson, 'The Indo-European Schema of the Ritualized Foundation of the Kingdom and the Notion of the "Complete Society"', pp. 285-92), Minoan (Peter W. Haider, 'Minoische Volksreligion am Ende des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.', pp. 227-40), Mycenaean (Massimo Cultraro, 'Exercise of Dominance. Boar Hunting in Mycenaean Religion and Hittite Royal Rituals', pp. 117-36), Amorite (Michael P. Streck, 'Die Religion der amurritischen Nomaden am mittleren Euphrat', pp. 421-32), Ugaritic (Manfried Dietrich, 'Der hurritische Kult Ugarits zwischen König und Volk', pp. 137-56), syncretistic Syrian (Guy Bunnens, 'The Storm-God in Northern Syria and Southern Anatolia from Hadad of Aleppo to Jupiter Dolichenus', pp. 57-82; and Sabine M.E. Fick, 'Zur Bedeutung der Baityloi in der Hoch- und Volksreligion.

Ausgewählte Zeugnisse des syrischen und kleinasiatischen Raumes', pp. 157-72), Urartian (Alina Ayzanian, 'The God Haldi and Urartian Statehood', pp. 27-30), Aramaean (Hannes D. Galter, 'Der Himmel über Hadattu. Das religiöse Umfeld der Inschriften von Arslan Tash', pp. 173-88; Herbert Niehr, 'Götter und Kulte in Sam'al', pp. 301-18; and Mirko Novák, 'Die Religionspolitik der aramäischen Fürstentümer im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.', pp. 319-46), Phrygian (Susanne Berndt-Ersöz, 'In Search of a Phrygian Male Superior God', pp. 47-56), Lydian (Michael Weissl, 'Das Artemision von Ephesos zur Zeit des lydischen Reiches', pp. 471-90) and Pisidian (Peter Talloen, 'Hannelore Vanhaverbeke and Marc Waelkens, Cult in Retrospect. Religion and Society in Pre-Hellenistic Pisidia', pp. 433-50) religion.

There is a wealth of information and new insights in this volume which anyone interested in the history of Near Eastern religion, particularly in Anatolia, will find valuable. It is perhaps a shame that more of an effort was not made to make the coverage of the 'angrenzende Gebiete' a bit more systematic. As it stands, the non-Anatolian traditions that are dealt with are rather random and certain regions and topics are simply ignored here. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the Bonn symposium has resulted in an impressive collection which makes a very important contribution to our understanding of religion and religious syncretism in the ancient world.

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D.T. Potts

A.W. Johnston, *Trademarks on Greek Vases: Addenda*, Aris and Phillips/Oxbow, Oxford 2006, xiv+242 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 13:978-0-85668-747-1/10:0-85668-747-2

The writing of lists is the beginning of wisdom. Alan Johnston's dedication to pursuit of the least appealing but most informative evidence for the pottery trade – the traders' marks scratched on Greek, notably Attic, pottery, resulted in the first edition of this work in 1979. It was not an easy book to use and Robert Cook's comment, which Johnston quotes here – 'this is a book which those interested in Greek trade...should not ignore, even if they do not understand it' – will find a response with those scholars who have been wise enough to use it. This new edition is easier to use – just – and the patent value of the evidence it offers should not deter students. Johnston reviews what has been done in the study over the last 25 years. It has helped fuel some strange doctrines but also resolved our view of how the Athenian potters' quarter worked and traded. Sadly the evidence is not always properly regarded and recorded by scholars who publish vases and who do not look beyond the painted decoration. In many respects the study may seem to promise more than it can easily deliver, yet there is the possibility here of identifying, if not by name, those who saw to it that Attic decorated pottery was familiar on tables all around the Mediterranean for over two centuries. The marks themselves are letters or ligatures of letters or simple geometric forms which are letter-like. The general phenomenon of such artist- or trader- or owner-marks is worldwide, and a few on the Attic pots are so like ones devised in the Lydian Greek world of Anatolia that we are probably entitled to have a view about the homeland of their scribes.¹

¹ See the reviewer in *Iran* 36 (1998), 5.

This work certainly establishes Johnston as Hero First Class in pottery studies, and we must hope that it will encourage others.

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John Boardman

V.I. Kozenkova, *Biritualizm v pogrebal'nom obryade drevnikh 'kobantsev'. Mogil'nik Tereze kontsa XII-VIII v. do n.e.* (Biritualism in the Burial Rites of the Ancient 'Kobans'. Tereze Burial Ground of the End of the 12th-8th Century BC), *Materialy po izucheniyu istoriko-kul'turnogo naslediya Severnogo Kavkaza* 5, Gosudarstvennoe predpriyatie 'Nasledie' ministerstva kul'tury Stavropol'skogo Kraya, 'Pamyatniki istoricheskoi mysli', Moscow 2004, 220 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 5-88451-173-6

This book is dedicated to publishing the material from the Late Bronze Age-Early Iron Age burial ground found near the village of Tereze, 25 km west of Kislovodsk (Stavropol region). In the Introduction, Kozenkova describes the location of the site and underlines the unique character of its burial rites, which combine the two traditions of cremation and inhumation. This requires detailed and comprehensive study of the site, whereby our knowledge of the local features of the Koban culture, to which it belongs, will be expanded.

The first chapter presents a brief outline of the history of the investigation of the site and a field report of the excavation of the burial ground. Three tombs were studied and the remains of a fourth (2a) were identified. Tombs 1 and 2 were found to contain multiple cremation burials (not less than 27 in the former and at least 20 in the latter). Tomb 3 was an inhumation burial of a male and female together with a horse. The tombs contained many pottery, metal, stone and bone items.

Chapter 2 is devoted to study of the burial traditions of the population that created the site. Tombs 1 and 2 were constructed from river stones on levelled ground. Whilst tomb 3 used the same material, it was constructed within a dug-out pit into which a horse had been placed. The base of the pit was formed into a proper floor and walls were then erected, one of which contains a fragment of a so-called Cimmerian anthropomorphic stele. K. came to the conclusion that tombs 1 and 2 were not special crematoria. According to her, the local burial rite underwent a three-stage evolution: initially it involved cremation of the body and grave-goods within the tomb; in the intermediate form the body was cremated in the tomb, then the ashes, together with grave-goods, were buried outside the tomb; finally, inhumation was adopted.

Chapter 3 studies the collection of about 1000 objects which excavation of the tombs has unearthed. These include clay and metal vessels; weapons and tools, some of Caucasian- and steppe-type, made of bronze, iron and bone; bronze horse trappings (various types of bits, cheek-pieces and badges); and personal ornaments, mainly bronze, occasionally of gold. The finds demonstrate the high technical and artistic accomplishments of the local population and their wide links with surrounding regions.

In Chapter 4, K. discusses the chronology of the burial ground. Using analogies from sites in Transcaucasia (Samtavro, Artik, Tli and Styrfaz) and south-eastern Europe (Belozer antiquities, Koziya-Sakharna culture, etc.) she supposes that tomb 2, containing full cremations, is the earliest – between the 12th-11th centuries BC and the turn of the 10th/9th. Tomb 1, which contains partial cremations (the grave-goods bear no traces of fire), dates

from the end of the 11th to the first half of the 8th century BC; and tomb 3 between the second half and the end of the 8th century BC.

K. concludes (Chapter 5 and the Conclusion) that the site belonged to the Koban culture, and that it sprang from two sources – Transcaucasia, in the basin of the Greater Liakhvi river in South Ossetia, and Central Europe, where, according to K., the rite of cremation met with in Tereze and some other sites of the central part of the northern Caucasus originated. This was not adopted directly but was diffused through the mediating Sabatinov culture of the northern Black Sea littoral. In time, the local population reverted to local rites, and cremation was to be found only episodically in the western area of Koban culture. Another conclusion is that objects from the early tombs (1 and 2) show evidence of the birth of antiquities of Novocherkassk type. These played a major role in the formation of the culture of the early nomads of south-eastern Europe in the ‘pre-Scythian’ period. K. identifies correctly the specific attributes of the site: the predominance of female and child cremations, the small quantity of tools and weapons, and the dominance of personal ornaments. One thing should be added. This burial ground yields a greater number of ‘votive’ and sacral zoomorphic objects than any other site.

Some of K.’s opinions and arguments are not beyond dispute. For example, how the Caucasian and European strands mentioned above were combined is not clear. It is essential to pay attention to the manifest sacral character of some objects and indeed of the whole burial ground. According to K., some of these objects act as chronological markers (a votive macehead, pins with disc-shaped heads, others with projecting five-coned heads, etc.), but they could well have been in use for long periods. There are some mistakes. For instance, inaccurate drawings of a number of arrowheads of early nomadic type belonging to the Chernogorov complex lend them a Novocherkassk-like appearance (p. 186, tabl. 17.11). Such matters apart, I would like to underline that this is a methodologically painstaking and serious volume, and a very important contribution to the study of the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age antiquities of the northern Caucasus.

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S.L. Dudarev

A. Lehoërff (ed.), *L'artisanat métallurgique dans les sociétés anciennes en Méditerranée occidentale. Techniques, lieux et formes de production*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 332, École française de Rome 2004, 392 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 2-7283-0678-8/ISSN 0223-5099

The volume under review contains 22 papers presented at the Colloquium organised at Ravello in Italy in 2000. The papers cover the geographical area of the western and central Mediterranean within a chronological frame from the Bronze Age to the Roman Imperial period; they are introduced by Anne Lehoërff (pp. 1-4). A brief summary of the results of the colloquium is presented by Claude Rolley (pp. 379-83). The papers are organised into three parts: technical knowledge and the transfer of techniques; sources, methods and the results of studies of metallurgical techniques; and diffusion of products and spatial integration of craftsmanship.

The first group of papers is opened by an article by A.M. Bietti Sestieri describing the model of exchanges between the Aegean world and the western Mediterranean in the 2nd

millennium BC based on the data of metallurgy. Special attention is devoted to mechanisms which allowed contacts between the different socio-economic entities, whereas the strategic role during the period under discussion was played by the large islands of the Mediterranean: Crete, Cyprus, Sicily and Sardinia (pp. 7-31). A. Perea explores gold workshops and production in the Iberian Peninsula in the 1st millennium BC (pp. 33-43), identifying different technological domain systems – this concept is a useful theoretical construction for archaeologists dealing with gold archaeological artefacts. Based on the case study of the assamblage from Baiões (Viseu, Portugal), B. Armbruster traces the Atlantic tradition as well as Mediterranean innovations in Late Bronze Age metalworking (pp. 45-65). The first analytical results of study of the most ancient iron artefacts found in Italy, conducted by the Centre for Conservation of the Soprintendenza Archeologica in Florence, are presented by F. Delpino, G. Giacchi and P. Pallecchi (pp. 67-76). Of special interest is the study of personal ornaments of precious metal from the necropolis of San Montano on the island of Pithecusa conducted by P.G. Guzzo. This allows us to single out modal specifics in the earliest Euboean colony in Italy in the second half of the 8th century BC (pp. 77-101). C. Tarditi analyses the Greek imports (from Corinth, Argos, Athens and Sparta) and local products (Peucetan, Etrusco-Campanian, Tarantine, etc.) among the bronze vessels of the Archaic and Classical periods in Apulia (pp. 105-12). J. Guillaime's paper is devoted to the study of bronze artefacts from various deposits in Languedoc dated to the Final Bronze Age III. The author singles out a number of traditions in metalworking in this area in the 7th-6th centuries BC: continental, Atlantic, Iberian, Italian and Mediterranean (pp. 117-25). A short paper by E. Formigli (pp. 113-15) outlines traditions and innovations in ancient metalworking based primarily on Archaic Etruscan material.

In the second part of the book the paper by C. Domergue, which is devoted to the important topic of mines and metal production in the Mediterranean world in the 1st millennium BC, attracts special attention. Using the work of ancient authors and archaeological and archaeometallurgical data, the author identifies the zones of extraction of silver and lead, copper and tin, gold and iron, traces the long-distance trade in metals, and examines their use at their final destination (pp. 129-60). A. Lehoërff classifies the sources for study of artistic metalworking in Italy, including the finished items, the waste deposits, casting moulds and remains of workshops, and poses essential questions about methods of study (pp. 161-69). M. Pernot demonstrates a similar approach in the study of bronzeworking, primarily on material from Gaul (pp. 171-91). C. Mordant discusses the problem of recycling in the bronzeworking of Bronze Age in Europe, and the chronological and geographical variations in production and consumption between the mid-3rd millennium and the 7th century BC (pp. 263-85). Three papers are devoted to general and case studies of the bronze metallurgy in Sicily (R.M. Albanese, pp. 193-209; G. Di Stefano, pp. 211-27) and Sardinia (F. Lo Schiavo, pp. 229-61). The study by J.-M. Welter and R. Guibillini (pp. 287-300), based on chemical analysis and metalographical study of two vessels from Herculaneum, shows the stages of manufacture, in particular that the bellies of the vessels were made by hammering the rim of a cast base-plate.

The third part of the book contains both casual studies and papers devoted to some general aspects of metalworking. Three papers in the first group are devoted to new studies of the metallurgy of the 6th and 5th centuries BC in central Etruria (B. Aranguren *et al.*, pp. 323-39); and to the publication of the workshop of a *plumbarius* (workshop VI, 12), excavated in Herculaneum in 1961 by A. Maiuri, including the graphic reconstruction of the

house, illustrated by photographic material showing the oven and the finds (M. Pagano, pp. 353-63), as well as a special study of lead ingots found in the workshop (N. Monteix, pp. 365-78). This enables us to trace the commerce in lead between Spain and Italy and the specific techniques used by *plumbarii* in Italy.

An important paper by A. Nijboer discusses various aspects of space in relation to workshops and presents not only the archaeological evidence of workshops dating to the 8th and 7th centuries BC, but also some general models associated with trading posts/*emporia*, resources and mining areas, as well as the emergence of *polis* and early city-states (pp. 303-21). G. Zimmer examines some specific problems of the organisation of workshops for the manufacture of large-scale bronze sculpture, using as primary evidence archaeological finds of the Classical and Hellenistic periods from Athens and Rhodes (pp. 341-51).

Some deficiencies notwithstanding, for instance the complete absence of illustrations to Guzzo's article (rendering the article difficult to understand to all except those who know the material discussed *in extenso!*), this is a useful volume for those interested in the modern state of studies of metallurgy and metalworking in the western and central Mediterranean. The book reveals current trends in scholarship, presents new material, but also, which is especially important, offers new approaches and general models.

Bonn, Germany

Mikhail Treister

R. Loverance, *Byzantium*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 2004, 3rd ed., 96 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 0-674-01389-1

Rowena Loverance's *Byzantium* provides a beautifully written and wonderfully illustrated introduction to Byzantium. Despite its brevity (more than half its 91 pages are devoted to 103 illustrations, 63 of them in colour), its seven chapters still cover the main themes of Byzantine political history with a crisp clarity. So just a single enjoyable evening with this book would easily turn the attentive reader into a well-informed beginner. But its especial virtue is in expanding its brief narrative through apt illustrations that not merely help explain and illustrate the political narrative but provide a depth to it as well. This not only saves the narrative from being superficial but links that narrative to developments in Byzantine art and culture and even theology. It achieves this very attractively. At no point is the reader faced with a double-page of unadorned text, though just once near the end (at pp. 88-89) there is merely a single medallion to relieve the text, perhaps appropriately marking Byzantium's decline to its imminent fate. Each of the high-quality illustrations is either discussed in the actual narrative or else linked to that narrative by an informative caption. Overall it is a quite remarkable little book that both attentive and inattentive reader will enjoy returning to frequently.

This third edition is in a different format from the first edition, slightly taller and narrower which gives it a more sophisticated appearance. (I have not seen the second edition.) It is also 20 pages longer (91 rather than 70 pages), mainly because of enlarged and additional illustrations with few changes to the actual text. (I noted additional sentences on p. 24 on Justinian's financial bureaucracy and p. 49 on icons but there may be other additions or alterations.) Such a compact text will naturally have experts querying interpretations at varying points but L. would also undoubtedly be able to cite expert support for

every statement she makes. So the reader will not be led astray through the brevity of the text and is likely to be excited into wanting more.

Unfortunately a typesetting error has lost a sentence at the top of page 26 and several lines at the top of page 28, which can be restored by those who have access to the first edition, and there is also a duplicated a sentence at the top of page 27. Otherwise there are very few typographical mistakes. For the convenience of those who obtain the book but do not have access to the first edition, I add the missing text. Page 26: '<One of the most successful prostitutes in history is another star character in Justinian's reign, his wife Theodora. Her life, both in its>'. The missing text on page 28 will also serve to illustrate L.'s use of art objects: 'Ivory containers (*pyxides*) may also have had a religious use <to hold the elements of the Eucharist, but may nevertheless feature the same lolling shepherds, complete with cymbals to divert their flocks. And on the mosaic floors of the Great Palace in Constantinople, the only part of this elusive building to have survived, the pastoral theme apparently appealed> equally to imperial phantasies.' One trusts the British Museum will correct these slips in a work that certainly deserves a fourth edition.

University of Melbourne

Roger Scott

C.L. Lyons, J.K. Papadopoulos, L.S. Stewart and A. Szegedy-Maszak, *Antiquity and Photography, Early Views of Ancient Sites*, J. Paul Getty Trust/Thames and Hudson, London 2005, xii+226 pp., 122 illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-500-54316-X/13: 978-0-500-54316-0

This book is published to mark the Getty Villa's first special exhibition. It is not a catalogue of the exhibition itself, though most of the photographs used to illustrate it come from the Getty Museum Department of Photography and the Special Collections of the Research Library at the Getty Research Institute. It covers the period from the first invention of photography, in 1839, down to the 1870s, from daguerreotypes to photographs printed from wet collodion glass negatives. The discussion comprises a series of essays, each illustrated with its own set of figures, after an Introduction by Andrew Szegedy-Maszak: 'The Art and Science of Antiquity in Nineteenth Century Photography' (Claire Lyons); 'Antiquity in the Daguerreotypes of Joseph Philibert Girault de Prangey' (Lindsay Stewart); 'Antiquity Depicted' (John Papadopoulos); and 'An American on the Acropolis' (Szegedy-Maszak), together with commentary on the 16 plates, in two 'portfolios' of pictures by photographers whose work is not included in the main essays. Pride of place is given to Girault de Prangey, including some recently rediscovered examples of his daguerreotypes, at the beginning, and William Stillman at the conclusion. Thus it is not comprehensive, as James Robertson, the early Greek photographers, together with Francis Frith, Félix Bonfils and Pascal Sébah, who covered a wide area of Mediterranean antiquity, are represented only by a few photographs, while there is no mention at all of Francis Bedford.

Stewart's essay captures well the excitement caused by the announcement in Paris in 1839 of Louis Daguerre's invention. Its significance for the appreciation of the ancient world is illustrated by the despatch, in the very same year, of trained daguerreotypists to photograph the monuments; though the original does not survive the published, carefully engraved version of Joly de Lotbinière's daguerreotype of the Parthenon shows both the

qualities and limitations of the new process – qualities by the way the engraved image, which measures 15 x 10 cm, can be enlarged to reveal its detail (compare, for example, the 40 x 55 cm poster version advertising the recent exhibition staged at the Danish Institute in Athens on the ‘Photographic Journey of Hans Christian Andersen from Rome to Constantinople’), limitations by the fact that because the daguerreotype process could produce only a single, positive image, the original was inevitably destroyed in making the engraved copy. It took Fox Talbot’s virtually contemporary invention of what he called the calotype process, which produced negatives which could then be reproduced in unlimited positive prints for photography to become anything more than a curiosity.

The discussion and illustration here of Girault de Prangey’s work brings this home. His daguerreotypes of ancient monuments throughout the Mediterranean world, now directly copied from the originals by modern processes, are precise and remarkably clear – see, in particular, his image of the small round temple at Baalbek (fig. 1 on p. 8), or the round ‘Temple of Vesta’ by the Tiber in Rome (fig. 3, p. 12). One technical limitation of the original process was that it produced mirror images, here faithfully reproduced, so that the view of the interior of the Propylaea to the Athenian Acropolis (fig. 8, p. 80) puts the ‘Frankish’ tower to the right, while the next figure, of the Erechtheion, reverses the positions of the north and south porches (this evidently confused Girault de Prangey himself, since what he labels as the west front is in fact the east). Stewart quite rightly rejects the temptation to correct the orientation of these photographs when reproducing them here.

These early daguerreotypes are exciting. Yet they cannot have made much of an impact originally. They were carefully preserved by de Prangey in the wooden boxes in which they remained till their recent rediscovery, unpublished and uncirculated. As single pictures they shared the same limitations as paintings, without the advantage of colour; compare, for example, de Prangey’s view of the Tower of the Winds at Athens and Elgin’s Clock Tower in the background (fig. 4, p. 75) with the oil painting by Martinus Rørbye of 1836.¹ This is especially true where the painting or drawing was made with the aid of a lens. Lyons points out the significance of the invention of the camera lucida in 1806. This can be illustrated by a series of drawings of Athens made *ca.* 1812 by Haller von Hallerstein, and used by him as the basis for watercolours which he sold to Grand Tourists, of which there is an excellent example, of the Acropolis from the west, in the Whitworth Art Gallery at Manchester.

It was different with the calotype negative/positive process of Fox Talbot. At first the images are less clearly detailed than the daguerreotypes, well illustrated here by comparing the views of the Parthenon on the adjacent figs. 8 and 9 on pp. 120 and 121, the engraving of the 1839 daguerreotype and the 1848 calotype by the Revd George William Bridges, or, more directly, the actual daguerreotype by de Prangey, fig. 7 on p. 78. These limitations were overcome by the mid-1850s with the use of glass rather than paper negatives, even though the wet collodion process remained cumbersome and difficult to handle, particularly in Mediterranean heat (on the expedition to Stratoniceia from Newton’s excavations at the Mausoleum the photographer, Spackman, had to fall back on the old waxed paper negatives when the collodion boiled on his glass plates). Even so, the examples in this book of photographs of Egyptian monuments by Francis Frith show what was being achieved by 1858. Already, by the time of the Crimean War, photographs were on sale to visitors to Athens and other Mediterranean countries. On his way to Constantinople in 1853 during

¹ Pl. 26 in R. Stoneman’s *A Luminous Land: Artists discover Greece* (Los Angeles 1998).

the early rumbles of the Crimean War the former Royal Engineers lieutenant, John Arabin Lintorn Simmons called in at Athens and bought copies of photographs, almost certainly by James Robertson.

In this book these developments culminate with the work of William Stillman and his magnificent album on *The Acropolis of Athens, illustrated picturesquely and architecturally in photographs* (London 1870). Here Szegedy-Maszac comments that the photographer was doing more than merely recording the ancient monuments, as other photographers had done. Rather, he was setting them within their full historical context, including the actual city of Athens as it was in his own day. True, his photographs include views of the Acropolis seen over areas of 19th-century Athens, but it was rather Stillman's contemporaries, Bonfils and above all Pascal Sébah who recorded the Byzantine churches as well as the classical monuments. In a real sense, these 19th-century photographers were following in the footsteps of the earlier graphic artists who had already visited the regions and recorded the monuments. But from now on, such serious recording became the preserve of the photographer; watercolour versions of the views, more and more, pass to the amateurs. Photographs represent more than a new development in the way images of antiquity could be made. Even though Haller von Hallerstein hoped to sell multiple watercolour versions of the drawings he had made of Athenian monuments, they could at most go to the few well-to-do Grand Tourists who managed to get there in the early years of the 19th century. After the false start of the daguerreotypes, photographic prints were sold to an ever-increasing clientele; their work parallels the extension of visits to the ancient West and East by an increasingly prosperous middle class, the patrons of Thomas Cook's tours as well as independent travellers. Not only this; the photographs were equally available from retailers in London and other cities, while the albums found a wider circulation than among the aristocratic supporters of the Society of Dilettanti. It is all part of the opening up of the ancient world.

This is a fascinating and important study. I have detected only the very slightest of slips. The early 18th-century antiquarian (p. 112) was of course William Stukeley, not Struckely. On pp. 40 and 42 the photographers on Newton's excavation of the Mausoleum at Budrum, Corporal Spackman and Lance Corporal McCartney are promoted to lieutenants by Lyons. This is interesting. The lieutenant in charge of Newton's Royal Engineers (and in effect the second in command of the excavations), was Murdoch Smith, a highly qualified graduate of the University of Glasgow (it was he, rather than Spackman, who devised the scaffolding tower to take vertical photographs). Spackman and his successor were only ranking soldiers, without the same social or educational backgrounds of the photographers discussed in this book, but trained in photography by the Royal Engineers originally for military purposes, another instance of the social broadening represented by photography.

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H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library Collection, Washington, DC 2004, paperback edition, x+264 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 0-88402-308-7

The issue of a paperback edition of *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* in 2004, some seven years after the original hardcover edition and a decade after the symposium at

which the 14 papers were originally given, is probably adequate evidence of the success of this book. It is not often that a collection of papers from a conference, even a Dumbarton Oaks symposium, will have the market to justify a reprint, and this is probably particularly true for Byzantine topics. Here the main point is perhaps that not only was the collection a success but that the study of Byzantium has thrived sufficiently to justify a paperback reprint. That would have been unthinkable even late last century.

Henry Maguire notes in his Introduction that, despite its centrality to outsiders' views of Byzantium, 'there have been relatively few attempts to analyse the Byzantine court in its entirety as a phenomenon.' The complexity of the court and its ramifications for so many aspects of Byzantine culture and life becomes abundantly clear in this wonderfully rich collection from an all-star cast. The distinctively Byzantine aspect of much of this court culture is particularly striking as it does reveal that Byzantium, despite its close links with surrounding cultures, also had its own idiosyncrasies (though Oleg Grabar notes the similarity of gifts which perhaps unexpectedly link Byzantium with Arab and Turkish courts). The various papers all likewise draw attention to the changing nature of the court across time, which sometimes needs emphasising to those Western mediaevalists who see Byzantium as an unchanging and undifferentiated monolith against which to judge the West during the whole period, this partly resulting from an unguarded acceptance of the Byzantine court's own propaganda of its permanence and immutability. The 14 papers are divided into six sections, which, though providing some helpful grouping, do not reveal the real range of topics which draw attention to so many different facets of Byzantine culture and the range of areas on which the court impinges and the complexity of what is involved. The collection particularly reveals how the whole elaborate apparatus of Byzantine ceremony played an important role in enabling the central government to administer and control a vast empire over a long period while it faced mammoth challenges on many fronts. This admittedly is virtually taken for granted by the various authors who separately contribute to this complex picture, although †Alexander Kazhdan and Michael McCormick in their joint paper conclude that the ceremonial apparatus 'looks like a magnificent tool for the social and political control of an ambitious and changing ruling class'.

So what is often taken for empty show and pomp is shown to be in fact pragmatic and functional but also contributing to Byzantium's rich culture. What is so impressive about the book as whole is that each paper is both so different and yet contributes so definitely to the subject of the book. It is a rich collection with each paper providing concrete examples and ideas (with a noticeable and a refreshing absence of theorising jargon) which contribute to a complex overall picture.

Much of this springs from a central Byzantine tenet of the emperor as God's representative on earth and consequently his court as being, in a sense, heaven on earth. After M.'s Introduction, which provides a succinct summary of the many facets, George Majeska's opening paper explores the ambiguous role of emperor as both secular and clerical in the ritual of Hagia Sophia at coronations, dominical festivals and the annual Holy Saturday rite. Similar ambiguity and subtlety is explored further in papers on the social composition of the court, their salaries and the significance of receiving annual pay in gold from the very hand of the emperor and the unexpectedly subtle links between titles and money and status; the significance of costumes and regalia; ceremonial and liturgy; icons and palace relics; gardens; palaces (including William Tronzo's examination of how the Norman court in

Palermo adapted Byzantine and Arab ritual for its architecture and so can help explain its Byzantine model and likewise Catherine Jolivet-Levy's investigation of the small Armenian church at Aghtamar to supplement our evidence for the portrayal of emperors); court rhetoric and literature and hence the cultural and intellectual life of courtiers. Since this is a collection of papers, there is no overarching viewpoint, though M.'s Introduction does draw attention to a fundamental change in the 11th century from the Macedonian to the Komnenian period, leading to administrators being chosen from a hereditary aristocracy, a change which was also reflected in architecture and art. M. concludes the book with his own chapter on how the heavenly and imperial courts impinge on each other in panegyric and art, and indeed are seen as intermingling and overlapping with each other with no precise boundary, again revealing how this ambiguous relationship is subtly exploited. Overall this study of Byzantine court culture helps show how Byzantine society works as a whole.

Illustrations are plentiful but all just black and white and in fact tend to look grey. But if that is a little disappointing, it perhaps emphasises that each illustration is there to illustrate an academic point. This is a book rich in ideas; for all the colour of the Byzantine court, this is certainly no pretty coffee-table book. If I were to find a criticism, what perhaps is missing and still needed is more on the effect of the court on Byzantine literature through patronage and links with courts elsewhere (despite George Dennis and Paul Magdalino's perceptive contributions on rhetoric and court culture). Byzantine literature is still the ugly duckling of that civilisation, yet changes across this period are remarkable. It would be unfair to complain of what is missing since we are given so much, but rather to hope that the theme could be extended at some future meeting.

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Roger Scott

J.G. Manning and I. Morris (eds.), *The Ancient Economy. Evidence and Models*, Stanford University Press, Stanford 2005, xiv+285 pp., 24 figs. and 5 tabs. Cased. ISBN 0-8047-4805-5

The last decade or so, as the editors observe, has seen a number of conferences attempting to put new life into the economic history of ancient Greece and Rome. The particular conference from which this volume takes its origin was distinctive both in encompassing the Near East and Egypt as well as Greece and the Roman empire and in explicitly encouraging a social science approach: three Stanford professors of economics and sociology have responses printed here. Both these features are welcome. Unfortunately neither they, nor the volume as a whole, prove to be very enlightening, and although the editors claim that the seven years that have elapsed between conference and publication have allowed reflection and refinement of goals, there is little evidence of this in the papers themselves, several of which are manifestly papers written in 1997-1998. This volume now reads like a period piece, rather than as the foundation for future advance.

The editors conclude their Introduction, which they term a 'position piece', by denying that their volume is 'yet another attack on Moses Finley's work', and by endorsing Finley's stress, in the last sentence of his last book, *Ancient History: Evidence and Models* (London

1985), on the need for simplifying models in order to achieve a more complex picture. But the volume proves to be much more obsessed with Finley than creative with model-building. 'Finley, M.I., *passim*' claims the index, in what is in this case only a slight exaggeration, although the index is lazy and inaccurate in other respects ('Economic growth, 10, 23, 104' says the index when the last two substantive chapters, by Hitchner and Saller, covering pp. 207-38, have 'Economic Growth' or 'Growth in the Ancient Economy' in their titles).

What we learn about Finley, despite Saller's best efforts to rescue him, is that he misrepresented even what the works he himself cited said about the economies of the ancient near east, that his 'divided Mediterranean' model and his essentially static picture were misleading, and that his use of 'rationality' and criteria for interdependence of markets were unrealistic outside the world of ideal types. As one of the social scientists, Takeshi Amemiya, here writes (p. 158), 'The consumer really does not maximise utility, and the producer really does not maximise profit.'

Most of the contributors to the volume survey not just Finley but past literature. If you want to know what was being done on the economies of the ancient near east or Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt in the years up to 1998, Liverani and Bedford, Manning and Bagnall will tell you. They also tell you something about the evidential base upon which the economic history of these areas must be built. But they do little to offer any models. The Greek and Roman historians do a little better at the models, if less well at the job of surveying scholarship or evidence. Morris offers some stimulating observations about the improvement of standards of living in the Greek world between the Dark Age and the age of Alexander on the basis of increasing size and complexity of surviving houses. Bizarrely he offers no context for this, discussing neither sanctuaries nor cemeteries. Whether investing more in housing is a product of having more to invest or of disinvesting in other areas remains an unanswered question, raised only obliquely in Morris's conclusion. Davies offers further refinements of the models he has already suggested in print, but these models are not tested against equivalents for Roman or other societies, and so their heuristic value remains potential. Hitchner offers up evidence both of measures taken by Roman emperors that should have stimulated growth and of changes in the archaeological record which are indicative of growth, but although we gain some idea of the motors of the Roman economy, they are never integrated into anything that could be called a model. Saller, in a paper whose publication was anticipated in Scheidel and von Reden's Edinburgh Reader on *The Ancient Economy*,¹ offers a view as to how powerful the motors were and of their limited economic effect, but he himself stresses that his graph is merely a 'heuristic' device, and the anecdotal evidence with which he surrounds it, though used in a way very reminiscent of the way in which Finley used anecdotes, falls far short of justifying even his orders of magnitude.

Finley's *Ancient Economy* was a history of ideology, not an economic history. Starting from Finley's analysis is not going to lead to writing economic history and does not do so here. Economic history needs to start from the work of Hopkins, not that of Finley. That is, it needs to start from guesstimates of population, population change, productivity and changes in productivity. It also needs to concern itself with consumption and changes in consumption. The debates opened up by Garnsey, Gallant and Sallares and carried on by

¹ W. Scheidel and S. von Reden (eds.), *The Ancient Economy* (Edinburgh 2002).

Scheidel have offered a basis for modelling the history of the ancient economy. We now await someone bold enough to build on their foundations and to do so. This volume will offer them very little assistance.

University of Cambridge

Robin Osborne

N.F. Miller and K. Abdi (eds.), *yeki bud, yeki nabud: Essays on the Archaeology of Iran in Honor of William M. Sumner*, The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA, in association with the American Institute of Iranian Studies and the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA Monograph 48, Los Angeles 2003, xii+340 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 1-931745-05-6

The honorand of this *Festschrift*, William M. Sumner, has made an outstanding contribution to the archaeology of Iran, most especially by his rediscovery of Malyan, which was subsequently identified as ancient Anshan, the highland capital of Elam. This volume is a tribute to him by colleagues and past students, some of whom assisted him in his investigations at Malyan, which opened a new chapter on the antiquity of Iran. Not surprisingly, then, this volume concentrates on the western regions. Producing a well-balanced and focused *Festschrift* is no easy task, and the editors are to be congratulated for the ordering of the papers and the general flow of topics that make this volume a coherent statement on substantive and theoretical points of view. In fact, with its consolidated bibliography and index it offers the best introduction to the key issues on west Iranian archaeology. As the editors note, several themes are prominent: 'the relations between mobile and sedentary peoples; the difficulty of identifying political or cultural boundaries; the importance of geographical factors for understanding sociopolitical phenomena' (p. 3). The limits of this review permit little more than a synopsis of the book's individual chapters.

The use of survey data is well developed in Iranian archaeology and several papers continue this tradition. T.J. Wilkinson looks at the slippery problem of long-term population trends in Upper Mesopotamia and Iran, and argues that, caveats aside, reliable demographic curves are possible to construct and that their fluctuations mirror the historical discontinuities of complex societies. Similarly, N. Kouchoukos and F. Hole re-examine the data from surveys of the Susiana plain in light of new techniques with a view to proposing population estimates for the period *ca.* 7000-4000 BC. Their results indicate (fig. 5.4) that while population rates decline in the Deh Luran plain after about 5500 BC, in the Susiana they rose dramatically, reaching a peak between 4750-4250 BC. H.T. Wright and E. Carter also reinterpret survey data – in their case from an archaeological survey of the Ram Hormuz plain, south-east of the Susiana, carried out nearly 40 years ago. They conclude that the Ram Hormuz region absorbed excess population during times of growth in and around Susa. E. Haerinck and B. Overlaet report on Louise Vanden Berghe's sounding at Tall-i Qaleh, in the Fars province, and match it up with survey finds. Finally, M. Rosenberg using survey data from the Marvdasht region, also in Fars, shows that the Epipalaeolithic is in the Zarzian tradition.

In an expansive essay, P. de Miorschedji examines major trends in the history of Elamite civilisation by discussing topics such as spatial diversity within the 'Elamite confederacy',

and the cyclic economic and sociopolitical episodes stretching some two millennia, which are best represented at Susa, the core of Elam. Among his conclusions is that in Elam expansion started on the eastern fringe of the lowlands, whereas collapse began in the highlands. This is well matched by the contribution of K. Abdi, who provides a discerning overview of the complex nature of Proto-Elamite civilisation, and suggests that administrative devices, *par excellence*, such as tablets, seals and seal impressions distinguish this 'horizon'. Art-historical techniques are used in two papers on south-west Iran. In one, H. Pittman convincingly suggests that the Susa gold and silver statuettes of offering bearers, now in the Louvre, found close to the base of the ziggurat, do not date to the Middle Elamite period (12th century BC), but rather to the 18th or 17th century. In another, Y. Majidzadeh discusses a Sumerian statue of Early Dynastic period found on Khark Island in the Persian Gulf.

Malyan and its remains are understandably at the core of some papers, which reflect the multi-disciplinary nature of the project. M.A. Zelder and M.J. Blackman distinguish two socially distinct sectors of Banesh Malyan using a combination of faunal analysis and chemical characterisation of seal impressions. They show that the elite residents of structure ABC were not involved in the production of meat, whereas those in area TUV were concerned in meat procurement and later specialisation. Using archaeometallurgical investigations, V.C. Pigott, H.C. Rogers and S.K. Nash confirm earlier suggestions based on contextual analyses that Kaftari Malyan was not a major metalworking centre. While these results may show that the production area has probably not been located, it raises the possibility that Malyan was a facilitator (a conduit) in the metals trade rather than a producer. In one of two papers dealing with texts, M.W. Stolper provides a translation and commentary on three stray Elamite tablets from Malyan, which bring a few new words and names to the corpus of Elamite. In a short yet persuasive paper, D.T. Potts suggests that to understand more fully Magan's relations with Anshan, it would be better to look at Liyan, in the Bushehr region, rather than Malyan and the highlands. An interesting methodological approach is proposed by J.R. Alden, who shows how pottery sherd taphonomy, specifically the breakage patterns of ceramics resulting from modes of disposal, can be usefully employed as a tool to determine the function of space in which they were recovered.

Issues of mobile subsistence strategies are dealt with in detail in two papers. Using a combination of ethnographic and archaeological survey data, A. Alizadeh looks at the inter-relationship between mobile pastoralism and complex societies in the Fars district. He concludes that the plain of Susiana witnessed a decline of population during the Middle Susiana period. In a paper that would appeal those with a research interest in ethnoarchaeology, L. Beck, on the other hand, examines how the Qashqa'i nomads have changed their land-use strategies in recent years in order to accommodate government policies. N.F. Miller presents a very useful overview of the state of archaeobotanical research in Iran and points us to future directions. She suggests that fieldwork in the southern regions is likely to offer clues on the eastward spread of agriculture from Anatolia, and that Iran generally has much to offer on the issue of the origin and spread of bread wheat and the exploitation of exotic crops such as broomcorn millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) and *Pistacia vera*.

Another group of papers is concerned with north-west Iran and its connection with the adjacent region of Caucasus. M.S. Rothman, focusing on stylistic variations of Early

Transcaucasian ceramics, defines a 'culture province'. He makes an insightful observation that the ETC IIB and III burnished pottery encompasses approximately the same territorial area as the heartland of Urartu, and that the environment itself restricted the choice of economic subsistence for the residents of both cultures. Following on from other papers, K.S. Rubinson persuasively argues that the Trialeti silver vessels and the Hasanlu Gold Bowl show Hurrian influence despite the difference in their date. Her argument, based on an analysis of imagery, adds weight to those who maintain that the eastern Anatolian-Transcaucasian highlands were the homeland of Hurrians. In a tantalising paper, R.H. Dyson jr and M.M. Voigt compare the 8th-century BC Burned Building II at Hasanlu to Mesopotamian cult buildings, in order to discern formal similarities of organisational plan. They conclude that while the straight-axis plan of a Mesopotamian temple fits well with the Hasanlu building, differences are noticeable, including patterns of circulation within the complex.

The Iron Age of south-west Iran is the concern of a number of papers. T.C. Young jr examines the Iron Age settlement of the Fars provinces and suggests that contrary to the commonly held view of an apparent gap in occupation between 900 and 600 BC a re-examination of sources suggests otherwise. The tomb at Arjan is discussed by D. Stronach in relation to the formation of the Achaemenid Persian empire, and adds support to the view that both Achaemenes and Teispes were among the petty rulers who vied for power in south-western Iran soon after the conquest of Susa by the Assyrians. R. Boucharlat explores the Achaemenid occupation in the Persepolis area and compares it to the area around Susa and suggests that the settlement patterns in the immediate environs around these cities reflect the various activities that were required to maintain them. M. Kozuh scrutinises the inscriptions at Persepolis. He argues that their content was not simply determined by royal ideology, but appear to have been edited by scribes and copyists, who also sacrificed content to maintain visual symmetry. As in other Near Eastern civilisations, it was not just the words that were powerful, but the image of the writing, too.

D. Whitcomb explores the concept of *Zeitgeist* in the Middle Islamic period using ceramics from Sirjan, which have been used to anchor 10th-11th-century AD chronology in Syria. He speculates that this horizon may be the result of some form of long-distance interaction. Finally, E.O. Negahban provides an interesting insight into the formative years of archaeology as an academic discipline at Tehran University and the bureaucracy associated with it.

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Antonio Sagona

C. Morgan, *Early Greek States beyond the Polis*, Routledge, London/New York 2003, xii+326 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-415-08996-4

The Greek *polis* has been the subject of many famous studies, of which the old book by Fustel de Coulanges¹ was very influential. It was followed by many other books and studies,

¹ N.D. Fustel de Coulanges, *La cité antique: étude sur le culte, le droit, les institutions de la Grèce et de Rome* (Paris 1864).

in recent times, particularly the notable series of products of the Copenhagen Polis Centre by Mogens Hansen and his colleagues.² These very detailed studies have much improved our picture of the Greek *polis* in many of its aspects. In contrast, the *ethnoi*, the non-*polis* Greek states, have hitherto been examined much less thoroughly, partly for lack of clear and easily understandable literary sources, partly because, even for archaeologists, Greek cities were a much more attractive field of study than the villages of the *ethnoi*, whose sanctuaries have also been little investigated in the past compared with their more famous companions in the cities and main Greek centres. But the situation is changing slowly, and many rural sanctuaries in the territory of the *ethnoi* are starting to become better known, while the surface surveys of some parts of Greece have also contributed to our understanding of the countryside pattern of those parts of Greece in which the *polis* system was not fully developed.

Catherine Morgan has dedicated much effort to her book and it is beyond doubt a useful reference tool. She discusses thoroughly and weighs carefully the importance of various written mentions of the constitution of Greek *ethnoi*, rejecting some as problematic or lacking in direct knowledge of the situation. Not much, however, remains among safe references, and little new can be found in this field. Therefore M. rightly attempts another approach to her subject by examining other aspects of available information; this can be warmly welcomed. One is a detailed survey, including good and interesting photographs, of the landscapes of the territories of the *ethnoi*. Greece was much more heavily forested in antiquity, much greener in Archaic times. To some extent large parts of Greece later became a set of ruins of the past, but much remains still as in ancient times. The natural condition of the landscape in non-urban parts of Greece beyond the tourist resorts can still be understood from the present state. Undoubtedly it had a very strong influence on socio-economic and political structures, especially in those parts of Greece less favourable endowed to support intense agricultural use, as was the case in most areas in which the *ethnoi* system developed.

Much effort has also been devoted to the discussion of sanctuaries and settlements of the areas of the non-*polis* states. M. collects much scattered information on excavations and surveys and she discusses carefully what can be gained from such sources, even if in some cases she does not catch exactly what the published (and unpublished) corpus of *ex-vota* from sanctuaries such as Pherai and Philia means within the broader context of comparisons; certainly many *ex-vota* were made by itinerant bronzesmiths on the occasions of festivals and pilgrimages (pp. 138-39). This field is certainly promising and, as many excavations and surface surveys are ongoing, much improvement of our knowledge in can be expected.

M. is certainly right in stressing how few are the important sources on her subject and how differentiated was the political system in the *ethnoi* states in Greece, but one soon gets the impression that she is too timid to come to any more general conclusions. Of course, she is not alone in this position. For the ancient Greeks *ethnoi* were substantially different from *poleis*, but their political structure also refused to fit into the Bronze Age centralised systems of divine-based power: they had assemblies, juridical systems, aristocracies, sometimes also tyranny. Their *ethnos* was apparently more archaic, nearer to the tribal system in

² See the reviews by T. Figueira in *AWE* 5 (2006), 252-303, *AWE* 6 (2007), 284-321, above in this issue, and concluding in *AWE* 8 (2009).

existence alongside more sophisticated examples, but generally they all accepted the transition from blood community to polity, as best expressed in the contest between the Erinyes and Athena at the court of Athens in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*.

But even if one should expect an attempt at a more clearly defined synthesis than this book offers, it is anyway a good work of reference with exhaustive bibliography, references to ancient authors, and detailed reports of many phenomena from new excavations and surveys otherwise not easily available to the general reader. It also brings interesting insights into some local problems of interpretation of literary and archaeological sources and their mutual relations.

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Jan Bouzek

R. Rollinger (ed.), *Von Sumer bis Homer. Festschrift für Manfred Schretter zum 60. Geburtstag am 25. Februar 2004*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament Bd 325, Ugarit-Verlag, Münster 2005, 697 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 3-934628-66-4

Manfred Schretter, Extraordinary University Professor in the Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altorientalistik at the University of Innsbruck, is honoured in this hefty *Festschrift* by more than two dozen colleagues. Reflecting the honorand's own broad interests, the contributions range from Sumerian literature to archaeology, Old Testament, Luwian, Achaemenid studies and Greek history. The contents are as follows: R. Rollinger, 'Einleitende Gedanken: Festschriften: Eine verstaubte Tradition?', pp. 1-6; W. Allinger-Csollich, 'Die Größe und Lage der Heiligtümer im Esagil von Babylon', pp. 7-20; P. Attinger and M. Krebernik, 'L'Hymne à Hendursaga (Hendursaga A)', pp. 21-104; M.M. Berktold, 'Die Astronomischen Tagebücher: eine Quelle zur Frage von Kontinuität oder Wandel in Kult und Wirtschaft des achaimenidischen Babylon', pp. 105-52; R. Bichler and R. Rollinger, 'Die Hängenden Gärten zu Ninive – Die Lösung eines Rätsels?', pp. 153-218; M.A. Dandamayev, 'Freedom and Slavery in the Ancient Near East during the Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods', pp. 219-30; S.M.E. Fick, 'Das Erscheinungsbild des El-Kronos bei Philo von Byblos – Ein Beispiel für Kulturtransfer', pp. 231-56; G. Fischer, SJ, 'Wann begannen die Israeliten, die Ägypter auszuplündern? Zur Interpretationsgeschichte von Ex 3,22 und 12,36', pp. 257-68; H.D. Galter, '*Ša lam abubi*: Die Zeit vor der großen Flut in der mesopotamischen Überlieferung', pp. 269-302; P.W. Haider, 'Von Baal Zaphon zu Zeus und Typhon: Zum Transfer mythischer Bilder aus dem vorderorientalischen Raum in die archaisch-griechische Welt', pp. 303-38; I. Huber, 'Ersatzkönige in griechischem Gewand: Die Umformung der *šar puhi*-Rituale bei Herodot, Berossos, Agathias und den Alexander-Historikern', pp. 339-98; M. Jursa, 'Nochmals: aramäische Buchstabennamen in akkadische transliteration', pp. 399-406; G. Kipp, 'Io und Herodot: Zur Archäologie eines griechischen Mythos. Von der Kultlegende zum historiographischen "Bericht"', pp. 407-52; W. Kuntner, 'Bemerkungen zum Töpferhandwerk im Alten Orient und das Fallbeispiel Tell Anza im Eski Mosul Gebiet', pp. 453-80; G.B. Lanfranchi, 'The Luwian-Phoenician Bilingual of Çineköy and the Annexation of Cilicia to the Assyrian Empire', pp. 481-96; M. Lang, 'Generationskonflikt innerhalb der Mauern Uruks: Einige Bemerkungen zu Gestalt und Gehalt des sumerischen Kurzepos "Gilgameš und Akka"', pp. 497-508; J. Oelsner, 'Bemerkungen zu den sumerischen

Weihinschriften der nachaltbabylonischen Periode', pp. 509-20; J.M. Oesch, 'Metatextelemente in hebräischen Torarollen', pp. 521-34; B. Pöll, 'Ein Pazuzu-Kopf aus Tell Ababra', pp. 535-42; K. Radner, 'Kubaba und die Fische: Bemerkungen zur Herrin von Karkemiš', pp. 543-56; W. Sallaberger, "'bringen" im Sumerischen: Lesung und Bedeutung von d e₆ (DU) und t u m₂ (DU)', pp. 557-76; G.J. Selz, 'Was bleibt? I. Ein Versuch zu Tod und Identität im Alten Orient', pp. 577-94; S. Seminara, 'Kultur, Ideologie und "Propaganda" in den altbabylonischen Königsinschriften', pp. 595-612; C. Ulf, "'Naturbarbaren" und "Kulturbarbaren" in Jacob Burckhardts *Griechischer Kulturgeschichte*', pp. 613-34; M. Weszeli, 'Kleinviehausgaben aus Puzris-Dagan und die Söhne des Lu-Ningirsu', pp. 635-46; and J. Wieschöfer 'Daniel, Herodot und "Dareios der Meder": Auch ein Beitrag zur Idee der Abfolge von Weltreichen', pp. 647-54.

This is a monumental offering which ranges so broadly that scholars from many branches of ancient Near Eastern and Classical studies will be certain to find much that interests them, a fitting tribute to a highly respected and much admired scholar.

University of Sydney

D.T. Potts

C. Rudolph, *Das 'Harpyien-Monument' von Xanthos: seine Bedeutung innerhalb der spätarchaischen Plastik*, BAR International Series 1108, John and Erica Hedges, Oxford 2003, 74 pp., 47 pls. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-325-2

Of all the sculptures from Lycia, the reliefs from the Late Archaic pillar tomb known as the 'Harpy Monument' are perhaps the most famous and intriguing. The enigmatic subject matter of the reliefs has been the subject of numerous publications. This volume, the publication of Christen Rudolph's doctoral thesis submitted to the Ruhr-Universität Bochum in 2001, is the latest contribution. In it, R. takes a traditional approach, analysing the chronological position and regional affiliations of the sculpture style – an aspect discussed before, but summarily compared with debates over the subjects. To this, she adds another dimension: to compare the reliefs to the other Archaic and Early Classical sculpture from Lycia in order to determine their relative significance.

Until very recently the standard text on the earlier Archaic pillar tomb reliefs had been Ekrem Akurgal's book, published in 1941,¹ which described in detail three tombs known at the time. R.'s book represents a welcome update and expansion, for the first time gathering together 16 of the earliest Lycian sculptures. In terms of her analysis of the Harpy Monument, however, one suspects that stronger conclusions would have been possible if the focus were not so trained on stylistic aspects.

The text is divided into six chapters and an appendix on the painted tombs from Elmalı. The first two chapters cover the historical background of the Lycians and the historiography of Lycian sculpture. Chapters 3-5 contain the main analyses. Chapter 3 covers various aspects of the Harpy Monument in five sub-sections: colour; stylistic analysis in terms of chronology and regional affiliations; origins of the sculptor(s); brief conclusion on the chro-

¹ E. Akurgal, *Griechische Reliefs des VI. Jahrhunderts aus Lykien* (Berlin 1941). For the early pillar tomb reliefs, see now also T. Marksteiner, *Trysa; Eine zentrallykische Niederlassung im Wandel der Zeit* (Vienna 2002).

nology of the reliefs; the 'meaning' (Deutung) of the reliefs (that is, the subject matter); and the identity of the tomb-owner. R. concludes that the Harpy Monument should be dated after the late 480s BC, but before 470 BC, and that there were up to four sculptors who were local, but looking toward Miletus/Ephesus for their sculptural models. In terms of subject, she concludes that the reliefs depict the tomb owner before the Persian king on the front; Demeter and Persephone on the back; and on the sides (the north and south), she proposes a new solution, that they depict the tomb owner before heroised ancestors. She agrees with other scholars in identifying the Kybernis that Herodotus says led the Lycian navy in Xerxes' army as the dynast most likely to have owned the tomb.

Chapters 4-5 essentially catalogue the other Archaic and Early Classical sculptures from Lycia, and Chapter 6 lays out the conclusions. R.'s points here are rather mixed. Her statement that the Harpy Monument represents a continuation of former pillar tomb relief traditions, but is more stylistically progressive (p. 69) misses the fact that the iconographic programme is quite different and innovative, and also undervalues the stylistic difference of the reliefs, which is arguably more striking than the term 'progressive' implies.² She subsequently observes, however, that the Harpy Monument marks a turning point not only in style, but in quality and expense, and that its decoration influenced that of subsequent buildings constructed on the nearby acropolis of Xanthos – an important issue indicating the significance of the Harpy Monument's reliefs.

There are several benefits of the book: first, although missing the pillar tomb from Asaraltı and, obviously, the most recent orthostat reliefs found at Xanthos, the book is the first synthesis of the Archaic and Early Classical sculptures of Lycia.³ The text is well organised and clearly laid out, and follows a clear agenda. It provides good descriptions of the sculptures, cites numerous contemporary comparanda, and gives useful summaries with well-cited references for debates on the subject matter and date of the Harpy Monument as well as for the other Archaic and Classical sculptures.

There are problems. First are some of a technical nature – for example sections 3.2.5, 3.4, 4.5 and 4.9 are missing from the table of contents. Secondly, the plates are not of the best quality, and many of the Archaic Lycian sculptures are not illustrated. Thirdly, there are weaknesses in methodology. This is evident at the outset, for R. in her foreword does not specifically identify previous results which require correction, and which could affect the interpretation of the monument's significance. In fact, in terms of the chronological and regional style of the reliefs, R.'s results do not markedly depart from what had already been surmised by most scholars. And narrowing the chronological parameters down to *ca.* 482-472 BC, as opposed to between 480 and 470 BC does not change the relationship of the reliefs to the other Lycian reliefs. One might ask whether greater precision is even possible, since most of the comparanda can only be relatively dated.

² On these aspects, see C.M. Draycott, 'Dynastic Definitions: Differentiating status claims in the archaic pillar tomb reliefs of Lycia'. In A. Sagona and A. Çilingiroğlu (eds.), *Anatolian Iron Ages 6* (Leuven 2007), 103-34.

³ Asaraltı pillar tomb: C. Deltour-Levie, *Les piliers funéraires de Lycie* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1982). Marksteiner, as in n. 1: *Trysa*. New Xanthos orthostats: J. des Courtils, 'Nouvelles découvertes à Xanthos'. In K. Dörtlük, B. Varkıvanç, T. Kahya, J. des Courtils, M. Doğan-Alpaslan and R. Boyraz (eds.), *The 3rd International Symposium on Lycia, 7-10 November 2005, Antalya: Symposium Proceedings*, 2 vols. (Istanbul 2007), 145-52.

Beyond this, R. also states in her foreword that there has been no monograph on the reliefs, but there is a monograph on the Harpy Monument, published in 1975 by Jan Zahle.⁴ Zahle's book is in Danish, which admittedly limits its accessibility, but the lack of reference to his volume in R.'s book destabilises the reader's confidence in the scholarship. In terms of the discussion of subject matter, Zahle's book remains the more scholarly, for R.'s tends to accept previous interpretations uncritically. Discussions of the other Lycian sculptures also tend to replicate those in the preceding literature.

Overall, R.'s monograph is a first, encouraging attempt to analyse the importance of the Harpy Monument by comparing it with the other Lycian sculptures. As a reference tool, however, it should be used together with other standard texts on the Archaic and Early Classical reliefs of Lycia, and Lycian pillar tombs in general.⁵

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Catherine Draycott

D.M. Schaps, *The Invention of Coinage and the Monetization of Ancient Greece*, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 2004, xviii+293 pp., 13 figs. Cased. ISBN 0-472-11333-X

Having put at the centre of his study the problem of the invention of coinage and its impact on early Greek society, Schaps has approached this, a subject of numerous recent controversies, from a quite unusual angle. Briefly, he argues that the invention of coinage could be considered as main factor in the birth of the concept of money in ancient Greek society, which is quite similar to the modern one. Indeed the whole book is devoted to the proof of this thesis, though in the Preface S. stipulates that he has tried only 'to provide ... a framework in which continued research can take place' (p. vii). One should say that in this sense he does not deceive his readers' expectations, no matter whether that reader be an advanced numismatist or a person trying to get a first impression of the subject. S. consistently deploys a traditional circle of written, epigraphical, archaeological and numismatic sources, on one side meeting strict requirements of classical research, on the other satisfying the sincere curiosity of the neophyte and acquainting him with the basic data on the book's theme. One cannot avoid mention of the wide spectrum of economic, anthropological and general historical works cited in the book.

It is well known that the correct statement of a problem is half the success. S. has undoubtedly managed this. Having posed the question of why coins became so appropriate for the Greeks especially (who obviously had borrowed this Lydian invention), S. suggests thorough analysis of various aspects of early Greek society and of the role money (above all coinage) played in it. This not only revealed the visible external link between the spread of coinage and the necessity to meet the economic, social and political demands of the new-born *poleis* (for example the need of this particular types of state organisation to create new forms of government and administrative structures), but also disclosed a hidden, internal connection between coinage as means of uniform value with almost unlimited exchangeability and traditional Greek ways of thought.

⁴ J. Zahle, *Harpyiemonumentet i Xanthos. En lykisk pilleggrav* (Copenhagen 1975).

⁵ Zahle, as in n. 4; Deltour-Levie, as in n. 3; C. Bruns-Özgan, *Lykische Reliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Tübingen 1987), Marksteiner, as in n. 1.

Coins penetrated into almost all spheres of life in ancient Greece and had an impact there in one way or another. S. suggests a broad picture of this process in the economic market, politics, war, the development of the labour market, farming, etc. One of the crucial moments promoting the development of a new concept of money, fore-echoing modern representations, was the identification of coins with wealth. According to the artful remark of S., 'this turned money into an item of which one could never have too much or ... enough' (p. 175). It happened when people ceased to see money just as means (of exchange, payment or whatever – S.K.) and, instead, saw it as an end or a goal of their activity (p. 176). The most explicit expression of this approach is contained in the works of Aristotle, as S. notes.

At the same time the author is under no delusion about the omnipotence of the phenomenon of coinage; he clearly distinguishes its limits and illusions, as the subtitle of the relevant chapter testifies. Moreover, S. comes to the conclusion that money never came completely to dominate the Greek economy of Classical or Hellenistic times (p. 198). Agricultural production as well as the negative or contemptuous attitude of Greek society to wage-labour are the most indicative confirmation of this thesis.

The basic text is accompanied by four appendices. The most relevant to the subject of S.'s research is Appendix 2: 'Pre-Greek Coinage'. Its main aim is to prove that all kinds of objects previously used like money, despite all their visible similarities, were not coins in the real sense of the word. Starting with a definition of the coin as 'an object, usually but not necessarily of metal, which circulates as a medium of trade, and whose value is guaranteed by the stamp of the issuing authority' (p. 223), S. claims that none of the people who used sealed silver, Egyptian 'pieces', lead disks, metal dumps, 'oxhide' copper ingots, etc. thought of them as we think of coins (p. 235). However much merit this statement contains, S. has, in my view, failed to prove convincingly that, for example, understanding sealed silver as some peculiar sort of coin (as not a few scholars have recently argued) broadens the definition of a coin far beyond reason (p. 224, n. 9). If an object carries out the functions of a coin and thus completely corresponds to definition of the coin given by S. himself, it is the correctness of his definition that should be questioned. Jokes, however funny they may be ('if anything that might serve some purpose of a coin is a coin then a horse-drawn wagon is an automobile', p. 224, n. 9), are not the right kind of answer in this case.

As a whole, however, S.'s book makes a very good impression and can safely be recommended to students not only of numismatics but of ancient history and the ancient economy as well.

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S. Kovalenko

S. Scott and J. Webster (eds.), *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2003, xvi+256 pp., 67 figs. Cased. ISBN 0-521-80592-9

Ever since the 19th century critics have regarded art produced in the provinces of the Roman empire as a pale imitation of works created in the capital. This book challenges this view and offers new interpretations of the mosaics, wall paintings and statues produced in provincial centres, with special emphasis upon the Celtic world, Asia Minor and North Africa. The volume contains 12 chapters, written by 11 different authors (Martin Henig

writes two of them), half of the them based upon papers offered at the Roman Archaeology Conference held in April 1997 at the University of Nottingham. The other half were commissioned.

The first three papers set the agenda and outline the conceptual framework of the debate. Sarah Scott (Chapter 1) discusses the way provincial art has been viewed since the 19th century, a time of empire when the achievements of the centre were regarded as the dominant force. In a wide-ranging discussion she outlines more recent approaches to provincial art, such as that of Millett who acknowledges the local contribution to Romanisation, although his approach is nonetheless regarded by her as acculturative. Scott goes on to discuss post-colonial approaches to provincial art by scholars such as Jane Webster, whose term 'creolisation' is discussed more fully in Chapter 3. In the second paper Catherine Johns is forthright in her denunciation of the Victorian and early 20th-century view that Roman art is vulgar and its British offshoot beyond contempt. She goes on to draw a distinction between artistic intent and artistic ability as a factor to be taken into account when interpreting Romano-British works. Webster (Chapter 3) develops the theme of domination and acculturation arguing for the adoption of the term 'creolisation' instead of 'Romanisation.' To her the word 'Romanisation' implies the adoption of Roman forms by the elite, followed by a 'trickle-down' to the rest of society. 'Creolisation' on the other hand implies the emergence of new forms which are an amalgam of different traits to serve indigenous ends.

In Chapter 4 Iain Ferris examines the way barbarians are depicted on three monuments: Trajan's column in Rome, Trajan's Arch at Beneventum and on the Tropaeum Traiani at Adamklissi. He notes difference in treatment in each case. The way barbarians are shown on the Adamklissi monument is very much less sophisticated than on the two monuments in Italy. The Adamklissi sculptures seem to be targetted at the local inhabitants and show bound captives and battle scenes. While such scenes are present on Trajan's column, there the war is treated not so much in terms of revenge, but as the culmination of Rome's destiny to rule. At Adamklissi the sculptures are direct and convey a powerful message of Roman military invincibility. The next two papers are on a related theme. The first, by René Rodgers, on female representation in Roman art, discusses the feminist critique on gender and defines the concept of 'Otherness' as it relates to the Roman portrayal of women. The next, by Miranda Aldhouse Green, examines the question of gender in Gallo-British iconography, particularly the tendency to depict Gallitas as female and Romanitas as male. Is this to be interpreted as strong versus weak or as female immutability contrasted with male transience? The implication here as in the rest of the paper is that Gallo-British iconography contains elements of resistance to the Roman norm and implicit in them are gestures of self-identity.

The first of the two papers written by Henig contains a contribution to the post-imperialist view of Roman Britain when he argues that the dynamic for change in Roman Britain came from the native elite rather than its Roman rulers. In his paper on the cult of Apollo Grannus (Chapter 8) Greg Woolf makes the point that by the 2nd/3rd centuries AD in Gaul and Germany it does not make sense to speak of domination in terms of 'Romans' and 'natives'. To him religious politics is more complex than a simple struggle between local and imperial. After all, by that time most local aristocrats were citizens. In his penetrating study of the tombs at Ghirza in the Libyan pre-desert Mattingly dismisses the perception that their builders were trying to emulate Roman culture. The imagery of the tombs aims to

demonstrate the economic power of the Ghirzan elite. Thus the representation of figures with ornate cloaks, diagonal lines in the depiction of dress, large staring eyes and differential scale are the products of an indigenous tradition (which Mattingly terms 'Libyco-Punic tradition') rather than signs of naivety or poor execution, as many earlier scholars had assumed. Indeed it can be argued that although some kinds of Roman imagery, particularly ideas about the representation of power, are used, they are used in a very un-Roman way.

There follow two papers which complement each other very well. In Shelley Hale's chapter on the houses of Antioch the 'Greek' features of Antiochene houses are not seen as a display of anti-Roman sentiment. Instead she sees the idea of Rome as connoting not the city but the empire itself. Thus admission is open to all and in the case of the Antiochenes they were free to embrace or reject any elements or motifs they chose, be they local, Greek or imperial. The paper of Zahra Newby is on a related theme, art and identity in Asia Minor. She explains the complex interaction of the Hellenic world with the Roman empire, showing that visual images drew on Hellenic and local mythology, evoking a Greek past which often excluded Rome. It was by evoking their Hellenic culture and past that cities forged their civic identity. The final paper, the second by Henig, is a reflective autobiographical piece which sets out his view of the Roman empire as an empire of the mind, an intellectual conquest in which the legions were sculptors, mosaicists, painters and gem-cutters.

The study of provincial art from a post-colonial perspective has seen remarkable growth in the last 25 years, in line with the number of scholars born after the age of empire. This book presents a wide range of their views applied to a sizeable portion of the Roman empire. It is a stimulating read, often provocative and certainly most useful for those wishing to be brought up to date with current thinking.

University of Melbourne

Frank Sear

D.C. Snell (ed.), *A Companion to the Ancient Near East*, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford/Malden, MA 2005, xx+504 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-631-23293-1

This is the third volume to be published in an ongoing Blackwell series of 'Companions' to the ancient world. It comprises a collection of 32 essays that provide an accessible and broad survey on key issues pertaining to the study of the ancient Near East. Of the 30 contributors, the overwhelming majority represent American scholarship; apart from four, the rest are drawn from American universities or are American trained. In a brief Introduction (pp. xviii-xix), the editor sets the parameters. Here one senses his understandable uncertainty about whether Egypt should or should not be included in such a survey. We are told that, owing to the public perception that Egypt is part of the Near East, a need was felt to include Egypt 'where possible'. In reality, however, Egypt is dealt with in a very cursory manner in this volume, despite the fact that the dust-jacket shows a scene from an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb in Egypt. Only two chapters are devoted entirely to Egypt, which is discussed, briefly, in a few others. As Snell notes, there are quite a number of excellent introductory texts on Egypt, which may be one of the reasons why a 'companion' has not

been earmarked for the land of the Pharaohs. This volume, then, is written primarily by Mesopotamianists about the social and political history of greater Mesopotamia, and it is specifically aimed to engage students and general readers. To this end it is a resounding success. Compared with Egypt, Mesopotamia and its immediate neighbours are less well served with introductory texts, though the scene is rapidly changing.¹ So this companion is a most welcome addition to our teaching and learning resources.

The volume is organised into five parts under the following headings: 'The Shape of the Ancient Near East' (pp. 1-61); 'Discourses on Method' (pp. 63-106); 'Economy and Society' (pp. 107-241); 'Culture' (pp. 243-353); 'Heritage of the Ancient Near East' (pp. 355-433). In addition to in-text citations that refer back to a useful consolidated bibliography of 58 pages, each chapter is accompanied by Further Reading, which lists a few seminal works. The limits of this review allow only a sampling of the chapters. Accordingly, I have chosen five chapters, one from each section. The choice is a purely personal one.

In a pithy essay (pp. 1-19), Mario Liverani starts the volume with a lucid and authoritative overview that emphasises the cyclic nature of growth and collapse that so marked the history of the ancient Near East. The way he has condensed this complex and variegated scenario into a series of themes – unity and disunity; the urban revolution, about 3500-2800 BC; the 'second urbanisation', about 2800-2000 BC; the 'regional system', about 2000-1200 BC; the Early Iron Age, about 1200-750 BC; empires, about 750-330 BC – will enable students to see the larger canvas before delving into detail. In addressing the question of wholeness, he quite rightly, in my view, stresses that despite its diversity – geographical, linguistic, ethnic and so on – the interconnectedness of the ancient Near East, allows it to be treated in a unitary fashion from an historical perspective.

Marie-Henriette Gates looks at various perspectives affecting the study of the ancient Near East (pp. 65-78). In particular, she correctly observes that unless the discipline is packaged as a holistic pursuit, which combines both material culture and texts, it will not engage the younger generation. One could add that the negative media attention the Middle East is currently receiving is the most deleterious factor working against the development of the discipline. This and other circumstances mean that students who are trained in Near Eastern archaeology, perhaps more than other branches of archaeology, must be versatile in their approach to the study of the past.

It is a bit disappointing that in his treatment of 'Nomadism Through the Ages' (pp. 126-40), Jorge Silva Catillo focused exclusively on the lowlands. While it is true that the Mari texts afford detailed insights into the political structures of various nomadic groups of the arid steppes, some mention, however cursorily, should have made of the mobile economies of the surrounding highlands. As is well known, the relationship between mountaineers and steppe-dwellers of the Near East were intertwined. In this regard, Roger Cribb's book is conspicuous by its absence from the bibliography.²

In one of the few chapters devoted to non-Mesopotamian aspects, Gary Beckman provides a sketch of the fascinating world of Hittite religion (pp. 343-53). He defines the conception of the universe of the Hittites, the highly polytheistic nature of Hittite religion, the state cult, and the fundamental practice of sacrifice. Here, you will read about the products

¹ See, for example, M. Van De Mieroop, *A History of the Ancient Near East* (Oxford 2004).

² R. Cribb, *Nomads in Archaeology* (Cambridge 1991).

offered to the gods, who enjoyed a very indulged lifestyle, and the ways the king address the deities. Although we know most about state cult, rural communities also practised ritual and ceremonies, often associated with personal issues and experiences such as puberty, insomnia and family crises.

In the last part of the book, Daniel Snell deals with 'The Invention of the Individual' (pp. 357-69). In an interesting essay he shows that, in Mesopotamia, the gradual shift from corporate to individual responsibility occurred around 1800 BC. Drawing on the Flood epic, he argues that although it was the collective noise of humanity that prompted the Flood, in later (Old Babylonian) renditions of the Sumerian story the god Atra-hasis seeks to punish individual wrongdoers. In Egypt, the role of the individual could go back further and is associated with the concept of justice, or *ma'at*, which is attested in the Old Kingdom. This sense of justice and equilibrium that resulted from a strong and well-ordered state could only be effected if it was willed by the king and community. Individuals could stymie *ma'at*, but they were encouraged to desist from such an action.

Overall, this is a most useful collection of introductory essays. They crisply and lucidly convey the diversity and complexity of the ancient Near East, which makes this an engaging book for the novice students and general reader.

University of Melbourne

Antonio Sagona

G.J. Stein (ed.), *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters; Comparative Perspectives*, School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series, School of American Research Press, Santa Fe, NM/James Currey, Oxford 2005, xii+450 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-930618-44-1

This book publishes, in revised form, papers presented at a conference on the archaeology of colonisation in cross-cultural perspective, held in Santa Fe, New Mexico, in March 2000 (not an inappropriate venue, perhaps). All of the presenters bar one are based in North America; five of the nine geographical papers focus on South and Central America. The approach is anthropological, as the terminology deployed shows; but it generally manages to keep its feet on the ground – theories are helpful, but let's look at what happened.

The editor's Introduction ('The Comparative Archaeology of Colonial Encounters', pp. 3-31) more than adequately sets the scene. He warns against acceptance of a common model of colonies based on European expansion of the 16th-19th centuries in favour of a focus on non-Western, pre-capitalist networks from the Old and New worlds as a means of developing an accurate understanding of colonial encounters. He points to the lack of agreement among anthropologists about the nature of colonies, their differences, their functions, colonial-native relations, and so forth, as well as to problems of terminology, before conducting a brisk tour of the research issues in developing a comparative archaeology of colonial encounters and how the various contributions to the volume approach them. This leads to an enumeration of the emerging themes of the subject, again with reference to the light shed on them by the individual contributors: the problematic nature of the term 'colonialism' and its intellectual baggage; the myth/oversimplification of a dichotomy between coloniser and colonised; problematic comparisons between the ancient world and European

expansion; the engendering of new forms of cultural identity through colonial encounter; the variations within colonising programmes; the error of pigeon-holing wide varieties of interaction into a few discrete colonial types; the limits and limitations of 'world-systems theory'; the fluidity of colonial interactions over time; and the importance of local agency.

Stein also contributes Chapter 5, 'The Political Economy of Mesopotamian Colonial Encounters' (pp. 143-71), in which he examines the two main episodes of ancient Mesopotamian colonisation (Old Assyrian and Uruk) within a broader regional and chronological framework, considering natural resource distribution and the organisational pattern of exchange networks, and, comparatively, the metropolitan political context, the indigenous host communities in Anatolia, organisation of the venture, and interaction.

M. Dietler, 'The Archaeology of Colonization and the Colonization of Archaeology: Theoretical Challenges from an Ancient Mediterranean Colonial Encounter' (pp. 33-68), seeks to demonstrate the importance and the possibility of an archaeological contribution to the understanding of colonies, colonisation and colonialism via some reflections on the (wilfully) misidentified ancient parallels grasped at by writers settled in the modern colonial era. He warns (p. 34) of the 'referential loops' which may cause archaeologists (and, of course, though he does not say it, others) studying ancient colonialism to 'risk unconsciously imposing the attitudes and assumptions of ancient colonists, filtered and reconstituted through a modern interpolating prism of colonial ideology and experience and absorbed as part of the Western intellectual *habitus*, back onto the ancient situation'. He takes aim too at 'the "invented traditions" in European history involved in a sweeping "colonization" of modern consciousness by the ancient Greco-Roman world' (p. 35), especially among writers and imperial practitioners in the 19th century; and at the 'shared inadequacies' (p. 55) of Hellenism and world-systems, of centre and periphery, and of what he delightfully calls 'Whig (pre)history' (p. 61) for the Early Iron Age. A fascinating and pithy contribution.

P. van Dommelen, 'Colonial Interactions and Hybrid Practices: Phoenician and Carthaginian Settlement in the Ancient Mediterranean' (pp. 109-41), again lays stress on diversity and thereby the shortcomings and over-simplifications of using colonial terminology to describe the rich pattern of Phoenician activity and the nature of the settlements they established (not really colonies?); but he recognises that the alternative to holding on to the terminology of nurse is probably something worse, although we have been dragged through Foucault, Said, 'discourse', 'text' and 'postcolonial theory' *en route*.

S.E. Alcock, 'Roman Colonies in the Eastern Empire: A Tale of Four Cities' (pp. 297-329), helpfully furnished with detailed plans, considers the many things meant by colony during the course of Rome's imperial expansion, from the irregularity of foundation and location to the increasing formalisation of a status that had little to do with actual origins and was more a sign of imperial favour. The four cities chosen are Corinth and Patras in Achaea ('Old Greece') and Pisidian Antioch and Cremna in Galatia, examined individually, in their geographical parings and comparatively for convergence, divergence, identity and so forth.

Of the papers outwith the concerns of *AWE*, J.L. Gasco offers 'Spanish Colonialism and Processes of Change in Mesoamerica'; M.W. Spence writes on 'A Zapotec Diaspora Network in Classic-Period Central Mexico'; K.G. Lightfoot examines 'The Archaeology of

Colonization: California in Cross-Cultural Perspective'; K. Schreiber 'Imperial Agendas and Local Agency: Wari Colonial Strategies'; and T.N. D'Altroy 'Remaking the Social Landscape: Colonization in the Inka Empire'. (Whatever happened to the Incas?)

J.D. Rogers provides the concluding essay, 'Archaeology and the Interpretation of Colonial Encounters' (pp. 331-54), once more attacking the simple contrast of coloniser and colonised, reprising the themes of variety and diversity before turning to models, matrices and methodology, and how to identify the structure and outcomes of the 'encounter'. As he puts it in his conclusion (p. 353):

... our world was, and continues to be, shaped by events and processes derived from colonialism. All of the people involved in colonial interactions... played a role in establishing the direction of change. Histories written solely from the perspective of powerful empires and their colonial enterprises fail to understand the process....

There is a unified bibliography and an index, both marred slightly by a haphazard approach to the handling of 'de', 'di', 'van' and 'von'.

The introductory chapter by Stein and that by Rogers provide a sufficient degree of unity for the volume to escape, despite its roaming over several continents in three millennia, Churchill's condemnation of a pudding – that 'it lacked a theme'.

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James Hargrave

C.G. Thomas, *Finding People in Early Greece*, Fordyce W. Mitchel Memorial Lecture Series, University of Missouri Press, Columbia/London 2005, xii+154 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-8262-1577-7

This short book originated as the 2002 lectures in the Fordyce W. Mitchel Memorial Series at the University of Missouri-Columbia. It is in three parts, the first devoted to a survey of the recent intellectual history of studies in pre-Classical Greece, the second and third to case studies involving the 'people' of the title, for whom the search is being conducted – who turn out to be Jason and Hesiod respectively. Readers who were expecting an investigation of the many, rather than of the individual, will thus be disappointed.

From early on in the first chapter, one positive and one negative object of the author's attention become increasingly prominent, and both recur intermittently throughout the book. The positive one is the use of scientific tools and methods in archaeology. The negative one is postmodernism in the humanities generally (see especially pp. 27 ff., 34 ff.), a bugbear pursued down to the very last sentence of the book. Her position is that a first, beneficent revolution took place in the humanities generally, but that postmodernism later tried to wreck it. This view will find quite wide support among readers. But she is surely in a minority in thinking that 'an abundance of data provided the main force' for the first revolution (p. 7), that the access of scientific technologies was the immediate catalyst for it in archaeology, or indeed that all this happened 'in the wake of World War II' (p. 11). None of these factors, I should have thought, began to show a real impact until more than 20 years after the war. In the same way, Fernand Braudel's ideas may have had their beginnings in his experiences as a war-time prisoner (p. 15), but they did not find a world readership until 1966.

We move on to the case studies of Jason and Hesiod: in each instance, the author's aim is 'to recover the identity of actual individuals' (p. 128), but of course the two cases demand different methods. Not surprisingly, the latter is much the more successful venture. It will take a great deal more to establish Jason and the voyage of the *Argo* as historical realities than a couple of personal names on Linear B tablets (p. 73), the hotly contested results of the excavations at Troy since 1988 (pp. 62-65) or Stefan Hiller's map of finds from the Black Sea area (p. 66), which would have been more accurately captioned as showing 'Aegean-related' rather than 'Aegean' finds. With Hesiod, on the other hand, the actuality of Iron Age Askra (pp. 97-100) can match that of Bronze Age Iolkos for Jason; while the texts, for all the uncertainties arising over the conflict of person and *persona*, do not give rise to any great historical improbabilities.

On its back cover, Charles Hamilton describes the book as 'A useful introduction to the subject for those with little knowledge of it, and an equally valuable discussion for the more informed readers.' On balance, I think it is the former group who will get most out of the work. But they too will surely be baffled by the extraordinarily eclectic nature of the references, which include a number of books from fringe publishers, articles and reviews from obscure or ephemeral journals, the odd unpublished dissertation or paper, e-mail and web-site reports on recent finds, oral utterances, minor off-cuts from seminal works and, above all, conference papers. The professional academic, never mind the general reader, will have a hard time gaining access to them all.

University of Cambridge

A.M. Snodgrass

M. Valdés, prólogo de D. Plácido, *El papel de Afrodita en el alto arcaísmo griego: política, guerra, matrimonio e iniciación*, Polifemo Suplemento 2, Fabio Mora, Di.Sc.A.M., Messina 2005, 162 pp. Paperback. ISBN 88-8268-014-2/ISSN 1825-3105

In her book M. Valdés suggests that the aspect of Aphrodite, goddess of love and marriage, as warrior goddess developed mainly in Archaic Greece, and that it was connected with the formation of an aristocratic class in the *poleis* and with various initiation rituals and the ritual change in the roles of men and women.

In Chapter 1 V. draws a picture of the origins of Aphrodite, who arrived in Greece probably from Cyprus as a goddess of fertility in the 11th century BC. She had influenced the Cypriot, Cretan and Aegean deities and was also connected with royalty. This was the first time her cult spread. The second was in the 9th-8th centuries BC when, under Near Eastern influence, she became a warrior/love goddess like Astarte or Istar. Her dual nature connects Aphrodite with other deities, especially Athena who had, like her, warrior and fertility/chthonic aspects. She was better known for the former, but the other aspect, though less well known, was also important and developed in several *poleis* including Athens. This second expansion of Aphrodite's is almost synchronic with the formation and social and civic organisation of *poleis* such as Sparta, Corinth and Argos, and with the redefinition of a woman's role in society. Thus, we see the formation and growth of an aristocratic class closely connected with war and political power and the definition of a woman's status as concerned with fertility and marriage.

In several case studies developed in the following chapters (Sparta, Argos, Arcadia, Boeotia, Corinth and Athens), Aphrodite is honoured as a goddess of love and fertility, but also as a warrior deity. Sometimes she is also connected with royal power. But then she interferes most often with the spheres of Athena and Hera, and sometimes of Artemis and Demeter (for example at Thebes). We see her at the festivals of Athena at Corinth (Hellotia) and in Beocie (Pambeotia), at the festivals of Hera at Argos (Hybristika) and Corinth (Akraia), and so forth. These festivals have something in common: they are connected with coming-of-age rituals and with the initiation of young boys and girls both in war and marriage. This intrusion has been connected with the redefinition of the status of women and with the growth of an aristocratic warrior class. The goddess was introduced into civic pantheons and adapted to the cultural and historical period.

Aphrodite was also honoured in the acropolis as a warrior goddess, in company with the tutelary deities of the city (for example at Sparta), or alone as at Corinth where she is the tutelary goddess. Here, the choice of an Aphrodite close to Astarte may be connected with the formation of the city and with its next role (a merchant *polis* like the Phoenicians). Then Aphrodite can be seen in the Archaic period as a goddess close to Athena, and it is difficult to differentiate them through iconography or in their areas of action.

In Athens, V. suggests an ancient cult of Aphrodite as a warrior deity in Nike's Bastion, based on the later iconography of Athena Nike, who had been honoured here since the 6th century BC, and archaeological remains. But, as the author shows, the goddess honoured here was also a fertility and chthonic deity. The possibility of another cult of Aphrodite in the Acropolis (in the north side, near to or in the Erechtheion) is also signalled. But this hypothesis is very difficult to confirm because Athena at the Acropolis had a dual nature, as both a chthonic/fertility goddess and a warrior deity. This duality is known and widespread in Asia Minor. The offerings at the Athenian Acropolis which the author connects with a cult of Aphrodite were similar to those found in some Asia Minor sanctuaries such as Lindos and Erythrai, and we can see the association of Athena with the pomegranate in Side, Erythrai and Lindos.

This book is interesting in approaching an almost unknown aspect of Aphrodite and in examining her connections with the historical moment when her cult developed and with other deities, but I think that this division of areas of influence (Athena: war; Aphrodite: love) is somewhat false. The nature of deities is, in general, very complex and develops over time and under cultural influences. Both Athena and Aphrodite had a dual nature and both developed in independent ways. The associated presence of Hera with Athena and Aphrodite is also interesting since her nature is complex like theirs. In Lavunium we know of Juno Sospita- Mater- Regina (warrior, fertility, royal power); in Greece, Aphrodite had influence in these areas, as too had Athena in Asia Minor. But we know of a similar situation in Celtic mythology where first there is a goddess who is queen, mother and warrior, and afterwards three deities each with a single aspect. Thus, it is very important not to forget historical and cultural developments when we study Greek religion and the role of deities in a particular period: the context develops in different ways and the results are also different.

M. Vickers and A. Kakhidze, *Pichvnari. Greeks and Colchians on the East Coast of the Black Sea, Results of Excavations Conducted by the Joint British-Georgian Pichvnari Expedition. Vol 1: Pichvnari 1998-2002*, The Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford/The Batumi Archaeological Museum, Oxford/Batumi 2004, 458 pp., 333 figs. Parallel text in Georgian and English. Cased. ISBN 1-85444-203-1/ISSN 1512-0716

Pichvnari (Georgian 'Pine Trees') has been since the 1960s of great interest for the study of Greek overseas settlement and contact with native peoples, in this case with the Colchians of the furthest eastern recess of the Black Sea. At first hoards of Greek (Sinopean) and Colchian coins were found at nearby Kobuleti, then three burial grounds in the low-lying coastal sandy ground were excavated, the accompaniment to a less well-known settlement of the Early Classical or Hellenistic periods.

Previous work at this important site has been published (in Russian) in 1981 by the second of the above authors,¹ and (in English) by Tsetskhladze in 1999.² This volume presents the results of the recent joint expedition led by Kakhidze of Batumi and Vickers of Oxford University between 1998 and 2002. It appears, as Part I, in the two languages, Georgian and English, where the latter takes up pp. 143-225, and Part II: Illustrations, which contains 333 figures with both Georgian and English captions on pp. 270-457.

It has become the convention to write of three necropoleis, a 'North' one (Colchian) on the slopes of the Namcheduri hill-rise, a 'West' one (Greek) along the sandy dunes (5th century, stretching southward to a 4th century one), and a Hellenistic one disposed also down the sandy dunes. But the authors suggest that more 4th-century burials may fill the apparent gap between these two last. So long as the settlement areas (on Namcheduri and at Nakarvala) are so weakly known, it is difficult to assess the nature of the Pichvnari site as a whole.

The method of presentation of the burials and contents is chronological and by category. First the North (Colchian), then the West (Greek of *ca.* 5th-4th centuries), and then the Hellenistic necropolis is described. A few burials of the 4th century AD were also found, and they merit a short separate section. Within these broad groupings the burials are listed individually, each numbered within the excavation years (1998-2002). The bones have invariably disappeared in the sandy soil, but the outline of the disturbed and natural ground made the extent of each burial certain. Grave-goods (local and imported fine Greek pottery, trade amphorae, coins, jewellery) are listed, and a separate analysis of the typical layout and contents given (pp. 152-54, 173-75, 192). 'Conclusions' are given briefly for each period (pp. 165, 199-202, 208), and there is a differently styled 'Summary' for the Late Roman period (p. 223). This makes for a clearly presented and articulated exposition. There is, however, no overall assessment of the position of the Pichvnari settlement and necropoleis by comparison with Batumistsikhe, Tsikhizdiri, Eshera and the Phasian villages around Poti (Sakorkio, Chaladidi). And the introductory pages (pp. 143-44), labelled 'Pre-history' and 'Greek Settlement', touch only tentatively on the identification of the site (Cycnus?, Matium?).

¹ A. Kakhidze, *Vostochnoe Prichernomor'e v antichnyuyu epokhu* (Batumi 1981).

² G.R. Tsetskhladze, *Pichvnari and Its Environs (6th c BC-4th c AD)* (Paris 1999), who treats these 'separate' necropoleis all as parts of one 'large' one.

Here may be noticed the hint, though no stated promise, that Vol. 1 of the title is to be followed by a second volume, which would expand the interpretation of the nature of the site. Perhaps then we may look forward to a wide-ranging discussion of the local 'Phasian' coinage and to a consideration of the range of possibilities of type of Greek settlement. Here *apoikia*i (colonies), cleruchies (Athenian citizen settlers) are the possibilities suggested (p. 202). But the full range of types of settlement disclosed by the Copenhagen Polis Project might be considered, including *katoikoi* within a native Colchian township, which may have produced something less, and more mixed, than a formal *polis*-type colony (for example Strabo 11. 2. 33; 12. 3. 10). We await with interest the second volume which may produce a broader discussion of the nature of Greek settlement in Colchis.

Leeds, UK

J.G.F. Hind

B. Weber, *Die römischen Heroa von Milet*, Milet Bd I.10, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Bauwerke in Milet, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/New York 2004, xiv+171 pp., 94 figs., 48 tabs., 2 foldouts. Cased. ISBN 3-11-016260-1

Die Arbeit von Berthold Weber wurde 1993 an der Universität München als Dissertation eingereicht und liegt nun in überarbeiteter Fassung gedruckt vor, erweitert vor allem um die Ergebnisse der Grabungen und die Vorlage der Wandmalereifragmente. In seinem Vorwort widmet W. das Buch seinem verstorbenen Doktorvater Wolfgang Müller-Wiener. Um so tragischer ist es, daß W. selbst wenige Monate nach dem Erscheinen seines Buches im August 2005 in Milet verunglückte.

In dem Band, der in der Reihe *Forschungen in Milet* des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts erschienen ist, werden die beiden römischen Heroa vorgestellt, die in der milesischen Topographie als Heroon II und Heroon III bekannt sind.¹

Die Bauten werden in getrennten Abschnitten behandelt, nach einem kurzen Vorspann zur topographischen Situation folgen jeweils Baubeschreibung, Bauteilkatalog und Rekonstruktion sowie kurze Bemerkungen zur Bautechnik, Metrologie und Bauornamentik. Bei Heroon III wurde die Dokumentation um die Befunde der Grabungen in den 80er Jahren des 20. Jhs. erweitert und die Wandmalereifragmente mit Farbabbildungen im Tafelteil vorgestellt.

Nach Überlegungen zum Straßensystem, dem Begriff und der Bauform des Heroons folgen Register und Abbildungsverweise. Bemerkenswert sind die in Auszügen wiedergegebenen Grabungstagebücher des beginnenden 20. Jhs.; diese Dokumente – besonders für Altgrabungen von höchstem Wert und oftmals unverzichtbar – sind hier für den Leser zugänglich und nachvollziehbar.

Hervorzuheben ist an diesem Band besonders die ausgezeichnete Qualität der Dokumentation der Bauten, die sich makellos in die Tradition deutschsprachiger Bauforschung einreicht: vollständige Bauteilkataloge, sowohl schriftlich als auch mit vom Autor angefertigten Zeichnungen, aus denen mühelos Detailmaße herauszulesen sind. Dazu kommt eine

¹ Das hellenistische Heroon I östlich des Theaters ist nicht Gegenstand des Bandes und hätte in Kürze veröffentlicht werden sollen: W. Müller-Wiener (†) und B.F. Weber, *Das hellenistische Heroon in Milet* (in Vorbereitung).

Reihe hochwertiger Photographien in sehr guter Druckqualität, die, soweit es die Umstände im Feld ermöglichten, kontrastreich, in gutem Licht und in einer dem Bauteil entsprechenden Ansicht aufgenommen worden sind.

Wünschenswert wäre vielleicht ein Übersichtsplan über das Gelände von Milet gewesen, damit auch der nicht Ortskundige einen Eindruck der topographischen Situation der beiden Heroa innerhalb der Stadt gewinnt oder das zeitgleiche Umfeld vorgestellt bekommt.

Wertvolle Beobachtungen, die weit über die hier vorgestellten Bauten hinausweisen, sind im Bauteilkatalog zu finden, etwa Überlegungen zur Konstruktion der Voluten an ionischen Kapitellen mit ausführlicher Diskussion der Angaben bei Vitruv und den Rückschlüssen aus Vorzeichnungen auf erhaltenen Bauteilen (S. 17, Anm. 83-84), oder Untersuchungen zu römischen Podien, deren Kopf- und Fußprofile in vielfältigen Formen vorliegen und scheinbar keine kanonische Einheitlichkeit erreichten, sehr wohl aber eine Abhängigkeit in den Proportionen und Dimensionen zwischen den Profilen aufweisen (66-67).

Kleine Fehler in der Redaktion – etwa die fehlende Auflösung der Abkürzung ‘Bauwesen 80 f.’ (S. 15. Anm. 77) für ‘W. Müller-Wiener, Griechisches Bauwesen in der Antike (1988) 80 f.’ oder das Vertauschen der Abbildungen 37 und 38 im Text – tun der Qualität des Buches keinen Abbruch.

Im Abschnitt über die Metrologie wird erfrischend klar darauf hingewiesen, daß der Grundriß von Heroon II keinen *modulus* erkennen oder sich im Vielfachen eines römischen Fußmaßes aufrechnen läßt. Besonders die Angabe annähernder Werte macht klar, daß hier ein Bezug zum römischen Fuß erzwungen werden müßte. Beim Heroon III hingegen läßt sich ein klares Fußmaß und ein *modulus* gewinnen, der sich allerdings in der Vertikalen nicht überall nachvollziehen läßt. Hier ist der ‘Vorrang der Proportion vor der Dimension’ zu konstatieren (S. 133); das Verhältnis von Höhe zu Durchmesser einer Säule etwa ist für die Konzeption des Baus wichtiger als deren Länge; auch dies ist eine Erkenntnis, die über dieses Buch hinaus Beachtung verdient.

Knapp gehalten ist die Besprechung der Bauornamentik. W. weist zurecht darauf hin, daß übergreifende Arbeiten zur römischen Bauornamentik Kleinasiens noch ausständig sind, doch lassen die zahlreichen jüngst erschienenen Publikationen Ornamente und Entwicklungen wohl doch genauer fassen.² Die Kapitelle des Heroons II wurden schon früher wohl zurecht mit jenen des Oberen Gymnasions von Pergamon verglichen und finden hier engere Parallelen als im Hadrianstor von Athen.³ Hier ist der etwas weitere

² Vgl. etwa (in Auswahl) L. Vandeput, *The Architectural Decoration in Roman Asia Minor* (Leuven 1997); J. Rohmann, *Die Kapitellproduktion der römischen Kaiserzeit in Pergamon* (Berlin/New York 1998); R. Köster, *Die Bauornamentik von Milet* (Berlin/New York 2004). – Weber verweist zwar auf die etwa gleichzeitig erschienene Arbeit von Reinhard Köster, distanziert sich aber von dessen Ergebnissen und hält diese zunächst für ‘hypothetisch’ (S. 97).

³ Zwar weisen die Kapitelle des pergamenischen Gymnasions noch ältere Formen auf (etwa die sehr unterschiedlich großen Blattfinger, die tropfenförmigen Ösen und die darunter ausgenommenen Dreiecke), sind aber in ihrer kleinasiatischen Formgebung den milesischen Bauteilen nahe; vgl. Rohmann 1998, 60f.; gerade die Kapitelle des Hadrianstores gehören zu einer Gruppe von attischen (?) Bauteilen mit charakteristischen Detailformen, die in Milet nicht zu beobachten sind; vgl. S. Walker, ‘Corinthian Capitals with Ringed Voids’. *AA* 1979, 111-13.

Datierungsansatz Reinhard Kösters (Ende 1./Anfang 2. Jh. n. Chr.) für das Heroon II zu bevorzugen.⁴

Auch der Erosfries wird hier lediglich 'früher als jener des Theaters' angesetzt, ohne dies näher auszuführen. Erhellend sind hier die Ausführungen Kösters, der auf die Unfertigkeit der Reliefs verweist und ikonographische Parallelen anführt.⁵

Für das Heroon III wird eine Datierung in severische Zeit angenommen, obwohl W. selbst auffallende Übereinstimmungen mit der Ornamentik der Faustinathermen erwähnt, aber die inschriftlich für das Jahr 164 n. Chr. überlieferte Datierung des Bades mit der Hypothese mehrerer Bauphasen relativiert.⁶

In einem kurzen Abschnitt wird über das Straßenraster der antiken Stadt Milet reflektiert. Die aus dem Heroon III abzuleitende *insula*-Größe ist überzeugend, sie ist auch in älteren Bauten in Milet wiederzufinden. Allerdings schneidet das daraus rekonstruierte Straßenraster fast alle größeren Bauten und Platzanlagen und ist teilweise noch nicht einmal gleich orientiert wie diese. Auch die Auswertung der Kleinfunde und Keramik hätte noch weiter vertieft werden können, so wird eine spätgeometrische Vogelkotyle irrtümlich als 'archaische Vogelschale' angesprochen (S. 141, Taf. 44.2-3).⁷

Zu begrüßen ist die klare Absage des Autors an die spekulative Suche nach einem möglichen Grabinhaber. Mangels epigraphischer Überlieferungen bietet die aus der Bauornamentik und Bautypologie gewonnene Datierung der Grabbauten dafür auch zu wenig Genauigkeit.

Die eigentliche Stärke der Arbeit von Berthold Weber liegt jedenfalls in der akribischen und vorbildlichen Dokumentation der Bauteile, die dementsprechend auch den größten Teil der Arbeit einnimmt. Insbesondere die hohe Qualität der Zeichnungen und die daraus resultierende Rekonstruktion der beiden Grabbauten werden das Buch weit über den viel zu frühen Tod des Autors hinaus zu einem Standardwerk kleinasiatischer Architekturforschung machen.

Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Antikensammlung

Georg Plattner

⁴ Köster, as in n. 2, 96-97; Gerade die in der Größe und Tiefe gestaffelten Blattfinger, Details in der Gestaltung der Rippen, die voneinander abgesetzt sind, sowie die charakteristischen unteren Blattlappen der Hochblätter weisen eher in die spätflavisch-frühtraianische Epoche. – Die von Weber S. 98-99 Anm. 509 angesprochene Frühdatierung des Tetrapylon von Latakia durch Ingeborg Kader in frühaugusteische Zeit (hier als Hinweis auf die geringe Aussagekraft der Detailformen) ist umstritten; vgl. A. Schmidt-Colinet, Review of Kader *Propylon und Bogentor* (Mainz 1996). *AJA* 103 (1999), 719.

⁵ Köster, as in n. 2, 86-88.

⁶ Als Vergleichsbeispiele für eine severische Zeitstellung werden vornehmlich kleinasiatische (oder in der Ornamentik kleinasiatisch beeinflusste) Kapitelle aus dem syrisch-palästinensischen Raum angeführt; naheliegende Vergleiche mit Bauteilen aus Milet selbst oder aber aus den benachbarten Städten wären hier zielführender gewesen, zumal hier auch eine größere Dichte datierter Baukomplexe vorliegt; auch erscheinen einige der Datierungen, die Moshe Fischer vorschlägt, in Zusammenschau mit der kleinasiatischen Bauornamentik als zumindest problematisch: M. Fischer, *Das korinthische Kapitell im Alten Israel in der hellenistischen und römischen Periode* (Mainz 1990).

⁷ Freundlicher Hinweis von Michael Kerschner

C.R. Whittaker, *Rome and its Frontiers. The Dynamics of Empire*, Routledge, London/New York 2004, x+246 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-415-31200-0

This is a collection of essays which Whittaker has woven together around the broad theme of investigating frontier issues and problems as a means of better understanding the Roman conception of empire.

The first two chapters trace developments in the debate over the nature of Roman frontiers since the emergence of Edward Luttwak's *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire* in 1976,¹ which W. claims has 'saved Roman frontiers from the spades of the archaeologists'. While disagreeing with Luttwak wholeheartedly, W. attributes much to his influence, characterising the influential works of scholars such as Isaac and his own work, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore 1994) as reactions to Luttwak. While archaeologists will undoubtedly blanch at the notion that the Roman frontiers have been saved from them, these chapters are a useful summary and analysis of the debate as it has unfolded over the last three decades.

Chapters 3 to 10 of the book are individual case studies which focus on particular frontier issues and problems. Chapter 3 deals with the problems of modern and ancient historiography on the fortunes of the Later Empire. The chapter is a short summary of how untrustworthy the contemporary 3rd- to 5th-century sources are in their claims regarding the scale of the barbarian invasions of the Western provinces. W.'s focus is only on the literary sources but on a number of occasions he claims that archaeologists have more to tell us but that their observations will not form part of the discussion.

Chapter 4 focuses on maps and frontiers. W. concludes that early Imperial Roman maps were based on local itineraries and were primarily designed to illustrate roads and routes. Itineraries were essentially mental maps which described regions or spaces in linear terms based on how one might travel or progress through them from one point to the next. Itineraries are claimed to have dominated the Roman perception 'of what we might call the real world' (p. 71). W. suggests there was a change in itineraries in the Later Empire which contributed to the production of longer distance route maps designed to cater for an increase in religious pilgrimages and those on ecclesiastical business.

This chapter is designed to assist W. in his long-standing argument that the Romans did not see their frontiers as limits of empire. There was no mental conception of lines drawn from one point to another indicating where imperial territory stopped. The final points on linear maps were points from which power might be extended even further.

Chapter 5 analyses the tablets from Vindolanda to investigate the social and economic impact of supplying the Roman military on the frontiers. W. considers this impact in the frontier regions and in the territories beyond the frontiers. He addresses a number of questions including the extent to which military supplies in frontier regions were controlled by the army or by civilian contractors, the proportion of supplies originating locally or coming from longer distances and the extent to which those living beyond the frontiers contributed to the military supplies on the frontier. On W.'s own admission, there is not much new here. In short, the extent to which the system of procurement was in the hands of contrac-

¹ E.N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from the First Century A.D. to the Third* (Baltimore/London 1976).

tors or the army remains ambiguous on consideration of the Vindolanda evidence. As with evidence from other sites around the empire, Vindolanda indicates that a considerable amount of material was imported from some distance away. According to W., there is not much from Vindolanda to indicate the extent of procurement from beyond the frontiers but he suggests that it was taking place despite the lack of evidence. This suggestion suits W.'s broader argument that frontiers were primarily areas from which Roman power and influence could be extended further rather than acting as defensive lines.

Chapter 6 addresses the Roman sexual conception and representation of conquest. W. discusses a number of examples of iconographic representations of conquered territories as females penetrated or raped by victorious emperors. He analyses the portrayal of lands to be conquered as feminine and passive together with the threatening representations of female 'barbarian' leaders such as Boudicca, Cleopatra and Zenobia. Whittaker emphasises the importance of the Roman portrayal of victory over foreign enemies in sexually aggressive and violating terms. The discussion moves to the portrayal of the provinces and foreign lands in art, including Parthia and India, as semi-naked females in subservience to Rome.

Chapters 7 and 8 deal with the Roman empire's relationship with and conception of India. In Chapter 7 W. argues that, from the time of Augustus, the Romans genuinely believed that their sovereignty extended to India. This had its origins in Augustus' (Octavian's) defeat of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium where troops from India had formed part of the Egyptian forces. From this point, 'the Romans viewed Indians as subjects' (p. 146). The evidence marshalled for this attitude comes from the Augustan poets Vergil, Horace and Ovid. W. also points to the evidence of embassies from Indian kings to Roman emperors from the time of Augustus as an indication of India's recognition of Roman suzerainty. While W. acknowledges the possibility of explaining much of this as literary rhetoric, he is convinced that this is not the way the evidence should be interpreted. This is one of the more difficult arguments in the book to sustain, particularly when compared with the relationship between Rome and Parthia/Persia. The Parthians suffered significant defeats at the hands of invading Roman armies three times in the 2nd century AD, yet no-one, including W., would seriously argue that the Romans genuinely thought that they could claim suzerainty over Parthia.

Chapter 8 is an extension of the discussion of Rome and India which seeks to locate Indian trade within a 'Roman Imperial Network'. Whittaker examines the commercial aspects of the imperial interest he claims Rome took in India as described in Chapter 7. The chapter outlines the nature and extent of Roman trade with India through the Egyptian ports of the Red Sea from the reign of Augustus to the end of the 2nd century AD. The political conditions in the Roman empire and India which are claimed to have stimulated an increase in trade between the two in the early imperial period are also discussed. On the Roman side, Whittaker claims that 'an excess of liquidity' which came from the spoils of capturing Egypt after the Battle of Actium, as well as booty from other wars, drove the expansion in trade with India. It is surprising that Roman trade with India is considered only in the context of Egypt. There is no mention of Indian trade bound for Rome through the Persian Gulf and Palmyra. This is evident in the lack of consideration of Young's *Rome's Eastern Trade*.² Two important publications focusing on Rome and India, particularly trade

² G.K. Young, *Rome's Eastern Trade: International Commerce and Imperial Policy, 31 BC-AD 305* (London/New York 2001).

between the two, are also not present in the bibliography and do not appear to have been consulted: Cimino's *Ancient Rome and India*, and Begley and De Puma's *Rome and India*.³

In Chapters 9 and 10, W. investigates the impact of modern thinking about frontiers on the analysis of ancient frontiers and how this has affected approaches to modern frontier issues in Europe.

The consistent theoretical approach to the study of Roman frontiers taken by W. is clear in this book. Loosely paraphrased, there was no grand defensive strategy and there was something in the Roman psyche which sought to extend Roman imperial power forever. The particular studies which comprise this book all point consistently to such an idea. W.'s 1994 study (see above) set out to achieve the same end and here more evidence is presented for it. The debate will of course continue and as it does, W.'s analysis appears to point more and more to a grand strategy after all. It is admittedly a very different one to that proposed by Luttwak 30 years ago.

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U. Wintermeyer, unter Mitarbeit von H. Bumke, mit einem Beitrag von G. Jöhrens, *Die hellenistische und frühkaiserzeitliche Gebrauchskeramik. Auf Grundlage der stratifizierten Fundkeramik aus dem Bereich der Heiligen Strasse*, Didyma III.2, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2004, xii+315 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 3-8053-1724-7

Es darf wohl als Glücksfall bezeichnet werden, daß die redaktionell sehr sorgfältig betreute Monographie U. Wintermeyers letztlich doch noch erschienen ist, bietet sie immerhin eine Vorlage des umfangreichen Keramikspektrums hellenistischer und römischer Zeit in Didyma. Um die von der Rez. vorgebrachten Kritikpunkte gleich anfangs zu entschärfen, sei ausdrücklich auf die Entstehungsgeschichte dieser Arbeit hingewiesen. Bereits 1979 wurde mit der Bearbeitung der Fundkeramik durch die Verf. begonnen, der Abschluß des Rohmanuskriptes erfolgte im Jahr 1989 (S. 1). Bis zur endgültigen Veröffentlichung 2004 sollten also weitere 15 Jahre vergehen. Aber gerade im letzten Jahrzehnt erschienen auf dem Gebiet der Keramikforschung, speziell jener des östlichen Mittelmeerraums, zahlreiche Detailstudien zu Methodik, einzelnen Gattungen und Zeithorizonten, deren Rezeption Grundbedingung für eine dem derzeitigen Forschungsstand entsprechende Publikation gewesen wäre. Daß dies nicht geschah, ist zwar bedauerlich, erklärt sich aber aus der skizzierten Sachlage. Explizit formulierte Ziele der Keramikbearbeitung in Didyma waren (S. 1), eine zeitliche Stellung für die Baubefunde zu bestimmen und einen Beitrag zur Erforschung des kleinasiatischen Gebrauchsgeschirrs in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit zu leisten. Diese beiden Ziele wurden mit der hier vorliegenden Publikation zweifelsohne erreicht.

Die Arbeit gliedert sich in zwei Teile, Abschnitt 1 (S. 11-74) ist der Auswertung stratifizierter Fundkomplexe vorbehalten, während Abschnitt 2 (S. 75-151) den Typenkatalog

³ R.M. Cimino (ed.), *Ancient Rome and India: Commercial and Cultural Contacts between the Roman world and India* (Rome/New Delhi 1994); V. Begley and R.D. De Puma (eds.), *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade* (Madison/London 1991).

umfaßt. Diesen beiden großen Kapiteln sind allgemeine Bemerkungen (S. 1-9) zur Klassifizierungssystematik vorangestellt.

Klar und übersichtlich werden die Befunde unter und entlang der Heiligen Straße vorgestellt, graphisch ergänzt durch 12 Beilagen, unter denen man jedoch einen topographischen Übersichtsplan vermißt. Insgesamt konnten fünf, anhand von Keramik und Münzen zeitlich eingeordnete Straßenhorizonte definiert werden (S. 11). Die epigraphisch überlieferte Pflasterung der Heiligen Straße (Straße I) unter Kaiser Trajan (S. 13-14) wird durch den vorgelegten Fundkomplex (ESB-Formen Atlante 60, 80) ebenso bestätigt wie die Bauzeit von Straße II um 100 v. Chr. (S. 20), allein der Becher Nr. 89 mit 'sandigem Überzug' dürfte einer späteren Zeitstellung angehören. Auch die zeitliche Einordnung der Straßen III-V (S. 24-34) ist logisch nachvollziehbar und mit dem Fundmaterial zu belegen. Der Befundvorlage sind übersichtliche Tabellen – sowohl nach Horizonten als auch nach 'Tonwaren' geordnet – angefügt, die eine rasche und benutzerfreundliche Übersicht erlauben. Durch das Fehlen einer quantitativen Auswertung des keramischen Materials ist es jedoch leider unmöglich, die für die Interpretation herangezogene Fundmenge und somit auch das Verhältnis einzelner Gattungen zueinander zu beurteilen. Als einschränkend erweist sich auch der Umstand, daß die vergesellschafteten Lampen nicht abgebildet wurden (S. 55, 59). Ungewöhnlich ist zudem die Anordnung von Katalog und Tafeln nach 'Tonwaren', wodurch das feinchronologisch auswertbare Tafelgeschirr an das Ende gestellt wurde.

Während der chronologischen Einordnung der einzelnen Straßenniveaus und der anschließenden Bauhorizonte uneingeschränkt zugestimmt werden kann, erstaunt die umständliche Ansprache einzelner Keramikgattungen, die scheinbar ohne jede Kenntnis der gängigen und zum Zeitpunkt des Manuskriptabschlusses bereits erschienenen Bestimmungsliteratur erfolgte. Als Beispiel seien die langatmigen Definitionen von ESA und ESB (S. 9, 36) zitiert, denen in den zugehörigen Fußnoten wenig passende oder überholte Zitate hinzugefügt werden (Anm. 30, 31, 44, 66, 69).

Als Basis für den Typenkatalog wurde die gesamte Fundkeramik der Jahre 1975-1996 herangezogen (S. 75). Unter Gebrauchskeramik reiht die Autorin Koch-, Küchen, Tafelgeschirr sowie Toilettegegenstände ein, die, einer hierarchisch strukturierten Klassifikation folgend, präsentiert werden. Als übergeordnetes Kriterium dienen zehn 'Tonwaren', denen die Gefäße ihrem Verwendungszweck und darüber hinaus der Form nach zugeordnet sind. Hat man anfangs noch den Eindruck, mit 'Tonware' sei eine Beschreibung des Scherbens (engl. *fabric*) gemeint (S. 1), so entspricht die wesentlich erweiterte Definition (S. 7-9) dem üblicherweise dafür gebrauchten Begriff Ware (engl. *ware*). Der Zusatz 'Ton-' ist demnach nicht nur unnötig, sondern darüber hinaus auch mißverständlich. Die von der Verf. eingeführte Einteilung orientiert sich zudem stark an den (Bruch- und Oberflächen-) Farben der Gefäße.

Die gesamte Problematik einer Klassifikation nach 'Tonwaren' läßt sich eindrucksvoll am Beispiel der 'gelben Tonwaren' (S. 7-8) darstellen. Dem Kriterium 'einheitlich gelbe Oberfläche' (S. 7) folgend werden alle Amphoren unabhängig ihrer Herkunft und Zeitstellung in diese Kategorie eingeordnet, obwohl es sich um ein Sammelsurium unterschiedlichster Typen handelt. In der gleichen Gruppe finden sich lokal-regionale Amphoren hellenistischer und römischer Zeitstellung, ebenso wie republikanisch italische Typen (Nr. 988) oder etwa spätantik tunesische Exemplare (Nr. 984, 989, 1021-1024). Andererseits wurden gerade die regional produzierten Amphoren des Typs Peacock – Williams Class 45 nicht als

solche erkannt und unter Flaschen (Nr. 1048-1050) bzw. Böden (Nr. 1078-1082) eingereiht. Wenn nun die Aussagekraft einer Gruppe auf eine einheitliche Oberflächenfarbe (die zudem nicht einheitlich ist!) beschränkt ist, daraus aber keine weiterreichenden Schlußfolgerungen ableitbar sind, muß ganz grundsätzlich an der Sinnhaftigkeit der Kategorisierung bzw. der dafür ausgewählten Kriterien gezweifelt werden.

Feuerfestes Kochgeschirr tritt in drei 'Tonwaren' auf, wobei für zwei Gruppen aufgrund naturwissenschaftlicher Analysen eine lokal/regionale Herkunft vermutet wird (S. 5). Dies trifft wohl nur für jene bis in den späten Hellenismus gebrauchte, mit groben Glimmerpartikeln gemagerte Ware zu (S. 7), während es sich bei den Vertretern der beiden anderen Gruppen (S. 7) um importierte Gefäße aus Phokaia handelt. Koch- und Küchengeschirr mußte nämlich keinesfalls 'grundsätzlich einer lokalen Produktion' (S. 5-6) entstammen, ganz im Gegenteil ist gerade bei qualitativ hochwertigen Produkten ein weitreichender Exportradius zu beobachten. In diesem Zusammenhang befremdet auch die Ansprache von Kasserollen als Töpfe (T 7.1-T 8.17 und T 15.8) oder die Zuordnung der dünnwandigen Becher (Kg 2.3-2.10) zur Gruppe der 'harten hell-dunkelgrauen Tonware'.

Interessant ist die Tatsache, daß in Didyma beinahe das gesamte hellenistische Tafelgeschirr mit einem glanzlosen Überzug versehen war (S. 8). Dies steht in deutlichem Gegensatz beispielsweise zur ephesischen Evidenz, wo auf den Gefäßen üblicherweise ein glänzender Überzug auftritt. Unnötig dagegen scheint die Ableitung der 'grauen Tonware' von der sog. äolischen Grauware (S. 8, 141). Seit dem ausgehenden 2. Jh. v. Chr. experimentiert man in der gesamten Region mit der Brennfarbe, woraus sich ein eigenständiges Formen- und Typenspektrum an grau gebrannten Gefäßen mit schwarzem Überzug entwickelt, unter denen die ephesischen Produkte die größte Verbreitung erreichten.

Bei der Bestimmung der Sigillaten wurde nicht auf die allgemein gültigen Klassifizierungsschemata (1985 erschienen!) zurückgegriffen, sondern eine eigenständige Definition vorgelegt (S. 9). Daraus ergeben sich zwei Gruppen, die mit ESA und ESB gleichgesetzt werden. Da jedoch kaum anzunehmen ist, daß in Didyma sowohl ESC, ARS (Form 8 und 9) als auch ITS ausnahmslos fehlen, müssen wiederum massive Zweifel an der Gruppenbildung vorgebracht werden. Klärung könnte hier nur eine Autopsie vor Ort bringen, da allein anhand der Zeichnungen eine gesicherte Warenzuordnung kaum möglich ist.

Der Arbeit Wintermeyers ist ein Beitrag von G. Jöhrens zu den Amphorenstempeln angeschlossen (S. 153-64). Darin wird auch die aktuelle, nach Manuskriptabschluß erschienene Literatur berücksichtigt und somit eine chronologische Einordnung der Stempel nach derzeitigem Forschungsstand gewährleistet. Dazu ist dem Autor, gerade nach der vorangegangenen Lektüre, herzlich zu danken.

Die hier vorgebrachte, methodische und inhaltliche Kritik soll den Wert der Arbeit, aber vor allem den ihrer Veröffentlichung nicht schmälern. Sie stellt ein wichtiges, wenn auch kritisch zu verwendendes Arbeitsinstrument für jeden im östlichen Mittelmeerraum arbeitenden Keramikspezialisten dar. Ein unumgängliches Desiderat scheint jedoch eine neuerliche Bearbeitung von Sigillaten und Amphoren. Erst dann wird sich mit einiger Sicherheit sagen lassen, ob in Didyma 'auswärtiges Keramikmaterial' (S. 6) wirklich nur in sehr geringem Umfang vorhanden ist.

V.M. Zubar, S.D. Krizhitskii, L.V. Marchenko, A.S. Rusyaeva, S.B. Sorochan and M.I. Khrapunov (eds.), *Khersones Tavricheskii v seredine I v. do n.e. – VI v.n.e.: Ocherki istorii i kul'tury* (Tauric Chersonesus in the Middle of the 1st Century BC-6th Century AD: Essays on the History and Culture), Institute of Archaeology, National Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine/National Preserve 'Khersones Tavricheskii', Ministry of Culture and Art of the Ukraine, Maidan publishers, Kharkov 2004, 730 pp., 308 figs. Summary in English. Paperback. ISBN 966-7903-88-5

L'ouvrage collectif d'un groupe de chercheurs ukrainiens et russes, édité sous la direction de V. Zubar comble une lacune importante dans les recherches récentes sur l'archéologie antique du Nord de la mer Noire. Ce livre est consacré à la période romaine/protobyzantine Chersonèse Taurique, la ville grecque la plus importante de la Crimée, ville qui était le pilier du pouvoir impérial dans la moitié nord du Pont. Si les travaux de A.L. Jakobson et d'A. Romančuk ont révélé l'archéologie médiévale de Chersonèse byzantin,¹ force est de constater que jusqu'au aujourd'hui, aucun synthèse n'a été consacré à Chersonèse romain.

La première partie est consacrée à l'histoire de la ville du milieu du Ier s. av. J.-C. au troisième quart du IIIe s. ap. J.-C. Dans le premier chapitre (p. 31-72) on trouve la présentation de l'histoire de Chersonèse du milieu du Ier s. av. J.-C. à la première moitié du IIe s. ap. J.-C. (V. Zubar). Au début de cette période, Chersonèse fait partie de l'empire de Mithridate VI, cette alliance s'explique par la menace scythe, qui a obligé la ville chercher une protection auprès de Mithridate VI. Après la chute de Mithridate Chersonèse se trouva dans l'orbite politique de l'Empire romain. Ainsi, les relations entre Chersonèse, le royaume du Bosphore Cimmérien, gouverné par la dynastie de Mithridate, et Rome sont étudiées dans ce chapitre d'une façon détaillée. La pression des Sarmates au Ier siècle après J.-C. est à l'origine de l'invitation des troupes romaines par la ville de Chersonèse. Dès les années 60 Chersonèse devient la base militaire principale de l'Empire romain en Crimée, les traces archéologiques et épigraphiques de la présence militaire romaine au Ier-IIe s., dont l'examen représente l'essentiel de ce chapitre (p. 51-68), sont bien visibles à Chersonèse.

Le chapitre 2 (p. 73-182) est la suite logique de celui I, car il est consacré à la présence militaire romaine en Crimée au IIe-IIIe s. (V. Zubar, avec la participation d'I. Antonova). Une présentation des fortifications de la ville, notamment de la citadelle, aménagée par la garnison romaine, ouvre ce chapitre. Les auteurs constatent d'ailleurs une destruction brusque et simultanée de la citadelle romaine, puis sa restauration, tout ceci, d'après les données numismatiques a eu lieu durant la période de 237-250. Un grand tremblement de terre est, selon les auteurs, à l'origine de ces événements (p. 79, 80). Les données épigraphiques sur la présence des militaires romaines dans la ville sont également étudiées dans ce chapitre (p. 81-104), elles permettent reconstituer, en grands traits, la composition et l'histoire de la garnison romaine de Chersonèse. D'autres lieux de cantonnement des troupes impériales en Crimée du Sud-Ouest, dont la découverte relativement récente de Balaklava, sont décrits dans ce chapitre (p. 105-60). Il est clair que les Romains ont créé un système efficace de défense autour de Chersonèse, système qui leur a permis de contrôler toute la partie du

¹ A.L. Jakobson: *Srednevekovyj Hersones XII-XIV vv.* (Leningrad 1950); *Rannesrednevekovyj Hersones* (Leningrad 1959); A.I. Romančuk: *Hersones XII-XIV vv.: isotričeskaja topografija* (Krasnojarsk 1986); *Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie des byzantinischen Cherson* (Leyde/Boston 2005).

Sud-Ouest de la péninsule taurique (p. 172). Ces troupes, qui étaient en grande partie d'origine thrace (p. 162), à part le service militaire menaient une activité économique (notamment la fabrication de tuile et de verre – p. 160, 161). A part des militaires, un certain nombre des civils romains faisant partie de la population de Chersonèse, ce qui favorisait une certaine romanisation de cette ville grecque – les noms romains représentent 25.5 % du matériel onomastique local (p. 167). Avec l'apparition de la menace barbare sur le Danube dans les années 230, les troupes romaines, appelées pour sauver la situation, quittent Chersonèse et d'autres lieux forts du Sud-Ouest de la Crimée (p. 176). Les soldats romains réapparaissent à Chersonèse, pour un court laps du temps, dans les années 250, mais cette fois-ci leur rôle est limité à la défense de la ville (p. 177).

Le chapitre 3 (p. 183-256) parle de la vie économique, ainsi que de la composition sociale et ethnique de la population de Chersonèse à l'époque romaine (D. Žuravlev, V. Zubar, S. Soročan). L'histoire économique de la ville à cette époque est relativement bien connue, car elle était l'objet des études monographiques.² Dans le présent volume, l'auteurs se penchent plus spécialement sur l'agriculture suburbaine, dont le champs principale sont les parcelles sur la presqu'île de Héraclée, sur la pêche et salaison du poisson, sur l'artisanat urbain (essentiellement fabrication de céramique, car les traces d'autres activités artisanales n'y sont pas encore découvertes pour l'époque romaine) et sur le commerce. Chersonèse jouait un rôle primordial dans le système des échanges commerciaux dans la partie ouest de la péninsule de la Crimée. D'autre part, à partir du Ier s. les auteurs constatent, d'après l'importation de céramique et de verre, le regain des relations commerciales avec d'autres régions de l'Empire romain: l'Asie mineure, le Proche-Orient, la Mésie, dans une moindre mesure la Grèce et la Gaule.

La composition ethnique de la population de la ville à l'époque du Ier au IIIe s. est également étudiée dans ce chapitre, avant tout d'après les données épigraphiques mais également d'après les pratiques funéraires, qui servent, on le sait, d'indices ethnographiques. On constate la domination absolue de la population grecque. Certaines pierres tombales témoignent de la présence des gens, originaires du Bosphore Cimmérien (p. 248). En même temps on constate la présence des Barbares, notamment d'origine scythe et sarmate (à partir du IIe s. ap. J.-C.), ainsi que des Romains, notamment ressortissants de la région du Pont occidental. Les derniers se manifestent, notamment par la présence des fibules cruciformes de fonctionnaires de l'Empire dans le mobilier de la nécropole (p. 238). Pendant longtemps ces fibules ont été considérées à tort, comme une 'importation' en Crimée.

L'organisation politique de la vie urbaine est examinée dans le chapitre 4 (p. 257-74, A. Vladimirov). La ville est dirigée à l'époque romaine, comme auparavant, à l'époque hellénistique, par la réunion des citoyens, avec des notables en tête. Partant des données des décrets des premiers siècles de notre ère, l'auteur examine le rôle des magistrats et des fonctionnaires de l'administration urbaine, ainsi que la position des prêtres.

Le chapitre 5 (p. 275-301) est consacré à l'urbanisme et à l'architecture de la ville (S. Kryžickij). L'auteur à juste titre souligne les lacunes dans la connaissance d'urbanisme de Chersonèse romain: les fouilles de la citadelle et du théâtre ne sont encore correctement publiées, on ne sait à peu près rien sur les maisons d'habitation ni sur les temples de la ville,

² V.I. Kadeev et S.B. Soročan, *Ekonomičeskie svjazi antičnyh gorodov Severnogo Pričernomor'ja v I v. do n.e. - V v. n.e.* (Charkov 1989); V.M. Zubar, *Hersones Tavričeskij v antičnuju epohu* (Kiev 1993).

ni sur le quartier du port. Cependant S. Kryžickij a pu donner dans ce chapitre une description générale du paysage urbaine de Chersonèse durant les premiers siècles de n.è. La ville, dont la surface à l'époque romaine représentait 27 ha, se divisait en deux parties: la ville haute où se situaient les quartiers d'habitation et la ville basse, dans la partie sud-est de la ville, avec le quartier du port. Il n'est pas exclu un autre port de pêche a été aménagé dans la partie nord-ouest de la ville. La citadelle romaine voisinait au sud avec le quartier du port. La nécropole urbaine se situait *extra muros* à l'ouest et au sud. La ville est toujours bien protégée par les remparts (2.5-3.5 km). Dans les premiers siècles de n.è. on construit un aqueduc de longueur de 7 km, qui fonctionne toujours à l'époque romaine tardive.

Le chapitre 6 (p. 302-32) parle de la vie quotidienne (M. Skržinskaja). Ce thème est abordé essentiellement à partir des données épigraphiques et archéologiques. On peut regretter que la partie concernant la civilisation matérielle, notamment le costume, est trop sommaire et illustrée de très mauvaises photo, où en plus on peut parfois reconnaître des objets qui n'appartiennent pas aux premiers siècles de n.è. Cela s'explique par le fait que l'auteur de ce chapitre est spécialiste de textes, peu familier à l'archéologie.

Le chapitre 7 (p. 333-430) donne un large aperçu de la vie religieuse (A. Rusjaeva, V. Zubar). Le chapitre contient également une partie consacrée aux pratiques funéraires. Les auteurs soulignent que l'époque romaine est une période des changements importants dans ce domaine. Des nouvelles religions, amenées de l'empire font leur apparition, quoique les anciens cultes helléniques aient gardé leur importance. Une partie spéciale est consacrée aux cultes des garnisons romaines à Chersonèse et en général en Crimée du Sud-Ouest.

La vie culturelle est étudiée dans le chapitre 8 (p. 431-55, A. Rusjaeva). L'auteur constate une certaine romanisation de la culture artistique de Chersonèse, cependant la continuité des traditions helléniques et leur domination sont incontestables. Ainsi le grec, plus précisément son dialecte dorique reste la langue officielle de la ville.

Le chapitre 9 (p. 456-92) est consacré à l'art de Chersonèse aux premiers siècles (M. Rusjaeva). L'auteur traite la sculpture monumentale et funéraire, petits objets en bronze, les figurines en terre cuite, la céramique décorée, notamment les lampes, les bijoux, les gemmes, les représentations sur les monnaies. Tout ceci donne un tableau riche et assez complet.

Chersonèse de la fin du IIIe au VIe s. fait l'objet de la deuxième partie. L'histoire de la ville est traitée dans le chapitre 1 (p. 495-519, V. Zubar, S. Soročan). Cette histoire commence avec les guerres gothiques du IIIe s., quand le Nord de la mer Noire devient le point de départ des invasions barbares. Il est regrettable que les auteurs ignorent toute la bibliographie abondante en autres langues que russe, que traite cette question. Leur conclusion, que à l'issue de ces guerres la région autour de Chersonèse a été peuplée d'une population 'polyethnique' (p. 498) ne se repose sur rien. En fait tous les chercheurs sont aujourd'hui d'accord que les sites de la population barbare du type Inkerman – dominants en Sud-Ouest de la Crimée – appartiennent à une population majoritairement iranophone. L'identification de cette population iranophone en tant que Alains (p. 519, n. 84) est plus que hasardeuse – les Alains sont connus en Crimée par les sources écrites seulement au XIIIe s. – et la présence présumée des Baltes (*sic!*: p. 519, n. 84) fait frémir les spécialistes d'archéologie 'barbare' de l'Europe orientale. Une autre question qui fait l'objet d'une discussion est la présence des troupes de l'armée romaine, plus précisément des ballistaires, dans la ville à l'époque de l'empereur Zénon, connus d'après une inscription, mais absents

dans la *Notitia Dignitatum* (p. 513-16). Selon les auteurs cette unité ne faisait pas partie de l'armée romaine régulière et représentait un sort de la milice urbaine (p. 516), ce qui explique leur absence dans la *Notitia Dignitatum*. Cependant cela est, comme C. Zuckerman a déjà souligné, invraisemblable, car le maniement de l'artillerie exige des savoirs professionnels, peu compatibles avec le statut des milices urbaines. D'après C. Zuckerman, il s'agit d'un détachement appartenant aux troupes *comitatenses*, dont la *Notitia Dignitatum* ne donne jamais des lieux de cantonnement.³

L'organisation politique et administrative de la fin du IV^e au VI^e s. est examinée dans le chapitre 2 (p. 520-45, N. Hrapunov). Au IV^e-début VI^e s. la ville était dépendante de l'Empire romain, mais formellement gardait son autonomie, de plus en plus éphémère. Sous Justinien la ville est définitivement annexée par l'Empire.

Le chapitre 3 (p. 546-56) est consacré à la vie économique de la ville de la fin du III^e-au VI^e s. (V. Zubar, S. Soročan). Les parcelles agricoles autour de la ville sont utilisées durant le IV^e-Ve s. sinon plus tard. Selon les auteurs, l'agriculture suburbaine a subi alors transformation importante, l'élevage du bétail joie désormais le rôle primordial. Dans d'autres domaines – commerce, artisanat – Chersonèse n'a pas subi des changements radicaux par rapport à l'époque précédente. La ville reste – au moins jusqu'à la deuxième moitié du VI^e s. le centre économique principal sur la côte nord de la mer Noire.

La diffusion du christianisme est étudiée dans le chapitre 4 (p. 556-628, V. Zubar). Les sources écrites attestent la christianisation de la ville à partir de l'époque de Théodose le Grand,⁴ l'auteur cherche à vérifier ces sources par les données archéologiques. Pour cela il examine avant tout le matériel funéraire, venant de la nécropole de Chersonèse. Selon V. Zubar, les tombeaux à niches, qu'on peut attribuer aux chrétiens sont datables du VI^e-VII^e s. et ne sont pas attestées pour l'époque antérieure (p. 559). Malheureusement, la nécropole de la ville reste non publiée où bien les tombes ont été pillées (c'est notamment le cas des caveaux avec la peinture paléochrétienne), ainsi on ne peut pas vérifier le bien-fondé de telles datations. L'auteur considère que la coutume porter des croix pectorales, provenant de certaines tombes de Chersonèse, n'apparaît pas avant le VI^e-VII^e s. (p. 560, 593, 594, 602). Or, on connaît bien leur usage bien répandu sur un large territoire au Ve s., comme le montrent par exemple les découvertes dans une des tombes la basilique de Saint-Denis près de Paris, avec la fibule du type Krefeld-Gellep,⁵ de la deuxième moitié du Ve s., dans le trésor de Desana, en Italie, avec une fibule cruciforme du type Desana-Ténès,⁶ datée du deuxième tiers du Ve s.⁷ ou encore dans la tombe nubienne Ballana 2, datée des années 420-430.⁸ Dans ses conclusions concernant la date des tombes, V. Zubar s'appuie sur la chronologie de la Crimée, élaborée par A. Ambroz A. Ajbabin, or la dernière a été forte-

³ C. Zuckerman, 'Episkopy i garnizon Hersona v IV veke'. *Materialy po Arheologii, Istrii i Etnografii Tavrii* 4 (1994-95), 545-61.

⁴ Voir en particulier Zuckerman, n. 3.

⁵ E. Salin, *Les tombes gallo-romaines et mérovingiennes de la Basilique de Saint-Denis* (Paris 1958), pl. II.1, XII.

⁶ V. Bierbrauer, *Die ostgotischen Grab-und Schatzfunde in Italien* (Spolète 1975), pl. VII.4, VIII.4.

⁷ Voir à ce propos P.M. Pröttel, 'Zur Chronologie der Zweibelknopffibeln'. *JRGZM* 35 (1988), 370.

⁸ L. Török, *Late Antique Nubia* (Budapest 1988), pl. 69.7. Je remercie M. Alexandre Moussine pour cette indication.

ment contestée par des archéologues européens⁹ et ainsi ne peut plus servir de référence. Cependant, l'auteur, a probablement raison quand il souligne, que les tombes des chrétiens des IVe-Ve s. ne se distinguaient pas d'autres sépultures, c'est la situation classique pour tout le territoire de l'Empire d'Orient.

En conclusion, il faut dire que la nouvelle monographie collective sur Chersonèse romain et protobyzantin est un ouvrage intéressant et utile, qui relate l'actuel état des recherches sur la question et qui donne une vision large sur l'archéologie et l'histoire ancienne de cette ville, dont le riche matériel reste en grande partie inédit. Malheureusement, ce site, fouillé depuis le XIXe s., n'a été jamais l'objet d'un programme de publication systématique des résultats des fouilles, publication comparable à celles de Corinth, Sardes, Carinčen Grad ou encore Tanaïs. Il faut espérer que nos collègues ukrainiens et russes entreprendront un jour la publication détaillée de leurs résultats des fouilles à Chersonèse.

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⁹ Voir par exemple C. Bálint, 'Kontakte zwischen Iran, Byzanz und der Steppe. Der Gürtel im frühmittelalterlichen Transkaukasus und das Grab von Üč-Tepe (Sowj. Azerbajdžan)'. Dans *Awaren Forschungen* I (Vienne 1992), 309-496; K. von der Lohe, 'Das Gräberfeld von Skalistoje auf der Krim und die Ethnogenese der Krimgoten. Die Frühphase (Ende 4. bis Anfang 6. Jahrhundert)'. Dans G. Gomolka-Fuchs (éd.), *Die Sintana de Mureș-Černjachov-Kultur* (Bonn 1999), 33-58; M. Kazanski et M. Treister, 'Quelques objets du haut Moyen-Age provenant de la nécropole de Louthcistoe'. Dans M. Kazanski et V. Soupault (éd.), *Les sites archéologiques en Crimée e au Caucase durant l'Antiquité tardive et le haut Moyen-Age* (Leyde/Boston 2000), 89-96; M. Schulze-Dörrlamm, *Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen und Gürtelbeschläge im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum* 1 (Mayence 2002).

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